

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume XLIV ; Numbers 1—3

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1932

CONTENTS

	Page.
The New Logic and its Use in Philosophy—R. Das, M.A., Ph D.	1
Local Boards in the Madras Presidency—M. Venkata- rangaiya	13
Autumn Sunset (<i>Poem</i>)—Louise A. Nelson, M.A. ...	32
Some Problems in Psycho-Analysis—Dr. Suhritchandra Mitra, M.A., D.Phil.	33
Growth of Public Debt—Dr. P. R. Dutta, M.A., D.Sc. ...	45
Empire Free Trade—S. R. Bose, M.A.	57
Among the Season's Good Books—Leland J. Berry, M.A.	74
American Educators as Promoters of World Peace—Dr. Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D.	77
Spiritualism—P. Changkakati, M.A.	83
Prayer—(<i>Poem</i>)—V. H. Pandit	88
The Personality of a Famous Bengali—Mohinimohan Bhattacharjee, M.A.	89
Songs of the Sea—Leland J. Berry, M.A.	98
The 'Scraps of Paper' and the Problem of the States—Hari- charan Mukherji	100
Reviews :	
Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts—P. R. S.	107
Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion—S. K. D. ...	107
Ourselves :	
Srijukta Swarnakumari Devi	113
Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal 1933 and Nalinisundari Gold Medal 1933	113
Matriculation Examination 1932	114
L. T. Examination 1932	114
B. T. Examination 1932	115
Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination, April, 1932 ...	115
First M. B. Examination, April, 1932	115

	Page.
Second M. B. Examination, April, 1932	115
Third M. B. Examination, April, 1932	115
Final M. B. Examination, April, 1932	116
Dvivedi Commemoration Volume	116
India's Duty at Ottawa—Dr. B. Ramchandra Rau Ph.D.	119
A General Account of the Religious and Philosophical Atmosphere around Mahavira and Buddha—Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A., B.L.	145
National and Local Finance—B. K. Sarkar.	157
Economic Depression in Assam—Dines Chandra Dutt	191
Night on the Hooghly (<i>Poem</i>)—R. J. N. Maher	206
Pythagoras the Vegetarian - Charlotte Krause	207
On a Fond Look (<i>Poem</i>)—Gabi	216
The Problem before the Indian (Native) State—Akshoy Kumar Ghosal	217
The God (<i>Poem</i>)—V. H. Pandit	232
Suggestion in waking life—Kshitish Chandra Bagchi	233
REVIEWS :	
Text, Type and Style—Priyaranjan Sen	237
Satanari—Sailendra Nath Mitra	237
OURSELVES :	
Result of the B.Com. Examination, 1932	239
Result of the B A. Examination, 1932	239
Result of the B.Sc. Examination, 1932	240
Academic Reception to Rabindranath—Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University	241
Rabindranath's Reply	247
Special Convocation Address—Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University	251
Sleep and Consciousness—Dr. Rasbihary Das, M.A., Ph.D.	253
The Function of the College in the Life of the City—Arthur Newman	261
Twilight (<i>Poem</i>)—William Allen Ward	266
Dawn (<i>Poem</i>)—William Allen Ward	266
The Organisation of Soviet Power—S. C. Sarkar, M.A.	267
The Early Phase of Mir Quassim's Career—Nandalal Chatterji, M.A.	299
The Outlook of Present-day Psychology—Jitendrakumar Chakravarty, M.A.	311

CONTENTS

	Page.
Evolution of Civil Service in the Modern State—Akshoy Kumar Ghoshal, M.A.	323
Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the Gita—Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., B.L.	337
Foreign Influence on the Poetry of Rabindranath—Binayak Sanyal, M.A.	343
REVIEWS :	
The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth—J.G.B.	369
The Indian Currency and Exchange—B. Ramchandra Rau	373
Disarmament—B. Ramchandra Rau	374
OURSELVES :	
Our Vice-Chancellor	377
Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts	377
Kamala Lecturer for 1930	377
The Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer in Comparative Religion for 1933	378
Mouat Medal	378
Dates for the University Examinations	378

List of Contributors and their articles.

Bagchi, Kshitish Chandra	
Suggestion in Waking Life	233
Berry, Leland J., M.A.	
Among the Season's Good Books	74
Songs of the Sea (Poem)	98
Bhattacharjee Mohinimohan, M.A.	
The Personality of a Famous Bengali	89
Bose, S. R., M.A.	
Empire Free Trade	57
Chakrabarty, Jitendra Kumar, M.A.	
The Outlook of Present-day Psychology	311
Changkakati, P., M.A.	
Spiritualism	83
Chatterjee, Nandalal, M.A.	
The Early Phase of Mir Quasim's Career	299
Das Rashbehari, M.A., Ph.D.	
The New Logic and its use in Philosophy	1
Sleep and Consciousness	253
Das, Taraknath, M.A., Ph.D.	
American Education as Promoters of World Peace	77

CONTENTS

	Page.
<i>Dutt, Dines Chandra</i>	
Economic Depression in Assam ...	191
<i>Dutta, P.R., M.A., D.Sc.</i>	
Growth of Public Debt ...	45
<i>Gabi</i>	
On a Fond Look (<i>Poem</i>) ...	216
<i>Ghosal, Akshoy Kumar</i>	
The Problem before the Indian (Native) State ...	217
Evolution of Civil Service in the Modern State ...	323
<i>Krause, Charlotte</i>	
Pythagoras the Vegetarian... ..	207
<i>Maher, R. J. N.</i>	
Night on the Hughly (<i>Poem</i>) ...	206
<i>Mitra, Suhritchandra, M.A., D. Phil.</i>	
Some Problems in Psycho-Analysis ...	33
<i>Mukherjee, Haricharan.</i>	
The Scraps of Paper and the Problem of the States ...	100
<i>Nelson, Louise, A., M.A.</i>	
Autumn Sunset (<i>Poem</i>) ...	32
<i>Newman, Arthur</i>	
The Function of the College in the Life of the City ...	261
<i>Pandit, V. H.</i>	
Prayer (<i>Poem</i>) ...	88
The God (<i>Poem</i>) ...	232
<i>Rau, B. Ramchandra, M.A., Ph.D.</i>	
India's Duty at Ottawa ...	119
<i>Sanyal, Binayak, M.A.</i>	
Foreign Influence on the Poetry of Rabindranath ...	343
<i>Sarkar, B. K., M.A.</i>	
National and Local Finance ...	157
<i>Sarkar, S. C.</i>	
The Organisation of Soviet Power ...	267
<i>Sen, Amulyachandra, M.A., B. L.</i>	
A General Account of the Religious and Philosophical	
Atmosphere around Mahavira and Buddha ...	145
Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the Gita ...	337
<i>Suhrawardy, Sir Hassan, Kt., O.B.E., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H.</i>	
Academic Reception to Rabindranath ...	241
Special Convocation Address... ..	251
<i>Tagore, Sir Rabindranath</i>	
A Reply (Academic Reception) ...	247
<i>Venkataramaiah, M.</i>	
Local Boards in the Madras Presidency ...	13

	Page.
<i>Ward, William Allen</i>	
Twilight (<i>Poem</i>) ...	266
Dawn (<i>Poem</i>) ...	266

Index of articles.

Assam, Economic Depression in ...	191
College in the Life of the City. The Function of the	261
Civil Service in the Modern State, Evolution of ...	323
Dawn (<i>Poem</i>) ...	266
Debt, Growth of Public ...	45
Famous Bengali, The Personality of a ...	89
Finance, National and Local ...	157
Gita, Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the ...	337
God (<i>Poem</i>) ...	232
Good Books, Among the Season's ...	74
Hughly, Night on the (<i>Poem</i>) ...	206
Logic and its use in Philosophy, The New ...	1
Look, One Fond (<i>Poem</i>) ...	216
Madras Presidency, Local Boards ...	13
Mir Quasim's Career, The Early Phase of ...	299
Ottawa, India's Duty at ...	119
Poetry of Rabindranath, Foreign Influence on the ...	343
Prayer (<i>Poem</i>) ...	88
Psychology, The Out-Look of the Present Day ...	311
Psycho-Analysis, Some Problems in ...	33
Pythagoras, the Vegetarian ...	207
Reception to Rabindranath, Academic ...	241
Religious and Philosophical Atmosphere around	
Mahavira and Buddha, A General Account of ...	145
Sleep and Consciousness ...	253
Songs of the Sea (<i>Poem</i>) ...	98
Soviet Power, The Organisation of ...	267
Spiritualism ...	83
State, The Problem before the Indian (Native) ...	217
States, The Scraps of Paper and the Problem of the... ..	100
Sunset, Autumn ...	32
Trade, Empire Free ...	57
Twilight (<i>Poem</i>) ...	266
Waking Life, Suggestion in ...	233
World's Peace, American Education as Promoters of	77

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume XLV

OCTOBER—DECEMBER

1932

**PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

<i>First Series</i>	.	..	1844
<i>New Series</i>	...	...	1913
<i>Third Series (Monthly)</i>		...	1921

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume XLV ; Numbers 1—3

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1932

CONTENTS

	Page.
The False and the Subjective—Professor Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A.	1
The Human Interest in the Treatment of the Super- natural—Sukumar Dutt, M.A.	10
Immoral Traffic in Calcutta and its Suppression—Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	17
Prelude (<i>Poem</i>)—Wallace B. Nichols	22
Some Educational Experiments in the Punjab—Imtiaz Mohammad Khan, M.A. (London)	23
Central Banks and Speculation—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D.	33
Taj-Mahal (<i>Poem</i>)—Wade Oliver	54
English Folk-lore—S. M. Chanda, M.A. (Lond.)	55
Mir Qasim's Attitude towards the Private Inland Trade of the English—Nandalal Chatterji, M.A.	69
Guru Govinda Singh—Gurdial Sing Wadalia	85
Giacomo Meyerbeer—Leland J. Berry	93
Rabindranath as an Educationist—Bhupendra Nath Sarkar	97
The Conception of Costs—Amiya Kumar Dasgupta	101
REVIEWS :	
A Wonder for Wise Men—J. G. B.	115
OURSELVES	
Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali	121
A New D. Sc.	121
Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law •	121
Result of the Intermediate Examination in Law	122
Result of the Final Examination in Law	122
The Economic Implications of Lausanne Conference—Dr. B. Ramchandra Rau, M A., Ph.D.	123

Relations in Modern Indian Logic—Dr. Rasvihari Das, M.A., Ph.D.	143
Buddhism and Vedanta—Swami Jagadiswarananda	161
The Defence Mechanism of the Human Body—K. V. Krishnan, M.B., D.Sc., M.R.C.P.	177
The Ordeal of Mirabai—Vaman H. Pandit	189
Sailing (<i>Poem</i>)—Louise A. Nelson, M.A.	198
The Tragedy of Braganças in Portugal—V. De Bragança, Cunha	199
A Bengali Funeral Rite—Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	213
“Krishna-Gour-Alchemy” (<i>Poem</i>)—Sir Devaprasad Sarva- dhikari, Kt., M.A., LL.D.	216
Democracy in India—Maher Dalal	217
Epitaph (<i>Poem</i>)—Fredericka Blankner	220
Italian Yesterday (<i>Poem</i>)—Fredericka Blankner	220
America and Poetry—Kevalram Dayaram, B.A.	221
The Bhagavadgita or the Song Divine—Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.	227
Harbour in Moonlight (<i>Poem</i>)—Louise A. Nelson, M.A.	234
Krishnadevaraya—V. N. Bhusan	235
Indian Ideal of Marriage—T. K. Gopal Panikkar	241
The Essence of Rabindranath's Poetry—Mati Lal Das	249
Manuel De Falla—Leland J. Berry	257
Love is Love (<i>Poem</i>)—Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	260
The Philosophy of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Poetry—S. Siva- raman, M.A., L.T.	261
Early Tales of Theosophy in India—Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, Kt., M.A., LL.D.	271
Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Culture—Atul Krishna Sur, M.A.	293
Death and Love (<i>Poem</i>)—Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	304
Raja Rammohan Roy's “Bengali Grammar in the English Language”—Rameshchandra Banerjee, M.A.	305
The Doctrine of Maya in Samkara—Govindachandra Deb- Purkayastha, M.A.	313
Bells of Calcutta (<i>Poem</i>)—David W. Code	326
The Hoover Doctrine—M. Krishna Nambyar	327
The Religion of Christ and After—G. C. Ghose, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E.	341

CONTENTS

	Page
To—John J. Pinto	368

REVIEWS :

The Story of the Past from Newspapers—Priyaranjan Sen	369
Annals of the Parish—Priyaranjan Sen	370
Behold the Man—Priyaranjan Sen	370
Philosophy of Hindu Sādhana—Kokileswar Sastri	371
Neo-Hinduism—Kokileswar Sastri	379
Vedic Studies—Kokileswar Sastri	380

OURSELVES :

The Late Sir Ali Inam	381
Adharchandra Mukherjee Lecturer	382
Girishchandra Ghosh Lecturer	382
Doctor of Philosophy	382
Premchand Roychand Studentship	383
Die Deutsche Academie honours Drs. Tagore and Raman	383

List of Contributors and their Articles.

<i>Banerjee, Rameshchandra, M.A.</i>	
Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Bengali Grammar in the English Language	305
<i>Berry, Leland J.</i>	
Giacomo Meyerbeer	93
Manuel De Falla	257
<i>Bhattacharyya, Prof. Krishna Chandra, M.A.</i>	
The False and the Subjective	1
<i>Bhusan, V. N.</i>	
Krishnadevaraya	235
<i>Blankner, Fredericka</i>	
Epitaph (Poem)	220
Italian Yesterday (Poem)	220
<i>Chanda, S. M., M.A. (Lond.)</i>	
English Folk-lore	55
<i>Chatterjee, Mohini Mohan, M.A., B.L.</i>	
Immoral Traffic in Calcutta and its Suppression	17
A Bengali Funeral Rite	213
Love is Love (Poem)	60
Death and Love (Poem)	304
<i>Chatterjee, Nanda Lal, M.A.</i>	
Mir Qasim's Attitude towards the Private Inland Trade of the English	69

	Page.
<i>Code, David W.</i>	
Bells of Calcutta (Poem)	326
<i>Cunha, V. De Bragança</i>	
The Tragedy of Braganças in Portugal ...	199
<i>Dalal, Maher</i>	
Democracy in India	217
<i>Das, Matilal</i>	
The Essence of Rabindranath's Poetry ...	249
<i>Das, Dr. Rasvihari, M.A., Ph.D.</i>	
Relations in Modern Indian Logic ...	143
<i>Dasgupta, Amiya Kumar</i>	
The Conception of Costs	101
<i>Dutt, Sukumar</i>	
The Human Interest in the Treatment of the Super- natural	10
<i>Dayaram, Kavalram, B.A.</i>	
America and Poetry	221
<i>Deb Purkayastha, Govindachandra</i>	
The Doctrine of Maya in Samkara ...	313
<i>Ghose, G. C., Rai Bahadur, C.I.E.</i>	
The Religion of Christ and After ...	341
<i>Jagadiswarananda, Sutamī</i>	
Buddhism and Vedanta	161
<i>Khan, Imtaz Mohammad, M.A.</i>	
Some Educational Experiments in the Punjab ...	23
<i>Krishnan, K. V., M.B., D.Sc., M.R.C.P.</i>	
The Defence Mechanism of the Human Body ...	177
<i>Moreno, Dr. H. W. B., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.</i>	
The Bhagavadgita or the Song Divine (Poem) ...	277
<i>Nambyar, M. Krishna</i>	
The Hoover Doctrine	327
<i>Nelson Louise A., M.A.</i>	
Sailing (Poem)	198
Harbour in Moonlight (Poem) ...	234
<i>Oliver, Wade</i>	
Taj-Mahal (Poem)	54
<i>Pandit, Vaman H.</i>	
The Ordeal of Mirabai	189
<i>Panikar, T. K. Gopal, M.A.</i>	
Indian Ideal of Marriage	241
<i>Pinto, John J.</i>	
To (Poem)	368

<i>Rao, Dr. B. Ramachandra, M.A., Ph.D.</i>		
Central Bank and Speculation	...	33
The Economic Implications of Lausanne Conference...		123
<i>Sarvadhikari, Sir Devaprasad, Kt., M.A., LL.D.</i>		
Krishna-Gour-Alchemy (<i>Poem</i>)	...	216
Early Tales of Theosophy in India	...	271
<i>Sivaram, S., M.A., L.T.</i>		
The Philosophy of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Poetry	...	261
<i>Sur, Atulkrishna</i>		
Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Culture	...	293
<i>Wadalia, Gurdial Sing</i>		
Guru Govinda Singh	...	85

List of Articles.

America and Poetry	...	221
Bank and Speculation, Central	...	33
Bengali Grammar in the English Language, Raja		
Ram Mohan Roy's	...	305
Bhagavadgita or the Song Divine (<i>Poem</i>)	...	277
Buddhism and Vedanta	...	161
Calcutta, Bells of	...	326
Christ and After, The Religion of	...	341
Cost, The Conception of	...	101
Death and Love (<i>Poem</i>)	...	304
Epitaph (<i>Poem</i>)	...	220
Falla, Manuel De	...	257
False and the Subjective, The	...	1
Folklore, English	...	55
Funeral Rite, A Bengali	...	213
Govinda Singh, Guru	...	85
Hoover Doctrine, The	...	327
Human Body, The Defence Mechanism of the	...	177
Immoral Traffic in Calcutta and its Suppression	...	17
India, Democracy in	...	217
Indian Culture, Pre-Aryan Elements in...	...	293
Indian Logic, Relation in Modern	...	143
Krishnadevaraya	...	235
Krishna-Gour-Alchemy (<i>Poem</i>)	...	216
Lausanne Conference, The Economic Implication of...	...	123
Love is Love (<i>Poem</i>)	...	260
Marriage, Indian Ideal of	...	241

	Page.
• Maya in Sapkara, The Doctrine of	... 313
Meyerbeer, Giacomo	... 93
Mirabai, The Ordeal of	... 189
Moon-light, Harbour in (<i>Poem</i>)	... 234
Punjab, Some Educational Experiments in the	... 23
Portugal, The Tragedy of Braganças	... 199
Private Inland Trade of the English, Mir Qasim's Attitude towards the	... 69
Rabindranath's Poetry, The Essence of	... 249
Sailing (<i>Poem</i>)	... 198
Sarojini Naidu's Poetry, The Philosophy of Mrs.	... 249
Taj-Mahal (<i>Poem</i>)	... 54
Theosophy in India, Early Tales of	... 271
To (<i>Poem</i>)	... 360
Treatment of the Supernatural, The Human Interest in the	... 10
Yesterday, Italian (<i>Poem</i>)	... 220

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1932

THE NEW LOGIC AND ITS USE IN PHILOSOPHY¹

The new logic was born in the last decade of the last century. Some preliminary work was already done by De Morgan and Boole; but the first comprehensive attempts to build up the new logic were made by Frege, Peano and Schroeder. Russell and Whitehead made use of the works of these writers and constructed their great '*Principia Mathematica*.' This is the standard work of new logic and all subsequent work is based upon it and attempts either to modify it or to complete it in certain respects.

This logic came into being out of the critical attempts of mathematicians to supply a sure basis to their science. Mathematics had made great progress since the days of Leibniz and Newton. Great superstructures were raised but their foundations were not closely examined. So for about a hundred years serious attempts were made to clarify the foundational ideas of mathematics and mathematicians succeeded in defining strictly such important concepts as those of limit, differential quotient, complex number, etc. They had long been using these concepts with great success; but their success was due to their mathematical instinct and not to any logical clarity of these concepts.

When people attempted to supply a secure basis to mathematics, they did not rest content merely with showing that the

¹ This article is based on a paper of Rudolf Carnap which he published in the first issue of *Erkenntnis* under the title of "*Die alte und die neue Logik*."

different concepts of analysis could be derived from the concepts of number as the fundamental concepts of mathematics. Their attempts analyse logically the concepts of number, and thus to furnish a logical basis to arithmetic, required for their success a system of logic which, in its scope and acuteness, would be sufficient to meet these demands. Thus the efforts of mathematicians gave a strong impetus to the development of the new logic. The need for building anew the science of logic was acutely felt when certain contradictions (antinomies), first noticed in the field of mathematics, were found to be of a general logical nature. It was found that they could be overcome only by a fundamental transformation of logic itself.

The Symbolic Method.

The first thing that strikes a man when he looks through a work on new logic is the use of symbolic formulæ which look like those of mathematics. This symbolism of logic was first constructed after the pattern of mathematics but has been later on developed in a form most suited to its particular needs.

In mathematics the advantage of symbolic method over the clumsy way of stating every thing in words is quite evident. Instead of saying 'if a number is multiplied by another, the result is the same as when the second is multiplied by the first, we can more neatly and clearly express the same fact by saying 'for any numbers x, y , it is true that $x \cdot y = y \cdot x$.'

Through the use of symbolism in logic, we can secure a strictness in the chain of reasoning which is not otherwise attainable. This method prevents the surreptitious introduction of any unwarranted presupposition in our reasoning. In verbal deductions we cannot be quite sure that no such presupposition has been allowed to creep in without our notice. It is now becoming clearer everyday that theory of knowledge, which is at bottom nothing but applied logic, can as little dispense with logic as physics mathematics.

The Logic of Relations.

The new logic is distinguished from the old, not only by its symbolic character, but also by the wider scope of its subject-matter. The most important new subjects treated are (1) the theory of relational propositions and (2) the theory of variable propositional functions.

The only form of judgment known to old logic was the predicative form, 'Socrates is a man,' 'all (or some) Greeks are men.' In this form the predicate, that is a property, is ascribed to the subject. Leibniz had put forward the demand that logic should treat of the relational proposition also. By a proposition of this sort, *e.g.*, '*a* is greater than *b*,' a relation is ascribed to two or more objects. Leibniz's outline of a theory of relations was first worked out by the new logic. In old logic relational propositions were also put in the predicative form. But this makes impossible many inferences which cannot be dispensed with. One can of course say that in the proposition '*A* is greater than *B*,' the property of being greater than *B* is ascribed to *A*. Here the predicate becomes a unity and by no rule of inference we can disengage *B* from it; and so from the above proposition it is not possible to infer that *B* is smaller than *A*. In the new logic it is made possible in this way. The relation 'smaller' is defined as the converse of the relation 'greater' and the above inference rests on the general rule: 'if there is a relation between *x* and *y*, the converse of this relation holds between *y* and *x*.' Another example of a proposition which could not be proved by the old logic is this: 'if there is a conqueror, there is a conquered.' In the new logic, it follows from the logical proposition that if a relation has a fore-member (*vorderglied*) it has also a back-member (*hinterglied*).

The relational propositions are absolutely necessary, particularly for mathematical sciences. Let us take for instance the three-termed geometrical relation of betweenness (on a plane surface). The geometrical axioms "if *a* lies between *b* and *c*,

it lies between c and b '' and '' if a lies between b and c , b does not lie between a and c '' could not be properly expressed in the old logic. It would take 'lying between b and c ' and 'lying between c and b ' as predicates in the first axiom. If they are left unanalysed, it is difficult to understand how the second axiom could be got out of the first. If we take the objects, b and c , out of the predicate, then we understand that the proposition does not assign a property to an object but assigns 'a determination to three objects, that is, it is a relational proposition of three terms.

Such relations as 'between,' 'greater' are of a sort that we cannot place their terms in any serial order we like. They determine an order and the determination of order in any field depends on the use of such relations. When of a class of two objects, we know which is greater than the other, we know their order. It may be supposed that we can determine order even by predicative assertions, *i.e.*, by ascribing some quantity to one object and some other to the other. But we cannot order the objects, unless we know the order of their quantities. This is not possible without the use of an ordering relation. Thus we find that the theory of relations is indispensable for those sciences which have to do with orders and series: such as arithmetic (series of numbers), geometry (series of points) and physics (series of magnitudes, such as those of space, time and other quantitative states).

The predicative form of judgment has had very serious results in non-logical branches of knowledge also. Russell is probably right when he says that a certain wrong notion of metaphysics may be traced to this defect of logic. When every proposition must assign a predicate to the subject, ultimately there will be only one subject, the absolute, and every fact will consist in this that some attribute is ascribed to the absolute.

In physics it resulted in the substantial conception of matter which prevented the progress of this science for a long time. When the fundamental form of an assertion about space is

predicative, it can consist only in the determination of the position of a body. But the elementary fact is not the absolute position of a body, but its relation to other bodies. Leibniz saw this. Epistemologically he came to the conclusion that what is determinable is not any absolute position in space but only relative position. But his fight for the relativistic conception of space against the absolutistic one of Newton and his followers was as little successful as his demands in logic. His ideas triumphed after two hundred years in logic through the theory of relation (of Demorgan and Pierce) and in physics through the theory of relativity (of Mach and Einstein).

Logical Antinomies and the Theory of Types.

In modern mathematics certain remarkable contradictions or paradoxes were discovered which defied solution. After a close examination it was found that they were not specifically mathematical in character but were of a general logical nature. Even the new logic could not at first solve these contradictions. But Russell succeeded in eliminating these contradictions by his theory of types.

Let us take a very simple example of antinomy given by Russell. A concept is called predicable if it can be applied to itself, *e.g.*, the concept abstract is abstract. A concept is called impredicable when it cannot be applied to itself, *e.g.*, the concept virtuous is not virtuous. Now according to the law of excluded middle, the concept impredicable is either predicable or impredicable. If it is predicable, then according to the definition of 'predicable' given above, it should be applied to itself, that is; it is impredicable. If the concept impredicable is impredicable, then, since it is applied to itself, it is predicable according to the above definition. Thus both these alternatives lead to contradiction. We are made to say the opposite of what we say at first.

The theory of types says that all concepts, and so all properties and relations, must be divided into types. For the sake of simplicity let us confine ourselves to properties-only.

Here we distinguish: individuals which are not properties (null grade), the properties of the individuals (first grade), the properties of the Properties of individuals (second grade) and so forth. Let us take 'bodies' as individuals then 'quadrangular' 'red' are properties of the first grade; 'spatial property' 'colour' are properties of the second grade. According to the theory of types the properties of the first grade can be applied (truly or falsely) to individuals only. They cannot be applied to the properties of the first or any higher grade. The properties of the second grade can be applied to the properties of the first grade but they are not applicable to individuals or to the properties of the second or any higher grade. For example, if a and b are bodies, the propositions, ' a is quadrangular,' ' b is red' are true or false, in any case significant; further the propositions 'quadrangular is a spatial property,' 'red is a colour' are true. On the other hand the series of words ' a is a spatial property,' 'quadrangular is red,' 'colour is a spatial property' are neither true nor false but are quite meaningless; they are not propositions at all. Such illusory propositions would be avoided if a concept (property) of the n th grade were always applied only to the concepts of the $(n-1)$ th grade. It follows from this that the supposition, that a concept is either applicable to itself or not, is neither true nor false but quite meaningless. It is clear therefore that if the rule given by the theory of types were followed the above antinomies would never arise, for the given definition of 'predicable' would not be allowed at all.

Mathematics as a Branch of Logic.

Frege had already come to the conclusion that mathematics should be treated as a branch of logic. Russell and Whitehead carried out a systematic demonstration of this conception. It is found that every mathematical concept can be derived from the fundamental concepts of logic and every mathematical proposition (in so far as it is applicable to any object of thought what-

ever) can likewise be derived from the ultimate principles of logic.

The most important concepts of new logic (which are partly reducible to one another are the following : (1) negation, 'not,' (2) the logical connexion of two propositions, 'and,' 'or' 'if then,' (3) 'every' or 'all' 'there is,' (4) 'identical.' The possibility of deriving arithmetical concepts can be illustrated by a simple example. The number two as a cardinal number, that is, as the number of a concept can be defined in purely logical terms in the following way : "The number of a concept f is two" means "there is an x and there is a y such that x is not identical with y , and x falls under f and y falls under f and that for every z , it is true that if it falls under f ,—it is identical with x or y ." We see that in this definition we have used only the so-called logical concepts. Similarly all natural, positive, negative, real and complex numbers, fractions, etc., as well as the concepts of analysis can be derived.

As every mathematical concept is derived from logical concepts, it follows that every mathematical proposition can be translated into a proposition about purely logical concepts, and this translation is then deducible from logical principles. Let us take the arithmetical proposition ' $1+1=2$ ' as an example. Its translation into a purely logical proposition is as follows, 'If a concept f has the number 1 and a concept g the number 1, and f and g exclude each other, and the concept h is a combination of f and g , then h has the number 2.' This translation represents a proposition of the Theory of Propositional Function and can be derived from logical principles. Similarly all the remaining propositions of arithmetic and analysis, in their widest sense, can be derived as logical propositions.

The Tautological Character of Logic.

The usual distinction between a primary and a derivative proposition in logic is arbitrary. It is quite inessential for a logical proposition whether it is derived from some other

proposition; its own validity is recognised from its very form. It can be shown by a simple example.

From the two propositions p , q , we can, with the help of logical connexions, construct other propositions, such as not- p , not- q , p or q , p and q . The truth of these complex propositions does not clearly depend upon the meaning of the propositions p , q , but on their truth-value, *i.e.*, whether they are true or false. Now there can be four combinations of their truth-values. (1) p is true, and q is true, TT , (2) p is true, and q is false TF , (3) FT . (4) FF . The sense of a logical connexion is determined by the fact that with the help of this connexion the propositions built out of p and q are in some cases true and in others false. The meaning 'or' (non-exclusive), *e.g.*, is determined by the fact that the proposition ' p or q ' is true in the first three cases and false in the fourth. Combined propositions may be further combined and their truth-value determined in the same way. We may take the following proposition as an example, "(not- p and not- q) or (p or q).'' We can first determine the truth-value of its constituent parts and then the truth-value of the whole proposition. Thereby we come to a remarkable result. 'Not- p ' is true only in the third and fourth

p, q . ¹	not- p .	not- q .	not- p and not- q .	p or q .	(not- p and not- q) or (p or q).
1. TT	F	F	F	T	T
2. TF	F	T	F	T	T
3. FT	T	F	F	T	T
4. FF	T	T	T	F	T

cases, 'not- q ' is true only in the second and the fourth; therefore 'not- p and not- q ' is true only in the fourth case; ' p or q ' is true in the first three cases, and so the whole proposition '(not- p and

¹ This diagram is taken from *Erkenntnis*, Band 1, Heft 1.

not- q) or $(p \text{ or } q)$ ' is true in every case. A formula, which depends neither on the meaning nor on the truth-value of the propositions which occur in it, but is necessarily true of any propositions, whatever, true or false, is called a tautology. A tautology is true on the ground of its mere form. It can be shown that all propositions of logic and so also those of mathematics, according to the view here advocated, are tautological.

If we are told "It rains (here now) or it snows," we learn something about reality, for of the possible alternatives, some are excluded and some others are left as open. The alternatives are : (1) it rains and it snows; (2) it rains but does not snow; (3) it snows but does not rain; (4) it does not rain and it does not snow. The above proposition excludes the fourth alternative but leaves the first three open. If on the contrary a tautology is asserted, no possibility is excluded, all are left as open. From a tautology therefore we can learn nothing about reality, for instance, when we are told 'It rains or it does not rain.'

The tautologies do not say anything and are empty of content. But they do not need to be trivial, for in many cases their tautological character cannot be recognised at the first sight.

As all propositions of logic are tautological and have no content, it is not possible to conclude from them anything about the nature of reality. So there is no justification for the sort of Metaphysics that some philosophers (*e.g.*, Hegel) claim to develop purely from logical principles.

Mathematics, being a branch of logic is also tautological. To express in Kantian language, the propositions of mathematics are analytical, there is no synthetic apriori proposition. Thus apriorism loses its strongest support. Empiricism, the conception namely that there are no synthetic apriori propositions, found great difficulties in explaining mathematics which even Mill could not overcome. They are resolved when we suppose that mathematical propositions are neither empirical nor synthetical apriori but are analytical.

A Unitary Science.

Although the standard work on new logic is written in English, it does not appear to be much utilized for philosophical purposes in the English-speaking countries, except in a few writings of Russell. It is now being very vigorously put to philosophical use by a body of philosophical writers in Austria known under the name of Viennese circle (Wiener Kreis).¹ Wittgenstein, Rudolf Carnap and Moritz Schlick are some of its leading writers, of whom Wittgenstein was a student of Russell and Carnap too is very much influenced by Russell's way of thinking.²

According to these writers pure logic with its formal problems is to be distinguished from applied logic, *i.e.*, the logical analysis of the concepts and propositions of different sciences. In this too new logic has achieved good results.

An analysis of scientific concepts shows that all concepts, whether they belong, according to the usual division, to natural sciences or to psychological or social sciences, go back to a common basis. They can be traced back or reduced to some root-concepts which relate to the given or the immediate contents of experience. First, the concepts of individual psychology, *i.e.*, those that relate to the psychical processes of the knowing subject can be reduced to the given. The concepts of Physics can be reduced to the concepts of individual Psychology, because a physical process is determinable principally through perception. Out of the physical concepts can be constructed the concepts of other minds which will relate to the processes of other subjects. Lastly the concepts of social sciences can be derived from the above concepts.

¹ This school is not even mentioned in Dr. Tudor Jones's recent book '*Contemporary Thought of Germany*'. The *Monist* published a small article on this school in its last October issue. Von Aster gives a brief account of this school in his paper '*Les aspects principaux de la philosophie allemande contemporaine*' published in *Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale*, April-June, 1931.

See on Carnap's Philosophy, 'Logic and Realism' in *Monist*, October, 1929.

Thus we get a genealogy of concepts (a system of constitution) in which every concept of science must find its place according to its derivation from other concepts and ultimately from the given. The system of constitution further shows that every proposition of science is, in a similar way, ultimately a proposition about the given (methodological positivism).

The fundamental concepts of the comprehensive system of constitution are physical, that is, they relate to the spatio-temporal processes only. The psychological and sociological concepts can be reduced to them according to the principle of behaviourism (methodological materialism).

The methodological positivism and the methodological materialism have nothing to do with the metaphysical positivism and the metaphysical materialism. The metaphysical positivism speaks of the reality of the given and the metaphysical materialism speaks of the reality of the physical. We are not saying anything of the kind. We are concerned merely with the derivation of concepts; and so, although metaphysical positivism is inconsistent with metaphysical materialism, the given (*sensa*) and the physical being different, our advocacy of both methodological positivism and methodological materialism does not involve any contradiction. Our positivism satisfies the point of view of epistemology, as the validity of a piece of knowledge is shown by tracing it to the given; our materialism satisfies the point of view of positive sciences, as all concepts are traced to the physical the only field which makes thoroughgoing conformity to law and inter-subjective knowledge possible.

The logical analysis with the help of new logic leads to the conception of a unitary science. There are not different sciences with fundamentally different methods and different sources of knowledge but there is only one science. In it all knowledge finds its place as fundamentally knowledge of the same sort. Its apparent difference is due to the different modes of expression.

Elimination of Metaphysics.

It follows from the tautological character of logic that all inferences are also tautological in character. The conclusion always says the same thing as, or less than, the premises, only in different words. One state of things (one atomic fact) cannot be inferred from another state of things. From this follows the impossibility of all metaphysics that will infer, from the facts of experience, the being of something transcendent, which lies beyond experience, some thing-in-itself, unconditional and absolute. There can be no strict inference which will lead us from experience to something beyond experience. The metaphysical chain of reasoning must therefore contain many necessary breaks and concepts are introduced which can be traced neither to the given nor to the physical.

With the help of the strict methods of new logic a sort of purification of the sciences can be undertaken. Every proposition of science must be shown to have a meaning. It will be found either that it is a tautology or contradiction (negation of tautology), in which case the proposition will belong to logic, inclusive of mathematics, or that it speaks of a content, *i.e.*, it is neither tautological nor contradictory but is an empirical proposition. It is then traceable to the given and so fundamentally determinable as true or false. There are no questions which are fundamentally unanswerable. There is no philosophy, as a system of peculiar propositions which are different from the propositions of sciences. To do the work of philosophy is nothing else than to clarify the concepts and propositions of science through logical analysis. The instrument for this work is supplied by the new logic.

R. DAS

LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

PART II.

7. *The Report of the Decentralisation Commission.*

The next stage in the history of administrative areas is opened by the Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation. The most remarkable of its findings was the need for the preservation of the Indian village as a community and for preventing its further disintegration. The village was the one area in which the people had the consciousness that they were a community with common ideals and requirements. This consciousness was absent in all other bigger areas or was present only in a small degree. It was the duty of the Government to develop and foster it, and the setting up of a panchayat—a separate local authority—was one effective means for realising this end. It was not so much in the interests of efficient and economical local government—although these interests were equally predominant—that the village should be made the starting point in fixing the areas for local government as in the interests of village solidarity which has been a wholesome feature of the life of Indian People. “The foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people with the administration must be the village, as being an area of much greater antiquity than administrative creations such as Tahsils, and one in which the people are known to one another, and have interests which converge on definite and well-recognised objects like water-supply and drainage. It is probable, indeed, that the scant success of the efforts hitherto made to introduce a system of rural self-government is largely due to the fact that we have not built up from the bottom.”¹ This rediscovery of the place that the

¹ Report of the Decentralisation Commission, para. 699.

village occupies in the economy of the country is the most significant and far-reaching of the findings of the Commission.

This carried along with it the recommendation that the union as an administrative area should be abolished.¹ It was neither a natural nor a popular unit, and it did not serve any useful purpose in the system of local government.

The Commission was also decidedly in favour of a smaller jurisdiction for the taluk board and advocated that it should be identical with the revenue taluk. In doing this it mainly reiterated the arguments put forward in the resolution of Lord Ripon.

Some of the witnesses² that appeared before the Commission pleaded for the abolition of the District Boards. They pointed out that the functions that these boards discharged were few and that the substantial portion of the work entrusted to local authorities was looked after by the taluk boards. The district boards were therefore superfluous and there was no justification for their retaining one half of the proceeds of the land cess. Their abolition, it was argued, would enrich the taluk boards and enable them to turn out better work.

On the other hand a fairly large number of witnesses advocated the retention of the district boards over and above the taluk boards. They repeated most of the arguments put forward in 1882 by the committee on local self-government. They also stated that at the district headquarters there were many persons whose talents and abilities were of a high order and whose services should be secured for the cause of local government and that this would be possible only when the district board was retained; otherwise all that talent would be wasted. A more powerful argument was that the resources of the district board were larger than those of any single taluk board and that the former alone would be in a position to maintain a high standard

of efficiency among the technical staff of engineers, etc., as it could afford to pay higher salaries to them. Economy and efficiency therefore required the continuance of the district board.¹

The Commission agreed with the latter view and recommended the retention of both the district and taluk boards.² It is curious that in those days no one argued for the abolition of the taluk boards in this Presidency though this opinion gained ground later on. The claims of smaller jurisdictions were uppermost in the minds of all those that interested themselves in the work of local boards.

8. *The Resuscitation of the Village Community.*

The period between 1909 and 1920 witnessed a fierce controversy over the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission especially in regard to the resuscitation of the village community. The Minto-Morley reforms brought into the legislative council a number of publicists who had practical experience of the working of local boards and who also made a systematic study of the subject. They were keen on the passing of legislation in favour of village panchayats. But there was a good deal of dilatory correspondence between the Imperial and Provincial Governments on the several conclusions of the Royal Commission and it took six years for the Imperial Government to define its policy in regard to local self-government. A resolution on this was issued by that Government in 1915 and this favoured the formation of village panchayats in selected areas with only permissive powers and limited authority in matters of taxation. It also suggested that in each village selected for the purpose there should be a single panchayat for all functions instead of different panchayats for different duties.³

¹ Evidence of Mr. P. Rajaratna Mudaliar and Mr. H. W. Gillman.

² Report of the Commission, para. 737.

³ Government of India Resolution of 1915.

The Madras Government took action on the Resolution of the Government of India by passing an order¹ calling on district authorities to organise unions under the Local Boards Act in villages having a population of more than three thousand and informal panchayats in selected villages with a population of three thousand and less. This step was unsatisfactory for two reasons. It proposed to increase the number of unions which were condemned as unsatisfactory and unworkable. Even after the issue of the order the number of unions increased very slowly. It was 464 in 1916-17 and it went up to only 572 in 1920-21. This was evidence—if any further evidence was wanted—that the union had no natural strength behind it. A second reason was that the Government order proposed to start only informal panchayats in villages. These panchayats were not based on any statute. The panchayatdars were to be selected by the revenue authorities not as the result of any regular election* by the inhabitants of the village but after informally consulting them and finding out their general sense. The panchayats had no statutory authority to collect taxes or enforce on the villagers any rules regarding sanitation and public health. They were expected to use their influence and persuasive powers to raise subscriptions from the public for the work they proposed to do. There was also no statutory guarantee that they would be given contributions by the other local boards or by the provincial Government. With handicaps like these the informal panchayats were expected to revive the community life in the village.

This attitude of the Government did not commend itself to the public or to their representatives in the legislature. The whole order was condemned and in the resolutions² moved by the non-official representatives in the legislative council, it was clearly pointed out that unions whose number it was proposed to increase would not fulfil the purpose for which panchayats

¹ G. O. No. 1410 L, dated 2nd October, 1915.

² Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council, 23rd November, 1915; 3rd February, 1916; 23rd May, 1917; 3rd April, 1919.

were advocated; that the union under the Local Boards Act had only a limited scope of usefulness and that it was not in a position to attend to agricultural improvements, the settlement of petty disputes and the regulation of communal waste lands, etc., in which the villagers were really interested and that the increase in the number of unions would not materially improve the situation. They also argued that informal panchayats were bound to fail for the reasons already referred to and that that failure would be interpreted by Government as a sign that self-government could not thrive in Indian villages. Moreover the number of villages with a population of 3,000 is small and the experiment would hardly touch even five per cent. of the rural population. Of course the Government wanted to move cautiously. Its object was to wait and see how the experiment of informal panchayats worked and to pass later on the necessary legislation for starting statutory panchayats.

Within three years the Government also became convinced that informal panchayats could not work successfully and that the experiment was doomed to fail. It therefore had a Village Panchayats Act passed in 1920 thus giving effect in a way to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. In doing this it was influenced by the Government of India Resolution of 1918 and the report of Montagu and Chelmsford on constitutional reforms.

The Village Panchayats Act was an enabling measure making it possible for the inhabitants of any village who had sufficient public spirit to have a panchayat constituted in the village exercising statutory powers in all matters relating to sanitation, protection, medical relief, housing, education, etc. It was defective in the sense that it did not call on Government to constitute panchayats compulsorily in all the villages of the Presidency. Even after the passing of the Act most of the villages went without a community-government of their own. But there was a wide scope under the Act for the restoration of the ancient village life in all those places in which disintegration

did not proceed too far. By the end of 1924-25, 579 panchayats were started¹ and their number increased greatly.

Another recommendation of the Commission on Decentralisation was to constitute a separate board for each revenue taluk. This also was made the subject of a number of resolutions in the Legislative Council and several members wanted that to achieve this object the Government should increase the number of taluk boards.² They showed that the jurisdiction of some taluk boards was unwieldy and that it extended in some cases over an area of nearly 2,000 square miles. They also pointed out that the new experiment of having non-official presidents on which the Government embarked would have greater chance of success if the area over which the presidents had to tour and carry on personal inspection was reduced. This reduction would also help in securing for the boards the services of persons with local knowledge and experience and make the people pay the local taxes more willingly. The Government was not however prepared to constitute each revenue taluk into a separate area mainly because of the poverty of several taluks. They also agreed to increase the number of boards wherever the financial conditions were favourable and in pursuance of this policy created fifteen additional boards by 1919-20. The number in that year was 98 compared with 83 of the year in which the Decentralisation Commission issued its report.

9. *The Areas under the Act of 1920.*

The famous declaration of August, 1917, in the House of Commons, the issue of a new resolution on local self-government by the Government of India in 1918 and the Report on Constitutional Reforms by Montagu and Chelmsford were responsible

¹ Administration Report on Village Panchayats for 1924-25.

² Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council, 29th March, 1915.

for the passing of the Local Boards Act of 1920. It did not bring about any alterations in administrative areas. All the older units—the Union, the Taluk and the District were retained. It may appear strange that the Act provided for the “Union” also even though it was condemned on all sides. Several wanted to abolish it¹ on the ground that it was unnecessary in view of the legislation on village panchayats and that there was really no room for two kinds of village government. But the Government was of the view that unions should be formed in bigger villages which had some urban characteristics and which had therefore possibilities of developing into municipalities in course of time while panchayats would be formed in places which were entirely rural in character. This was of course a distinction without a difference and for the time being the Government triumphed. As regards the jurisdiction of the taluk board the Government was not in favour of making it coterminous with the revenue taluk in spite of the resolution of Lord Ripon, the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and the debates in the Legislative Council. As in the Act of 1884 the Government reserved to itself the discretion to define the limits of a ‘taluk’ for purposes of the Act. One of the new arguments brought against each revenue taluk being made a separate area was that it would be difficult to get in each taluk a sufficiently large number of persons qualified to be elected to the boards and preside over them and that the constitution of larger areas would give the electorate a wider field for the choice of their representatives and presidents. But in practice the new Government which in matters of local self-government was presided over by a minister who correctly understood the views of the public, increased the number of taluk boards to 125 by 1922-23 setting up a separate board in each revenue taluk in very many cases.

¹ Mr. Siva Rao's amendment, M.L.C.P., 20th September, 1920.

10. *The Bill of 1928 : the Abolition of Taluk Boards.*

Experience of the working of local boards from 1921 onwards reopened the controversy as to whether there was need for both taluk and district boards in any scheme of rural self-government. In contrast with the sentiments expressed in favour of taluk boards in the past the opinion now gained ground that they should be abolished and that all functions of local government should be entrusted to the district boards. This view was the outcome of the financial deficits that several taluk boards had to face and the difficulty they experienced in maintaining their financial equilibrium. It was also the opinion of many that much was unnecessarily spent on the travelling allowances and batta of the presidents and the members of the boards. The question therefore arose whether it was worth while to keep on boards which could not balance their budgets and which showed a tendency to incur wasteful expenditure. Another ground on which the abolition of the taluk boards was urged was that in every part of the world people were beginning to realise that larger administrative areas were both economical and efficient and that roads, schools, hospitals and sanitary services could all be maintained at a higher standard if the resources were centralised and pooled under the control of one institution instead of being scattered among a number of smaller bodies. This was the application to the field of local government the theories of large-scale organisation characteristic of all modern industries.

The consequence of the new view was that in 1928 the Government circulated a bill to amend the Local Boards Act of 1920 with the object of abolishing the taluk boards. This bill, though sound in principle, roused considerable opposition from several quarters. The opposition itself was the result of the working of the new political forces in the country released in consequence of the enfranchisement of a large number of

people under the reformed government of the country and of the general political unrest and agitation since 1920. To the members of the middle classes and especially of the landed gentry success at elections became a symbol of pride and honour. The existence of the taluk boards afforded numerous opportunities for ambitious politicians to obtain this success. To them the abolition of the taluk boards meant the stifling of their desire for power and place.

- The opposition was also based on higher grounds. It was said that the abolition of the taluk boards would strike at the very root of self-government which required for its success small areas the inhabitants of which knew each other and were therefore in a position to understand the merits of the candidates standing for election decide for themselves as to who were worthy of their confidence and also watch closely and carefully the work of their representatives on the boards. Self-government outside the village was something of a novelty to the people of the country and in the earliest stages of their being trained in the art of self-government and intimate contact between the electorate and its representatives was essential. The taluk being small in area fulfilled this purpose and its abolition, it was feared, would widen the breach between the people and their representatives and increase the evil influence of the canvassing agent and the professional politician.

There were also in each district large numbers of persons who were prepared to render disinterested service in the field of local government. They were not of the type of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians but men actuated by the highest motives of patriotism. It was argued that to give them adequate opportunity for serving the country the number of self-governing institutions should be large. The existence of taluk boards served this purpose in an admirable manner. Their abolition would result in the denial to such persons of opportunities for service and all their political talent becoming wasted. One district board would be too small to admit all the reserving

members of this class. This argument of course assumed that there were many persons of this sort in each district and that they could become useful members of the community only by occupying a seat on the local board. But both these assumptions are not quite valid.

A fourth argument was that the abolition of the taluk boards would lead to too much centralisation of authority in the district bringing in its train very many evils associated with centralisation. It was feared that the work of administration would become too heavy for the non-official president and that the whole machinery would break down. It was also apprehended that that might result in power passing into the hands of the permanent staff of the district board and weaken the authority of the elected president and of the board itself.

11. *The Bill of 1929.*

The ministry of the day ultimately yielded to the pressure to the above arguments, withdrew the bill circulated in 1928 and introduced a fresh bill in 1929 which was diametrically opposed to the previous bill in the matter of provisions relating to taluk boards. The ministry cared little for principles and was guided entirely by expediency. In the new bill it proposed the abolition of the taluk boards but this was done not with the object of concentrating all authority in the single district board but of diffusing it among a number of circle boards, each of the old taluk boards now being subdivided into a number of circle boards. Its stand-point in 1928 was that small jurisdictions were wasteful and inefficient; and in 1929 it proposed through the new bill the perpetuation in a worse form of all this waste and inefficiency by creating still smaller jurisdictions.

A welcome feature of the new bill was its proposal to abolish the union, to incorporate the village panchayats in the local boards and repeal the Village Panchayats Act of 1920. The Government realised that there was no scope for two kinds of

local authorities in the villages and the distinction which it previously drew between rural villages and urban villages was not quite correct. It now provided for one uniform kind of local government for all the villages in which the Local Boards Act, might be enforced. There was also a strong feeling that the number of village panchayats would increase at a more rapid pace if one statute governed local government in rural areas.

The select committee which considered the bill did not •favour the substitution of circle boards for taluk boards. They stated that, “in their opinion there should ordinarily be a taluk board for every revenue taluk and the splitting up of the revenue taluks for purposes of local administration is most undesirable. The Government have however been empowered to constitute a taluk board for more revenue taluks than one for reasons to be specified.....” A second important change the committee proposed was the introduction of a provision enjoining on the Government the duty of establishing a panchayat in every revenue village having a population of not less than one thousand people. It is unfortunate that this recommendation was not accepted by the Government and the legislature primarily on the ground that there were thousands of such villages in the presidency and the constitution of panchayats for all of them could not possibly be effected as soon as the Act was passed or even for a considerable time after that.¹

12. *The Present Areas.*

The amending bill was passed into law in 1930; and the local boards in the presidency are now governed by the Act of 1920 as amended in 1930. Under the amended Act the administrative areas are of three grades: (1) The first is the village. This is good so far as it goes. But it would have been

¹ The dissenting minute of Dr..P. Subbarayan and two other members to the report of the Select Committee, para. 2.

better if a provision had been introduced making it obligatory on Government to constitute a panchayat in every village within a particular period of time. Otherwise there is the danger of complete disintegration overtaking most of the villages and many of them being denied the benefit of measures promoting their health and general welfare. The only relieving feature is that district boards are expected to have a Panchayat Officer for the district and if one is appointed he might devote much of his attention to the organising of new panchayats at a speedy rate. (2) The second administrative area is the 'Taluk.' According to the Act, "Every revenue taluk shall be deemed to be a taluk for the purposes of this Act.¹ There is therefore a prospect of a further increase in the number of taluk boards. The principle enunciated by Lord Ripon so early as 1882 now received statutory recognition. The Government is empowered to alter under special circumstances the area constituting a taluk.² (3) The third is the "District" which is identical with the revenue district.³

13. *The Future. The Case for the Abolition of Taluk Boards.*

The above historical survey has brought out clearly the various factors under the influence of which the Government fixed the administrative areas for purposes of local government in rural parts from time to time. From the beginning logic had to make compromise with administrative requirements and practical necessities. The question cannot be regarded as having been settled finally. The need for three areas has not been established once for all. A calm consideration of the subject and the experience of actual working of the boards may bring about a modification in the number of areas and

¹ Clause (1) of section (4).

² " (2) " "

³ " (7) " (3).

eventually lead to the abolition of the taluk and the retention only of the village and the district.

The reasons which impel one to make such a forecast are easily understood. (1) In any scheme of local government in this presidency the basis must be the village. It is the only natural unit of administration. It has district needs and a traditional life of its own and this makes it necessary that it should have a separate local authority to manage its affairs. This is not the place to draw a list of all such affairs but it must be conceded that wherever a group of inhabitants reside together some affairs in the regulation of which they have a common interest will arise and this is bound to be the case with the Indian village. The sanitary needs of the village, the proper maintenance of its streets, the control of communal porambokes, the provision of gardens and parks and the management of the several other petty matters in which an Indian village is interested require the establishment of a panchayat in the locality. No centralised and outside authority can look properly after these needs. As a community the Indian village has not only a long past but also a longer future before it. In spite of the growth of individualism and the break-up of the old self-sufficiency under the influence of modern competitive civilisation the village is still a community for agricultural purposes. There is also no prospect whatever of the peasants leaving the common village site and living in scattered houses in their fields. There is also at present a strong force at work which tries to bring about what is called rural reconstruction whose central feature is a revival of what is best in the Indian village community. "Back to the village" is becoming the cry of a larger number of people. Everything therefore points to the conclusion that the village is bound to be a separate administrative entity in future. It is the only natural entity and all those factors that have been responsible for the resuscitation of the village in the recent past will work with greater vigour in future until panchayats are universally established. In the interests of training people in self-government.

also the village should be recognised as a separate administrative area. It will give to every man and woman the first lessons in that field and give opportunities for as many as possible to obtain the necessary training.

(2) But there are certain functions of local government which cannot be efficiently discharged by the village panchayat because of the poverty of its resources. While, therefore, the sentiment that the individuality of the village deserves preservation is to be respected it is neither desirable nor practicable to make the panchayat responsible for the management of all local affairs. It will be a difficult task for every village to provide itself with a school or connect itself with roads with the neighbouring villages and markets, or have a theatre or cinema of its own. For these and other costly purposes a unit larger than the village with command over better finances is required. And it is with this object that the Act has provided for the taluk and the district boards.

The functions however of the taluk and the district boards are identical; and whatever distinction there exists in the Act is not based on any rational principle. If panchayats become universal—and the hope is that this will be realised—all those functions that the panchayats are not able to look after may be discharged either by the taluk board or by the district board. Both these institutions are unnecessary. Because they exist at present the Act has brought about an artificial division of duties between elementary and secondary education—the taluk boards having control over the former and the district board over the latter. But it will be better that this distinction is abolished and all education treated as a single course. And as a matter of fact district boards are managing elementary education to the extent to which lower classes are attached to secondary schools. With respect to medical relief the inhabitants of a locality are expected to look to the district boards in certain cases and to the taluk boards in other cases. Here again the distinction drawn is not natural and it would be better if one institution alone is

made responsible for all kinds of medical relief so that the people might know where the mistake lies in case anything goes wrong. Similarly libraries, markets, fairs, festivals, choultries, roads, etc., are placed at present within the jurisdiction of both taluk and district boards and it will be a hard and fruitless task to classify these into taluk and district institutions. "It is clearly contrary to the common sense that there should in any area be two sets of authorities dealing with indistinguishable problems. The result of such a system is that no single body is in a position to study the needs of the whole area in relation to the financial burden which it can and ought to be asked to bear."¹ Under these circumstances the better course is to do away with either the taluk or the district board and retain only one of them.

(3) In deciding the issue as to which of these should be abolished two or three points have to be kept in mind. The retention of the district board is inevitable for the discharge of certain functions which require large financial resources. The construction and maintenance of the trunk roads and of the bridges and causeways of a costly character; the undertaking of remunerative enterprises requiring a large initial outlay like railways, tramways and motor-bus services; the equipment and management of hospitals with specialist medical staff are not within the reach of most of the taluk boards. And if the policy of having a taluk board for each revenue taluk is pursued to its logical conclusion the position will become much worse. For the discharge therefore of duties like these the district board has to be retained. There are also other matters in the regulation of which a high degree of uniformity is necessary. All preventive and remedial measures connected with epidemics and the proper enforcement of sanitary rules through the district health-officer and his staff come under this category. The district board is better fitted to look after these than the taluk boards.

¹ "Relief to the Tax-payer," by Sir Kingsley Wood, p. 30.

Considerations of efficiency also point out in the same direction. Administrative efficiency depends to a considerable extent on the qualifications of the staff employed for carrying on work in the different departments like engineering, medicine, sanitation, education, etc. A qualified staff cannot under present circumstances be obtained unless high and attractive salaries are paid, unless provision is made for better emoluments and prospects for people with long services and merit and opportunities are created for cultivating abilities of a specialised nature. The taluk board will not be in the same favourable position to do all this as the district board. The present practice of the district board recruiting the expert staff and permitting them to do the work of the taluk boards has created a good deal of friction between the two authorities. The remedy therefore lies in doing away with the taluk boards.

(4) From the standpoint of economy also the abolition of the taluk boards appears desirable. There is at present a large amount of wasteful expenditure on the travelling allowances of the members and presidents of taluk boards and the maintenance of the clerical and the managerial staff. Figures for any year will show that the proportion of the cost of the management to the total expenditure of the taluk boards is far higher than the corresponding proportion in the case of district boards. For instance in 1928-29, the total expenditure of the taluk boards in the presidency—which is a fair index of the work turned out by them—was Rs. 1,65,36,928 and the cost of management was Rs. 11,16,013 which is 6·6 per cent. of the total expenditure. The expenditure incurred by the district boards in the same year was Rs. 3,52,03,827 while the cost of management was Rs. 8,95,783 which is only 2·56 per cent. of the total expenditure. This shows that the percentage of expenditure on mere management incurred by the taluk boards is two and half times as much as the percentage in the case of district boards. It is a proof of the wastefulness involved in administration by the taluk boards. Their abolition would release funds which could be

spent to more useful purpose while the abolition of the district will not bring any net gain under the cost of management.

(5) Two possible objections to this conclusion may be raised. One is that the work will become too heavy for the district board if it takes on itself all the responsibilities which it is sharing at present with a number of taluk boards. But it is not an insuperable objection. It will only mean that there should be a change in the machinery of district board administration. At present the president of the district board not only presides over its meetings but is also its chief executive officer. He is a non-official who has to attend to his own professional duties as a lawyer, a landlord or a merchant. He has not much time, even if he has the inclination, to look carefully into all the details of administration over which he as the chief executive officer is expected to exercise control. Much depends on the advice he receives from the manager of the office and from the friends that belong to his party. With the increase in the work of the district board it will become much more difficult for the president to carry on his executive duties and he will have to become more dependent on the manager. The solution is to recognise the impossibility of the president to discharge his duties satisfactorily even under the present circumstances and give him relief by appointing a paid responsible officer to look to all the details of administration. To thrust onerous duties on honorary officers is an anomaly. There are limits to the work that may be expected of such persons. Efficiency requires that paid and competent men should be appointed to do work on which much time and labour have to be spent.¹ The distinction between the sphere of the paid worker and the honorary worker is not clearly understood as yet in this country ; and if it is properly understood there can't be any objection to the appointment of a paid officer to

¹ Minutes of Dissent by Satyamurthi, Venkatarangamnacow, Srinivasa Iyengar, etc., to the Report of the Select Committee on Local Boards Amending Bill, 1929.

administer the affairs of the district board while the determination of the broad lines of policy may be retained in the hands of the president and the members of the board. This is the practice in many advanced countries like France and Germany and it is being resorted to in several other countries like the United States of America.¹

A second change in machinery which will lighten the burden of work that will fall on the district board is the appointment of committees of the board with a number of co-opted experts to settle the technical issues arising in the course of administration and offer advice to the board as a whole. This device is not made use of to any extent at present. A resort to it will give much relief to the board. Reference to this will be made again in the chapter on the "Constitution of Local Boards."

A second objection that may be raised against the abolition of the taluk boards is that it will narrow the field for self-government. But this is not a sound objection. With the establishment of panchayats in an increasing number of villages the field for training in the art of self-government is bound to become wider. As regards opportunities that should be kept open for all talented people to render service it has to be noted that they will have the required opportunity in their own villages where they can become members of the panchayat and in the district board to which they might have the chance of being elected. Almost all the district boards as at present constituted may have a maximum strength of fifty-two and this is a sufficiently large number for attracting the best available talent to service in the cause of local government.

There is another misconception to which reference has to be made in this connection. Many are apt to think that it is only by occupying a seat on a local board that one will be in a position to render useful service to his neighbours in matters

¹ Report of the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission, Vol. I, pp. 309-10. (Madras) Local Self-Government Gazette, Vol. I, p. 800; Vol. II, p. 89.

of local government. But this is not true. There are many other equally useful and necessary methods of service. The creation of a sound public opinion on matters of local administration, the educating of the electorate on their duties, responsibilities and rights, the conducting on impartial lines of journals devoted to the subjects and a free and fearless criticism of the work of the boards are several other means by which any honest citizen could be of service to his neighbourhood. One therefore need not think that with the abolition of the taluk boards the field for service in the cause of local self-government will become much narrower. On the other hand elections to too many boards and institutions may create a prejudice against elections in general and lessen the enthusiasm for self-government.

The work therefore for the future lies in the abolition of the taluk boards, the spread of the system of village panchayats and suitable alterations in the machinery of district board administration. This will reduce the administrative areas into two, *viz.*, the village and the district and make the work of local government simple, economical and efficient.

M. VENKATARANGAIYA

AUTUMN SUNSET

The autumn sun ailed down below the rim
Of silver streams. It trembled for a while
Like birds that preen their wings for flight on slim
And swaying sprays—then flashed a golden smile.
It launched itself to heaven's vault and shattered
The lowered vapors of the night and made
A group of brilliant colors float which scattered
About the sky as if on dress parade.
The faintly dancing rays crept through the panes
Of castles and of prisons where they plashed
Upon the floors in floods of gold and stains
Of purple made a bed where stars were dashed.
Then sunset tapped upon the sleepy land
And spilled a lullaby of golden sand.

LOUISE A. NELSON

SOME PROBLEMS OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS¹

There are many a saying in the English language which in the course of your student career you have heard and heard till they have lost all the richness and the grandeur of their original meanings and have come to behave like the most trivial and commonplace utterances. Yet I do not think that I can introduce to you the subject-matter of my talk to-day in a better way than by referring to such an oft-repeated current saying. In this universe there is nothing great but man and in man there is nothing great but mind. Substitute the word 'wondrous' for 'great' and you will at once have a glimpse into the sentiments of those who have sufficiently studied psycho-analysis. For wonderful indeed are the ways of working of the human mind, as psycho-analysis reveals them to us; the more you study the deeper grows the wonder. I can only indicate some of these ways to you in this talk. But I doubt not that in the end, when the questions that will naturally arise in your mind during the course of this talk, have all been answered and the hesitations that you will probably feel in accepting the conclusions have been overcome, you will heartily join with me in the appreciation of the fascinating charms of psycho-analysis as a subject of study and of the immeasurable services rendered to suffering humanity by its great founder Sigmund Freud.

Before entering into the subject proper let me tell you at the outset something about the way in which psycho-analysis first made its appearance on the stage of the scientific world. It was during the treatment of an hysterical patient in collaboration with Dr. Breuer in Vienna that Freud first came to realise the extremely important part played by forgotten incidents of

¹ A talk to the students through the Radio arranged by the State Broadcasting Co. on 5th April, 1932.

one's own life in the causation of the symptoms of mental diseases. That led to investigations into the nature of forgotten episodes of life in general and through these to the discovery of the principles of the working of the mind as a whole, normal or abnormal. The discoveries were so novel and so startling in nature that they at first gave a severe shock to all alike irrespective of caste, creed, profession or religion. The moralists, the custodians of the social conscience, denounced the discoveries as demoralising teachings, the priests violently condemned them as profane preachings, the professional psychologists ignored altogether these epoch-making contributions and kept their text books free from this sacrilegious contamination. Even the medical men showed nothing but supreme indifference for the doctrines developed and had nothing but supercilious contempt for the man who developed them. That was the first reaction. Freud, convinced of the truth of his newly discovered principles waited patiently. He collected facts and more facts, heaped evidence upon evidence from the domain of normal life, from anthropology, from mythology, etc., not to speak of the personal life histories of the numerous patients that came to him for the relief of their sufferings. The facts told, the evidences had their effects. Gradually many were convinced and some began to follow the pioneer on his way to the subterranean depths of the mind. Paradoxical as it may sound, in that abyss they found light which illumined the dark patches of our conscious life. The number of such followers slowly increased. It is still increasing as is evidenced from the founding of psycho-analytical societies in countries far and near. It can never be expected that all opposition to it will cease. If the doctrine of organic evolution, dealing with things tangible can be still opposed and a professor teaching it be expelled from a university of an enlightened country, still more then can psycho-analysis be challenged because it deals with things that are not tangible. But Truth has its own way of establishing itself. It may begin with a minority of one but ends always with the majority at its

side. So it has been with truths of physical science, so it is on the way of being with truths of this new mental science. The positions of psycho-analysis now therefore is this : All opposition to it born out of mere pride, passion and prejudice has died a natural death, or what remains of it is negligible and not to be seriously considered. There are differences of opinion as to this or that particular interpretation, as to one way of approaching a particular problem or another, etc. And such differences, it should be emphasised are always welcome in the field of real scientific work. It is for the ventilation and discussion of such differences, as also for the organisation of knowledge hitherto obtained that scientific journals exist. And let me mention there are numbers of such highly scientific and technical journals to-day devoted only to psycho-analysis, ably conducted with the help of psycho-analysts from all parts of the globe.

I have so far only indicated to you in very general terms how originating from one centre, *viz.*, Vienna, and from one man, *viz.*, Freud, psycho-analysis has gradually spread itself all over the world. How the visions of Truth seen by Freud have been turned into realities, and tentative hypotheses framed by him have been established as theories is a story as interesting as it is instructive. To mention only a few workers. Abraham, Ferenczi, Rank, Eitingon, on the Continent, Jones, Stoddart, etc., in England, Brill, White, and others in America, Dr. Bose, Col. Berkeley-Hill in India are names that stand for solid achievement in this field of investigation. Many of them have confirmed previous discoveries and contributed valuable new materials which have made the foundation of psycho-analysis stronger and securer. It is for their activities that psycho-analysis has now become a household word all over the world. Had it not been for the efforts of Dr. G. Bose and the clear and far-sighted vision of the great Sir Asutosh psycho-analysis would not have been entered as a subject of study in the University curriculum and consequently a student's hour-of

the Broadcasting programme would not have been devoted to-day to psycho-analysis.

From the consideration of these external affairs relating to the origin and growth of psycho-analysis, let us now turn our attention to matters concerning its internal structure and to the stuff it is made of. What is really psycho-analysis ? What does it deal with ? What are those astounding and epoch-making conclusions that I have so feelingly referred to above ? Are these really justified and can they be verified ? What are its theoretical presuppositions and is the logic behind these assumptions correct and true ? Is psycho-analysis of any practical use to individual persons or of any special benefit to society in general ? Satisfactory answers to questions like these may be legitimately demanded of any branch of knowledge that claims a footing in the modern scientific world. You have every right therefore to put such pertinent questions to those who are championing psycho-analysis. It is my proud privilege therefore to answer on their behalf the questions which I assume to have been put by you.

What is psycho-analysis ? Literally it signifies only an analysis of the psyche or mind. But the word analysis is not used here in that general sense. It is a special kind of analysis carried out by following a special method. Broadly it is that analysis which traces conscious thoughts or ideas, acts or feelings, to their roots in the depths of the unconscious mind. The word psycho-analysis however, is sometimes used to denote the special *method* employed in such analysis ; sometimes it refers to the *findings* obtained by following such a method. We have no quarrel with these various meanings ascribed to the word provided that each strictly adheres in theory to concepts which lie at the basis of psycho-analysis and follows in practice a technique founded on the assumption of that basis. But I would like to warn you strongly against the terrible and often mischievous misrepresentation that is frequently made of the facts and principles of psycho-analysis in drawing room conversations,

in popular parlance, and even in the pages of monthly or weekly journals. The danger in these usages comes from the fact that the truths of psycho-analysis are held out as justifications for the carrying out of an individual's own motives and desires, however repugnant these might be to the accepted standards of social morality. It is like that case when a man in anger called his father an old monkey and then justified it on grounds of the evolution theory. It will be evident later how perversely mistaken all such notions are.

Psycho-analysis, I have said above, traces a conscious idea or a symptom of mental disease to its root in the unconscious mind. But that at once raises questions. What is the unconscious mind? Let me tell you that the concept of the unconscious is one of the fundamental assumptions of psycho-analysis and it is necessary to form a clear idea about it. I shall explain by an example. When you gaze steadily at an object at some distance in front of you, you get a clear visual impression of the object. The things lying near about that object you can just see but the impressions of these are not so clear as that of the object you are gazing at. There are other objects however which are beyond your range of vision and fail to produce any impression. As in the physical sphere, so in the mental. The thoughts or ideas that you are occupied with just at the present moment may be compared to the object gazed at; they are the clearest. The mental states that are no longer at the central spot of your consciousness, *e. g.*, events that you have experienced sometimes ago, it might be years, months, days, or even minutes, and which you can again recall may be thought of as lying at a region lower than the central spot level. But there are experiences of yours which in spite of your best efforts you cannot recall, just as there are things, lying beyond the range of your physical vision. These experiences may be conceived to be lying in the lowest region of the mind. The different names for these different levels of mind beginning from the first one are the Conscious, the Preconscious and the Unconscious;

respectively. Psycho-analysis maintains that the memories that you cannot revive, the experiences that you fail to recall are not lost altogether but are gone to that region called the unconscious. But it may be asked what is the necessity of using such obscure terms to express a very patent experience of normal life—the experience, *viz.*, that we forget something and remember others. It would certainly not have been necessary to use such roundabout expressions if the fact was not discovered that the life of any mental state, an idea for, *e.g.*, does not come to an end simply by the act of our forgetting it. Sometimes they continue to influence our conscious mental life as surely and subtly as the food we eat nourishes our body and maintains our life. But how do we know that? That brings us to another fundamental concept of our science.

Psycho-analysis conceives mind as being dynamic in nature and maintains that the principle of causation is applicable in the mental sphere exactly in the same way as it is employed in the physical sciences. Every event has a cause. The destructive thoughts of the murderer are as much natural events as the devastating sweep of the hurricane and the growth of love in your mind for your consort is as much an event as the blossoming of the rose in your garden. And if events cannot happen without being caused there is no justification for restricting the application of the principle to one particular type of events only. That would simply be an abuse of logic. Many have hesitated to accept the applicability of the causality principle in the mental sphere with the result that they have never been able to reconcile themselves with the psycho-analytical findings. I may mention here that this hesitation on their part is always due to considerations other than strict regard for bare scientific generalisations.

The principle of mental dynamism advocated by psycho-analysis is an old concept. Its history goes back to centuries. It has been influenced considerably by Biology. So also the concept of the unconscious is not new in the history of psychology.

In every text book of psychology belonging to the traditional school you will find a reference to or a few sentences about the existence of the sub-conscious and the unconscious. When these psychologists have experienced difficulties in the interpretation of mental phenomena on conscious terms only they have argued that mind extends beyond consciousness. That they have not very often encountered such difficulties in the way of their interpretation is explained by the fact that they have frequently omitted to consider large classes of mental phenomena which rightly belong to the domain of psychology. Both dynamic and philosophical psychology have seriously erred in failing to take proper cognisance of the existence of mental facts outside the range of consciousness and in confining their observations to the conscious plane only. What psycho-analysis has done is this: It has brought these two concepts, *viz.*, dynamism and the unconscious into relation with each other, *i.e.*, it has demonstrated how the unconscious mind works. The elaboration of this theme has been one of the main tasks of psycho-analysis.

Let us go into the question of this dynamism and the unconscious a little more deeply and enquire what justification there is to assume these principles in our investigations of the mind. It will be seen that both follow necessarily from the concept of causality. Causality implies energy in the physical science and the effect produced by the cause is simply the transformation of the energy that was in the latter. Physical science has conceived of one vast store of energy remaining constant in quantity of which all the physical phenomena that we see around us are but different manifestations. The ever-changing series of physical events that we experience is but an unceasing flow of energy from one place to another. Motion is the essence of energy; perpetual movement is therefore the law of the universe. Rest is only arrested motion. A thing in rest means that its movement or the movement of its particles has been restrained by a more powerful energy.

•As in the physical so in the mental world. All our thoughts and emotions, ideas and impulses, all our psychical experiences in short, are conceived to be modes of an energy which is called mental. No one knows the nature of physical force but its assumption helps us to unravel the riddles of physical universe and enables us to predict many of its future happenings. Therefore the assumption is valid in theory and correct in practice. We do not know the nature of the mental energy.. But its assumption enables us to understand the mysteries of the mind and helps us to prevent many of its possible sufferings. Therefore Theory justifies the assumption and Practice confirms it. The 'idea' that you now have, for instance, the 'desire' that you cherish are all forms of mental energy, the particular forms being determined by conditions preceding it. If the cause is not found in the conscious plane it must be assumed to be in the unconscious. In the physical world we infer, though we cannot see, that there are waves which carry the Radio talks to distant lands, that there are ultra-violet rays which are invisible, that there are undercurrents in the oceans. And we do this on the basis of the facts observed and events noted. So if a minute scrutiny of your behaviour reveals traits which express fondness for a particular person or jealousy against another, we infer that you like one person and are jealous of the other. If reasons for this jealousy are not found on the conscious level we shall still maintain the same opinion in spite of your protests and shall tell you that the grounds for your jealousy are to be sought for in your unconscious mind.

You have heard about the three fundamental concepts of psycho-analysis—dynamism, determinism and the unconscious and you have seen also how they are related to each other. The two former are the properties of all science, while the third that of the unconscious is peculiar to psycho-analysis. What then has psycho-analysis specially to say about the contents of the the unconscious? I shall tell you presently.

Man, you will agree, is a social animal. He possesses certain instincts and are guided by certain impulses which he shares in common with all the animals. By using the word social the idea sought to be conveyed and emphasised is this, that he has to subject himself to some extent to the laws and traditions, manners and customs of his fellow beings. It is not open to him to give always and anywhere full play to his animal passions and instincts. Centuries of culture and civilisation have brought about changes in the outlook of life. Progress in civilisation and development of culture are founded on the fact that the crude instincts have been more and more restrained. The demands that culture and civilisation make on man are embodied in the moral codes and legislative acts, and exemplified in the social traditions and every-day etiquettes. But all these complexities of civilisation did not develop in a day. Centuries had to elapse before the natural man agreed to be a social animal and to give up parts of his very nature in order to build up this edifice of culture. As with humanity in general so with individuals in particular. The struggle is repeated in the life history of individuals as they grow from infancy to childhood and thence through adolescence to maturity. The child is born with all the original instincts, sex, hunger, self-preservation, curiosity and others, but it is quickly trained to suppress some of these and to change the direction of others so that his manner of life and habit of thought may conform to the prevailing standard of social morality. Freud says that it is the sex instinct which is biologically the most powerful and dynamic of all the original endowments and hence it is this instinct which has suffered most in the history of the progress of humanity and is repressed most in the process of the training of the child. As psycho-analysis deals mainly with repressed wishes and tendencies it has frequently to take notice of these sex-instinctual activities. It is for this reason that Sex and Libido or Love energy occupy so large a place in the psycho-analytical literature. This produces in the minds of those not accustomed to take scientific view of facts the

false impression that psycho-analysis is only sexuology or worse still it is only a jumbling account of various sexual desires and deeds, abnormalities and misdemeanours. However let us not digress.

In spite of training and education undesirable thoughts and unsocial desires still continue to appear in every mind. As soon as they arise they are repressed, that is, sent to the unconscious. The traditions and the moral codes that have been instilled into the child's mind act as a guard against the entry into the conscious field of any such unmoral desire. This guard has been most appropriately called by Freud, the Censor. But the desires repressed by the censor continue their attempts to gain the conscious field and adopt various subterfuges to avoid the vigilance of the censor. They distort themselves, condense themselves, transform themselves and there are various other tricks by which they reach their aim. Normally the method of work of the censor is so efficient that you are never conscious of the unsocial desires that dwell in your mind, and a balance is maintained between the proper and social desires of the conscious level and the repressed social desires of the unconscious. When this equilibrium however is for any reason disturbed, the disturbance at once manifests itself in abnormalities of behaviour which might range from slight eccentricities of conduct to severe forms of mental disorders. The symptoms of many mental diseases are but symbolic gratifications of unfulfilled desires or are devices to prevent the desires to appear in consciousness in their naked forms. A mania for physical cleanliness may be only an attempt to purge the mind of a sense of guilt. Lady Macbeth is afraid that all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten her little hands. Over-anxiety for the health of any loved person may be only a method of defence against the appearance of the unconscious death wish. And so on. In this way psycho-analysis has shown that patients suffering from mental diseases are not possessed by ghosts, neither can they be cured by kicks and blows. By analysis discover the root of the disease and you will see that the patient at once cures himself.

But it is not only in the case of the mentally afflicted that psycho-analytical principles are demonstrated. Our normal everyday behaviour supplies abundant evidence for the verification of the doctrines. Dreams are normal mental phenomena. You have laughed over the absurdities of your dreams or have taken them as the portents of the future. But they are neither absurd nor is it their business to foretell coming events. They also are the gratifications of desires, fulfilments of wishes. The manifest dreams or the dreams as you see them are absurd but the fact is that most of the elements of the dreams are symbols. When the symbols are properly interpreted you get the latent content of the dreams which is not absurd at all but is a consistent and connected account of what your unconscious mind wants.

You forget to post letters, to keep appointments, you erroneously substitute one word for another, one name for another in your conversation. All these and many other such incidents of your daily life are significant though they may pass unnoticed as accidental errors or slips of the tongue. Analysis reveals in every case the cause of the oblivion.

When an antisocial desire is thwarted by the censor it may subliminate itself. By sublimation is meant that the wish energy connected with the antisocial desire is utilised in a useful social activity. Here psycho-analysis has given a new task to the future educationist. It is useless talking about the depravity of this or that child and it is worse than useless to trot out moral principles to keep children safe from vice. Sex desires and curiosity are natural in children. The task of education lies not in repressing them but in properly sublimating their various elements. Freud has given us a detailed study of the sex instinct; he has shown how from infancy the instinct passes through various stages and finally emerges as the normal heterosexual love, *i.e.*, love for a person of the opposite sex. It is the duty of those entrusted with the task of educating children to pay sufficient attention to this aspect of the child's development

and to guide it in proper channel. For it has been invariably found that one root at least of every mental disease lies in the disturbance of development at this period of life.

Well, my friends, you do not expect of course that in an half hour's time you will hear all that there is to be said regarding psycho-analysis. I have to-day only introduced the subject to you. If you feel interested, I may tell you that there are opportunities here that you can take full advantage of and thus acquire closer acquaintance with the subject-matter. All that I would request you to do is not to accept unhesitatingly everything that is said regarding psycho-analysis nor to condemn psycho-analysis without any effort to grasp fully in a thoroughly scientific spirit the finding that it lays before you. And with this request I now bid you good-bye.

SUHRITCHANDRA MITRA

GROWTH OF PUBLIC DEBT

• The principal causes which lead to public debt are generally stated to be, (1) temporary financial deficit in the ordinary course of national finance, (2) occasional emergent expenditure such as wars, etc., and (3) construction of public works. Above all there is another particular cause which is generally overlooked. To my mind it is a very potent one, and seems to be a very stubborn factor to increase public debt. This fourth cause is the debt itself.

Once a particular amount of public debt comes into existence by any of the first three causes, it bears a charge. This charge encroaches upon the shares of the money income of the national government. If the income be made to increase by fresh taxation, or if other branches of national expenditure be economised, well and good. This fourth cause does not operate. But in practice it sometimes happens that in the immediate future there is a certain limit, however progressive a country may be, up to which fresh taxation can be pushed up without provoking censure and opposition from the public, and also there is a certain minimum beyond which expenditure cannot be pushed down with due justice to good administration. In such circumstances the result is fresh addition to debt for the ordinary deficit caused by fresh addition of interest charge without any other ostensible cause. Any addition to the capital of a debt for a deficit caused by the interest on the previous debt, means that the interest charges or portions of them are being capitalised and the nation is paying compound interest—all being effected in a roundabout way. In other words, unless particular measures

are undertaken to expunge the capital of public debt, it has a general tendency to increase roughly in an accelerating rate, or, to put in mathematical term without mathematical exactitude, in a geometric progression. So do the charges upon it. Hence the progress of public debt with its interest is sometimes a movement in a vicious circle upon a parabolic path.

These statements can be mathematically explained as follows with certain simple theoretical examples, without introducing practical complexities :

Suppose in a country the money income of the government is constant throughout, say, 100 million pounds. Suppose its expenditure had always been, until one particular year, such as to be within its income or to be exactly equal to the income. In one year on account of certain cause this expenditure increases by £10,000. Hence, for this amount a debt has to be incurred, say, at 5 per cent. In the second year, considering that that particular cause for higher expenditure is no longer in operation, the expenditure outweighs the income by £500. Hence, in this year the capital of the public debt increases to £10,500. In the third year the excess of expenditure over the income is £525, and the amount of public debt £11,025. In this way even without any other cause of higher expenditure, the public debt will automatically proceed forward.

The geometrical representation of this growth of the capital of public debt will be as follows :

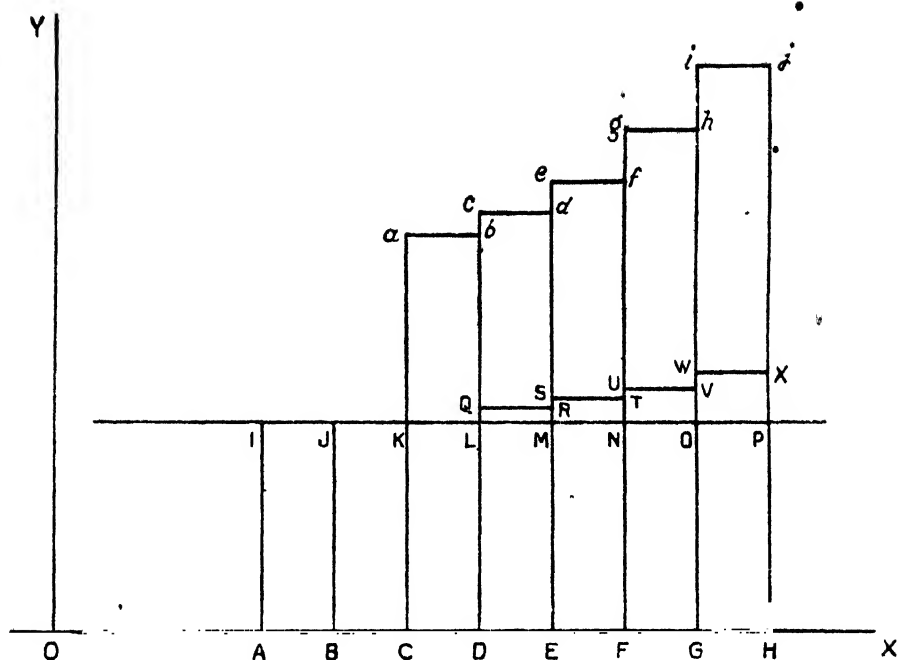


FIG. 1.

In the above geometrical representation, during the years AB, BC, both the income and expenditure are represented by the rectangles IB and JC. But during the year CD, while the income is represented by KD the expenditure is represented by aD , so that aL represents the public debt of that year. In the next year, DE, the interest on this amount of public debt is represented by QM, i.e., 5 per cent. of aL . As in this year there is no other cause of high expenditure, the total expenditure of the year is represented by QE. QM is added to the capital of the previous year's debt, considering no increase of income. Hence, this year's debt is represented by cM . Continuing the argument in this way, during the years EF, FG, GH, the expenditures are represented by SF, UG, WH, respectively; interests are represented by SN, UO, WP, respectively; and public debts are represented by eN , gO , iP , respectively.

In the above theoretical representation, it may be stated that the capital of the debt for the last year is due to the debt at

the beginning—the revenue, and expenditure-other-than-interest being allowed to stand where they were originally.

The above geometrical representation can be drawn by a freehand curve in the following way :

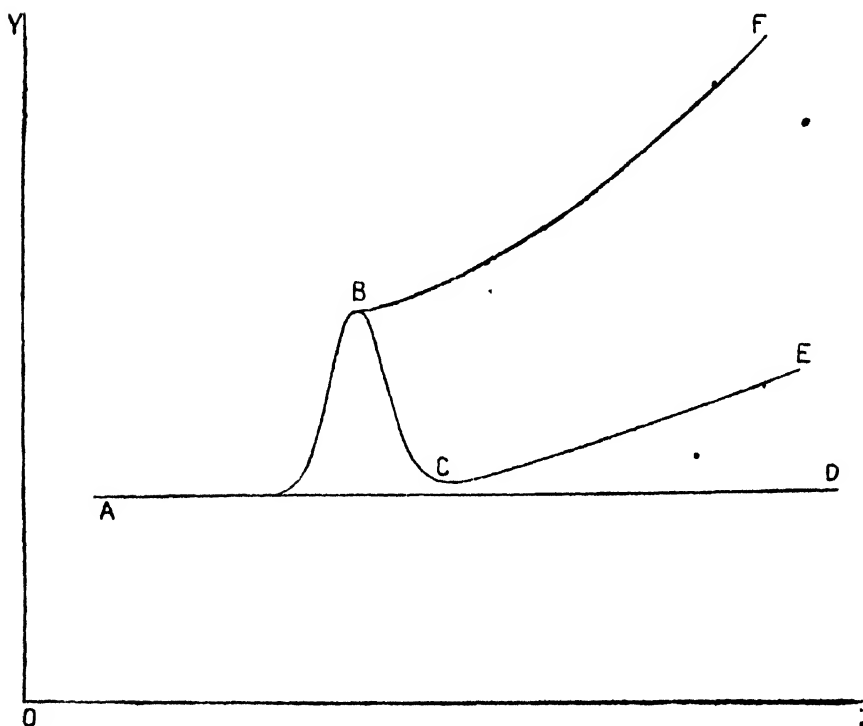


FIG. 2.

In the above graphical representation the income curve $AD \propto M$, where M is constant and is equal to the distance between OX and AD ; AD is parallel to OX . If AD be taken as an abscissa, the public debt curve $BF \propto (N-M) \left(1 + \frac{r}{100}\right)^{n-1}$, where N is the distance between B and OX , r is the percentage of interest, n is the number of years, after the debt has once been

incurred. With reference to the same abscissa as above, the interest curve $CE \propto \frac{r}{100}(N-M)\left(1+\frac{r}{100}\right)^{n-1}$. With reference to the abscissa OX , the expenditure curve $CE \propto \frac{r}{100}(N-M) \times \left(1+\frac{r}{100}\right)^{n-1} + M$

The same curve can be represented as follows, when the money income is not constant but increases, though it remains below the total expenditure :

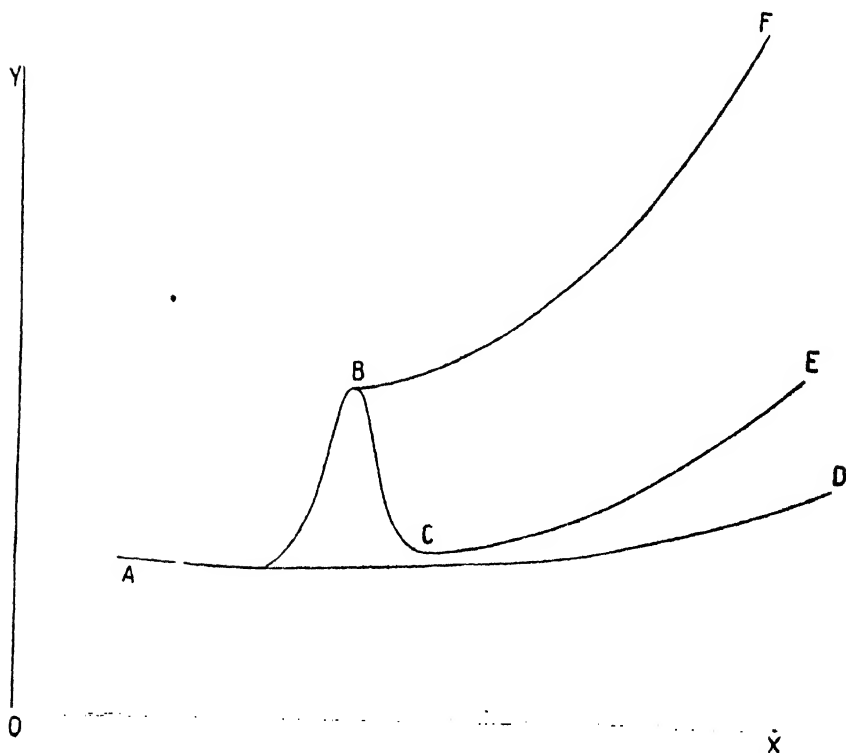


FIG. 3.

Like most curves in a theoretical treatment of economic principles, these curves under consideration show the tendency of their progress under the conditions enunciated provided no other factors intervene.

On the whole the fact remains, whenever there is an item of charge for interest on account of national expenditure, and including this head, whenever there is a deficit in the balance of national finance, and hence, whenever the nation borrows afresh to meet this deficit, the interest is being capitalised in a roundabout process and the national debt increases out of itself.

Ignorance of this accelerating tendency of the capital of the public debt under the conditions already mentioned, led in the past to a serious mistake by Dr. Richard Price in his theories of sinking fund, propounded during the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century. The gist of the principles underlying his theories was that contributions, even out of borrowing when there is a deficit in national finance, to a permanent commission, of certain periodical sums of money to be invested in the purchase of the securities, by repetition of the investment of capital as well as its income, would thus enable any amount of debt to be paid off, unaided, by the very law of compound interest which multiplies the capital at a geometric ratio. This dream of eliminating the burden of a vast debt by the accumulated income of a sinking fund, practically out of itself, deluded the financial world. Pitt inculcated these principles in his sinking fund of 1786 (26 Geo. III, cap. 31). America copied them in her first sinking fund (1790).

It is not necessary here to explain elaborately, and repeat, these theories of Dr. Price, and the caustic criticisms to which they were subjected. It was Dr. Robert Hamilton, the Scotch mathematician, who dissipated this delusion. He showed from actual investigation into the history of the English sinking fund as instituted according to the theories of Dr. Price, that the fund, instead of reducing national debt, had actually increased it. He demonstrated that the actual national surplus is the only means to be employed for the redemption of public debt. Where was the loop-hole of Dr. Price's theories and what was the truth behind the analytical exposition of Dr. Hamilton?

Blinded by the glaze of a fund accumulating at compound interest, Dr. Price, the exponent of his sinking fund theories,

failed to enquire deep into the problem as to wherefrom can come the contribution. He was perhaps under the impression that the national debt increases under all conditions in an arithmetic progression, so that it is within easy bounds of a fund accumulating in geometric progression to outstrip it. He, therefore, advocated that even in times of war—in years of deficit, regular contributions to the sinking fund should be maintained by borrowing at any rate of interest and thus add to the national debt on the other side of the national account. Had Dr. Price been conscious of the facts and principles we have just elaborated, he might have at once grasped where did the fallacy lie. We have shown that the tendency of the national debt at times of deficits is also to increase at a geometric ratio, so that the idea of the possibility of the progression of a fund to outstrip the progress of national debt is valid when the investment of the fund brings interest at a greater percentage than that allowed on borrowings on account of the debt. When the investments of the sinking fund continue in the securities of the Government itself, while the borrowings required for contribution to it are at a rate lower than allowed on the previous securities, the final effect is a conversion of the national debt to a lower interest in a roundabout process without bringing any benefits which were claimed by the sinking fund theorists. If on the other hand, the new borrowings made for the sinking fund require a higher rate of interest to be paid than that on the debt going to be redeemed, there is a positive enhancement to the burden of public debt—the very reverse of its being redeemed.

Even Dr. Hamilton, who, it is true, showed by actual calculation of budgetary figures that Dr. Price's sinking fund theories failed in their purpose, and who also emphasised the necessity of a surplus to wipe off public debt, did not clearly state the truth behind. It is nothing but what we have already set forth.

And it is on account of overlooking this tendency of the growth of public debt, that some of the old delusions of Dr. Price's

theories of sinking fund accumulating at compound interest as very efficacious in expunging public debt unaided by other forces, exist even to this day in an altered form. For example, in the contribution to Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* (1926), the following paragraph occurs under "Sinking Fund :"

"The claim made by Dr. Price for the old sinking fund, that it was accumulating at compound interest and paying off debts by its own unaided force, was theoretically accurate; if the fund had been invested outside the country and the interest received had been also so invested each year—each annual sum would have been bearing compound interest. The claim however was, in the particular instance, based on a fallacy, because the annual contributions were invested in the purchase of the debt which they were intended to pay off; therefore the dividend received on the contributions were in effect payments on a dead debt and in themselves unnecessary—in other words increased contributions from the tax-payer under the guise of dividends."

Put in other language, Sir C. A. Harris, the author of this article, tries to stress that if the investments of a sinking fund be outside the country instead of in the securities of the Government whose debt is meant to be discharged by the sinking fund, then the fund will increase at compound interest unaided, and be able to pay off the whole capital of the national debt in time. Here we must maintain that such contentions are no less fallacious. They are due to the ignorance of the law we have elaborated previously—that a national debt has a tendency to accumulate at a compound interest; so that in a race between two such accumulations, the greater advance of one over the other depends upon the difference of the rates of interest and not upon the locality of the two. It makes no difference in accumulation whether the investment is outside or inside. Even if the national debt have no tendency to accumulate due to surplus, our statement holds good. It can be shown mathematically as follows: and to clear up our statement further, we take one instance in addition, making three examples altogether.

Suppose in a country, the national debt on the 1st of January, 1921, is £20,000 which bears interest at 10 per cent. per annum. Suppose its income in all the subsequent years is £10,000; and its expenditure, excluding the charges for interest, is similarly constant throughout, say, £7,000:

Example I.—If there be no sinking fund, and the debt be discharged out of surplus at the end of each year.

Years.	Total income during each year.	Total expenditure other than interest during each year.	Amount of interest paid on national debt, @ 10% during each year.	Surplus, utilised to pay up the national debt.	Amount of national debt on 1st of each year.
	£	£	£	£	£
1921	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000
1922	10,000	7,000	1,900	1,100	19,000
1923	10,000	7,000	1,790	1,210	17,900
1924	10,000	7,000	1,669	1,331	16,690
1925	10,000	7,000	1,535·9	1,464·1	15,359

National debt at the end of the year 1925—£13,894·9

Example II.—If there be a sinking fund, and it be invested in the Government's own securities, necessarily at 10 per cent

Years.	Total income during each year.	Total expenditure other than interest, during each year.	Interest paid each year at 10%.*	Surplus†	Amount of debt on the 1st of each year.	Sinking fund on the 1st of each year.‡
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1921	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	...
1922	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	1,000
1923	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	2,100
1924	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	3,310
1925	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	4,641

At the end of 1925, Sinking fund—£6,105 1

National debt—£13,894·9

* A portion of this amount is received by the sinking fund and the rest by public creditors.

† This amount goes to the sinking fund at the end of each year.

‡ Fed by surplus and interest of its investment made inside the country.

Example III.—If there be a sinking fund and it be invested outside the country at 10 per cent.

Years.	Total income during each year.	Total expenditure other than interest, during each year.	Interest paid each year at 10%.*	Surplus.†	Amount of debt on the 1st of each year.	Sinking fund on the 1st of each year ‡
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1921	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	...
1922	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	1,000
1923	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	2,100
1924	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	3,310
1925	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	4,641

At the end of 1925, Sinking fund—£6,105·1

National debt—£13,894·9

* The whole of this amount goes to public creditors, and no portion to the sinking fund.

† This amount goes to the sinking fund at the end of the year.

‡ Fed by surplus and interest of its investments made outside the country.

From the second and third examples it is evident that the difference between investment outside and inside the country is equally illusory. The only difference that exists is not in the accumulation of the sinking fund, but in the difference in the flow and transfer of funds and in the economic distribution of the national wealth of the country. In the second example, when the investment of the sinking fund is in the securities of its own government, the amount of interest on the securities in the hands of the commissioners is collected from the taxpayers. The nation has to collect from the taxpayers an equal amount every year to pay the interest on its debt. But it pays a portion of the amount collected for this purpose to some of the creditors direct and another portion to the sinking fund on account of the securities that it holds. This latter portion ultimately goes to other

public creditors—indirectly through the sinking fund. In the third example, where the investment of the sinking fund is outside the country, the nation has similarly to collect the same amount of interest as before from the taxpayers, and it pays the whole amount to all public creditors. On the other hand the commissioners earn each year a certain amount for their investment outside, so that there is a flow of money from outside into the country. These accumulated amounts are ultimately distributed in the hands of the creditors when the sinking fund is mobilised. Thus in the former case the total national income remains the same, and in the latter it is increased, for the time being.

Apart from the errors which sinking funds were subjected to in the past and the errors that they are liable to run into, due to the ignorance of the principles we have just analysed, they have much greater value in actual financial practice. If prompt steps be not undertaken to cover up the charges for interest on any amount of debt incurred and, hence, interest is allowed to be capitalised, the financial future of any national government is doomed in the long run. The foregoing remarks apply, it is unnecessary to repeat, to unproductive deadweight debts. Productive debts are, however, like investment of commercial capital, which generally returns back what they are burdened with.

Before we finish, something more remains to be said in this connection. Not only does the failure to meet interest charges add to the capital of debt at an accelerating rate, but also it is a fact that failure to discharge the capital itself within any equitable period has accelerated the growth of public debt in a similar manner. When we look to the history of public debt in various countries, it can be observed that most of their governments, particularly of Europe, have accumulated their unproductive public debt on account of wars. After the debt had once been incurred, either sufficient measures were not undertaken to pay off the capital as early as possible, or before the old burden could be considerably reduced new wars came in succession to

add to the existing debt and to place additional burden on the revenue. Signs are not yet promising amongst the nations themselves in their relations with one another to give grounds for optimism, that in future there will be no more of any expensive conflict. If wars follow in succession, as they have hitherto followed, the future of national finance is associated with grave danger. Already the burden of public debt has been considerably menacing. It may so happen in future that public debt, like a demon, will swallow up the whole of national revenue. And this will be more and more rapid, the greater the failure revenue to keep head over expenditure.

Hence with almost every borrowing and every addition of deadweight public debt, measures should simultaneously be devised to pay up the interest as well as the capital, whatever they may cost to the nation. Read in this light, annuity loans, in spite of the arguments advanced in their disfavour, are better than other classes of borrowing—if not for anything else, at least in so far as the loans on annuities provide unavoidably firm determination to discharge public debt in a strictly regular manner, as life insurance by a person implies self-imposed compulsory saving.

P. R. DATTA

EMPIRE FREE TRADE

The question of tariffs is now looming large in world politics. The League of Nations has taken it up and is making earnest attempts to reduce and simplify tariffs. The present world-wide economic depression is, to no small extent, the direct outcome of selfish and misguided tariff policies followed by different nations. The British National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce mentions "the post-war policy of high customs tariffs" as one of the main causes of the upsetting of economic and financial equilibrium. Imminent changes in the tariff policy of Great Britain are foreshadowed by the recent appointment of Mr. Neville Chamberlain to the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the National Government. "He has identified himself closely with the movement for tariff reform and imperial preference of which his father Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was a famous advocate." A change of tariff policy by Great Britain is likely to have important repercussions on India. At such a juncture it is hardly necessary for the writer to apologise for examining at some length a particular phase of the tariff policy which has been given much prominence in England of late years.

The essential ideas underlying the policy of Empire Free Trade have persisted in one form or another since the very foundations of the British Empire. In the days when the colonies were regarded as plantations to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country, the germs of the policy can be discerned in the preferences, in some form or other, given to the products of the home country in the colonies and of the colonies in the home country. This policy was however at its weakest for about a quarter of a century beginning from about the middle of

the last century when, at least in its practical side, the policy of "*laissez faire*" and "open-door" was maintained by Great Britain wherever possible. The colonies had come to be regarded in a strangely fatalistic way, as fruits which would drop off from the parent tree as soon as they were ripe enough. In the eighties however a change in policy manifested itself, and colonies came to be looked upon as undeveloped estates to be worked for the joint benefit of the mother country and the colonies. Fiscal autonomy had been conceded to the Dominions and opinion was gaining ground that the Empire should be regarded as a fiscal unit whose common interests should be promoted against those of foreigners with the help of proper fiscal devices. This veering round of free-trade England was due to many causes, among which may be mentioned the growth of powerful rival empires like Germany, U. S. A. and Russia; the realisation of the fact that Great Britain had come to depend for her very existence on food and raw materials imported from outside and that the industrial supremacy which she had enjoyed for about a century was, if not actually passing away from her grasp, at least more and more shared with other nations. Mr. Lewin observes "the first serious blow at the manufacturing supremacy of Great Britain came from those continental nations, particularly Germany, who by subsidising steamships, using state railways as effective economic tools, by increasing their tariffs and by many direct and indirect methods of state intervention and encouragement were building up and protecting their own industries and gradually penetrating into markets which hitherto had been regarded as peculiarly British monopolies." Perhaps we may add to the list of causes already given, the change in thought and outlook that was coming over in England as regards the proper functions of the state, as is evidenced by the enormous output of social legislation in the last quarter of the 19th century. The last European War (1914-18), by intensifying race-hatred and aggravating the sentiment of economic nationalism contributed its share in effecting this change.

The imperial preference of Joseph Chamberlain is but a more honest statement of the principles underlying the Empire Free Trade of Lord Beaverbrook. The idea of economic self-sufficiency lies at the root of the policy advocated by these two Imperialists." The same idea was voiced by the Imperial War Conference (London, 1917) which laid down that "the time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials and essential industries." At first sight it must be admitted that the idea, whether practicable or not, is an attractive one. The British Empire is the largest the world has ever known, comprising roughly a quarter of the land surface of the globe and including one-fourth of its entire population. It includes every shade of climate and soil, vast and varied natural resources, a plentiful supply of capital within the Empire, a very powerful merchant marine, more than sufficient for its own needs and a strong racial and cultural affinity among its most important constituents. Even now the Empire grows all the food she requires; and in any case her food resources can (if necessary) be increased much further by a judicious policy of development. Lord Beaverbrook calculates that only 10 p.c. of the land surface of the British Empire is under cultivation as compared with 50 p.c. of the land surface in U. S. A. "The basis of Empire Crusade is that the Empire can supply itself with food." The resources of raw materials are also enormous, it grows 99 p.c. of the world production of jute, 88 p.c. of nickel, 71 p.c. of gold, 58 p.c. of rubber, 52 per cent. of rice, 44 per cent. of wool, 43 per cent. of tin and 22 per cent. of wheat.

Even if the ideal of self-sufficiency involves some sacrifice of material welfare, it might yet be justified, in view of the periodic outbreak of national insanity commonly known as War, on the old ground of security being better than opulence. The last European War drew attention to "the dependence of the nervous centre of the British Empire upon overseas sources of

supply and the possibility of rendering the British Empire self and mutually supporting in the economic sphere." Some enthusiasts would even brush hastily aside the objection that the formation of an Imperial Customs Union would impair the fiscal and political autonomy of the self-governing Dominions, on the ground that the destruction of such local autonomy may be justifiable in the interests of a more efficient organisation of the Empire. Dominions have, however, already shown their willingness to favour such a scheme by the preference they have given to Empire products in their tariffs and this preference has, since the War, become, if anything, more pronounced. Canada was the first to take the step of granting preference to the mother country in 1897, New Zealand and South Africa followed in 1903 and Australia in 1908. Even India has fallen in line since the outbreak of the last War by preferences given to Empire goods. She granted a rebate on export duties on hides and skins destined for Empire countries, imposed differential import duties on iron and steel goods and has quite recently accorded the same favourable treatment to cotton manufactures. Many of the Crown Colonies also (Cyprus, Jamaica, Malta, etc.) have granted preference (rebate on export duties) to Empire countries. It is Great Britain that has shown little enthusiasm, but even she has, since the Finance Act of 1919, given preferential rates on articles like sugar, tea, tobacco and wine grown within the British Empire. Mr. C. R. Fay speaking of the tariff system of the United Kingdom says, "although there has been no overt breach in the fiscal system of the country and although on the two occasions, when tariff was the main issue, 1906 and 1923, protection was decisively rejected, yet since 1906 there has been a growing sentiment for Imperial Preference and since 1918 a considerable departure from free-trade." All this sounds very encouraging indeed !

But there is another side of the picture. Apart from what may happen in the distant future, which is not of much practical importance for us, it is pertinent to ask whether the ideal is

attainable within a measurable time. Let statistics speak for us. In 1926 the amount of wheat (grain and flour) imported into United Kingdom from foreign countries was 54 million cwts. as against 57 million, imported from within the British Empire. For barley the figures were 9·7 million cwts. and 1·8 million cwts.; oats 5·1 million cwts. and 2·4 million cwts.; raw cotton 16 million units (centals of 100 lbs.) and 1·9 million units; wool 1·2 million centals and 6·9 million centals. Of the total quantity of meat (fresh, tinned, salted, chilled and frozen) imported into U. K. before and during the War, 75 per cent. came from foreign countries and 25 per cent. from within the B. E.; only 3 per cent. of the tobacco comes from Empire countries, only 3 per cent. of unbleached wood pulp for paper making and 5 per cent. (and this has shown a remarkable tendency to fall off) of petroleum, while flax is practically a monopoly of foreign countries (only 3 per cent. of the world production being grown within the Empire); motor cars, etc., imported into U.K. in 1921-22 from Empire countries formed less than 17 per cent. of the total. 75 per cent. of the total imports of merchandise into U. K. in 1910 came from foreign countries and this, in spite of preferences introduced into the tariff system of the U. K. in 1919 and the increasing investment of British capital in the colonies, had fallen only to 70 per cent. in 1924.

Let us turn to the trade of the self-governing Dominions. Canada, as we have seen, was the first country to introduce preference on Empire goods in her tariff in 1897; and this preference has been, as in the case of other Dominions and the mother country, materially extended and increased since the War. Yet what has been the effect of this on Canadian trade? In 1896 the proportions of Canada's imports from and exports to Empire countries were 33·3 per cent. and 60·8 per cent. respectively of her total imports and exports; in 1928 the percentages had shrunk to 22·5 and 40·7. In the case of Australia of the total value of competitive goods imported U.K. supplied 50·32 per cent. during 1926-7 as against 58·38 per cent. in 1913-14. South Africa

reveals the fact that by 1927 her imports from Empire countries had increased in value by about 60 per cent. over the average for the period 1910-14, while foreign imports had increased in the same period by about 160 per cent.; her exports to Empire and non-Empire countries had increased by 16 per cent. and 600 per cent. respectively, Turning to New Zealand we find that in the eighties and nineties of the last century 70 per cent. of her imports came from U. K., while in the decade preceding the War they had fallen to 60 per cent., and had shrunk to 48 per cent. in 1927. In the pre-War years 1909-13 U.K.'s share in the total exports of New Zealand was 80·44 per cent., in 1927 it was 76 per cent. It must however be borne in mind that U.K. after 1921 did not include Irish Free State as it did up to this year. Finally taking U. K. on the one side and the rest of the Empire on the other, we find that U.K.'s share in the external trade of the Empire has progressed in the following proportions :

Year	Percentage of total exports consigned to U. K. from the Empire.	Percentage of imports received by Empire from U. K.
1895	49%	52%
1913	41%	42%
1923	36%	38%

India's trade statistics reveal the same tale. Her imports from the Empire formed 69·7 and 54·9 per cent. of her total imports in 1913-14 and 1926-27 respectively while her exports to the Empire were 41·1 per cent. and 38·5 per cent. in the two periods.

Statistics are however often deceptive and particularly difficult to handle. Yet the conclusion that forces itself from a study of the figures given above is that we are moving in a direction opposite to Empire self-sufficiency inspite of encouragements held out in the form of Imperial preference. In fact one writer (Lewin) holds "that although the British Empire may be

self-supporting, it can never become a self-contained, *i.e.* exclusive, commercial and economic unity." The Dominior Royal Commission however expressed their doubts as to the Empire ever becoming even self-supporting, on the ground that there are things, essential for the welfare of the Empire, which are mainly produced and controlled outside the Empire such as cotton, petroleum, nitrates and potash. In fact the whole trend of economic progress has been in the direction of greater mutual interdependence between nations as between individuals.

It may however be argued that the advocates of Empire Free Trade do not aim at making the Empire self-sufficient, but their aim is to knit together more closely the different parts of the Empire by removing all restrictions to the free movement of goods between the different parts of it. This object was aimed and achieved by the establishment of the Zollverein among the Germanic States in 1833. The political unity of the British Empire may be utilised to achieve economic unity by raising a protective wall against the impact of foreign goods, thereby encouraging infant and essential industries of the Empire. Indeed the object is not to shut out all foreign goods but only such goods as, in view of the possibility of periodic outbreak of wars, every nation must produce within its own borders if it is to maintain its independent existence. The entry of other goods may be prevented with a view to encouraging infant industries, or because they are the products of sweated foreign labour and may thus produce undesirable effects on home industries. Outside this class of goods foreign trade may be allowed to continue unhampered. In fact this is the object supposed to be kept in view by most of the protectionist countries of the world in framing their customs tariff. What have we got to say to such an ideal ?

Firstly about the possibility of wars, it may be pointed out that the British Empire, essentially a conglomeration of territories scattered throughout the world, differs fundamentally from compact territorial units like Germany, France or even

the United States of America. England is very much nearer to France or Germany than to Canada, Australia or India; Canada is very much nearer to U. S. A. than to England. In the event of war, unless the whole world combines against the British Empire, it would be much easier for the United Kingdom to import munitions of war and other essential supplies (international conventions relating to the freedom of the seas permitting it) from some neutral country like France, Russia or U. S. A. than from Australia or India. In fact this danger was brought home in German blockade (though ultimately unsuccessful) of England during the last war. An island country such as England cannot avoid this danger by making the Empire self-supporting. On the contrary a policy of tariff-discrimination is likely to create a good deal of international complications, bad blood, tariff-warfare and mutual suspicion (*cf.*, revocation of most favoured nation clause in commercial treaties, Russian protest against the imposition by India of countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar, the Canadian German tariff war in the first decade of the present century). In fact it will prepare the ground for the very eventuality against which it is advanced as a safeguard. Though a Royal Commission found "it may now be regarded as a settled principle that trade arrangements between parts of the British Empire are to be considered matters of a domestic character which cannot be regarded as discriminatory by any foreign power," yet we should not lose sight of the fact that the force of such an argument depends, however, on the willingness of other powers to accept it; on the ability to enforce that point of view in case it is actively resisted. If the foreign power is weak, in the special circumstances of the case, the argument will be accepted: if it is strong, there may be no difficulty in getting a tacit acceptance of the argument, accompanied by the offer of a smaller concession than would otherwise have been the case" (Gregory—*Tariffs, A Study in Method*). England with about $\frac{2}{3}$ of her imports coming from foreign countries and more

than half her exports going to non-Empire countries and with unemployment on a colossal scale staring her in the face, can ill afford to engage in tariff-discrimination. A much better and more desirable object would be to prevent altogether the recurrence of war by promoting international amity and understanding and supporting whole-heartedly the efforts of the League of Nations in this direction. If free and unhampered movement of goods within the frontiers of a state is a sure way of promoting economic welfare, it is difficult to see why it should not be so when it leads to the breakdown of the artificial barriers raised against the free movement of goods between nations. If infant industries cannot grow up without some amount of outside encouragement, it must be pointed out that there are other and more direct ways of giving such aid than the questionable one of tariff protection. With the rapid development of the means of communication and transportation, the world is being fast knit into a closer unity and all restrictions are proving more and more burdensome and intolerable. If an increasing population has to be maintained at a rising level of comfort we ought surely to move in the direction of free and unrestricted commerce throughout the world.

Secondly, apart from the desirability of the aim to be kept in view we have to discuss the practicability of a scheme of Empire Free Trade. Absolute free trade, however much desirable, seems at present absolutely unattainable. Even Lord Beaverbrook admits this when he states his Empire crusade as follows :—

“ The Empire is to be regarded as a single economic group and trade between the various parts, subject to the qualifications made above, is to suffer no restriction.”

The qualifications spoken of above are chiefly two : (1) no part of the Empire shall benefit at the expense of the other part and for this reason a measure of protection for certain industries is absolutely essential, even against imports from other parts of the

Empire and (2) duties levied for revenue purposes in many parts of the Empire should not be repealed ; on the contrary, the security of the revenue must be maintained and still higher duties imposed against foreign imports. The first qualification introduced materially modifies the policy of Empire Free Trade ; in fact the title of Lord Beaverbrook's policy becomes a misnomer. This was noticed as early as 1903 by Chamberlain who "realised that the better way was not a free trade Empire with an external tariff but an economic federalism with tariff autonomy for the several parts and preferential arrangements between all." In fact Lord Beaverbrook, though he makes an effort to prove that his proposals "are in no sense the same as the project put forward by Joseph Chamberlain at the beginning of the Century," can only be regarded as having reopened the issue popularised by Chamberlain. Protectionist sentiment is too strong in the Dominions to make absolute free trade a matter of practical politics. In fact since the grant of fiscal autonomy, self-governing Dominions, one after another, did not hesitate to impose protective duties on goods of the mother country. Speaking of Empire Free Trade one writer (Mr. Campbell) remarks, "the Dominions (under such a scheme) will mainly remain suppliers of raw materials while Britain will function as mainly a manufacturing country." But surely the Dominions will not be content to remain permanently in the category envisaged by Mr. Campbell and even Lord Beaverbrook is constrained to admit that "any talk of making Great Britain the sole workshop of the Empire is dangerous folly." This remark of Lord Beaverbrook, an inhabitant of Canada, the second most important manufacturing country in the British Empire, speaks volumes. Mr. Donaldson, in his book, *International Economic Relations*, says "such policies (Imperial Preference, etc.) are largely those of industrialised countries towards many of the important non-industrialised regions." Even India, which presents special difficulties in this connection, would not be a party to an agreement which would make her simply a supplier of raw materials to the workshops of

the world. Donaldson, whom we have just quoted, remarks "there are some evidences of a realisation by Great Britain that the beginning of industrialisation in India cannot well be suppressed and had best be encouraged and guided." In fact India and the Dominions are so much wedded to the protectionist idea that they would rather separate from the Empire than submit to a policy of absolute free trade within the Empire. Surely United Kingdom would not care, even if it had any prospect of success in the attempt, to impose such a policy against the wishes of her politically subordinate possessions. In fact the overtures have so far come from the side of the Dominions themselves.

Thirdly, let us examine the claim that the adoption of an Imperial Protective Tariff would keep out the products of sweated labour of inferior nations with a low standard of living and thereby ensure "a full protection for hours, wages and prices throughout the whole Empire (Beaverbrook). Our reply is, firstly, that it is a debatable question how far the standard of living in a country can be kept up by a policy of protection. Secondly, the danger from sweated labour and low standard of living is not entirely confined to areas outside the Empire. The case of India at once comes to our mind. How is the Empire going to defend itself against this danger lurking in her own home without giving up free trade? Should India be entirely left out from such a scheme? Possibly so. She has never whole-heartedly supported any scheme of Imperial Preference, and there are plausible grounds for her attitude, though based on a different set of facts. Empire Free Trade cannot be kept entirely separate from the question of free mobility of labour within the Empire. If Indians are not accorded equality of status in the Dominions within the Empire, she cannot be blamed if she refuses to accord preferential treatment to Empire goods. The majority report of the Indian Fiscal Commission did not countenance any general system of Imperial Preference; while the minority report frankly said "we cannot agree to any trade

agreements being entered into with any dominion which discriminate against the people of this country." But is it worthwhile leaving out India entirely from such a scheme? Mr. Campbell answers "if India be excluded the impressive calculations of the vast resources awaiting the British Imperial Zollverein must be revised out of all recognition."

We have seen that of the two principles involved in the policy of Empire Free Trade, *viz.*, free movement of goods within the Empire and the imposition of an Imperial tariff on goods coming from foreign countries, the second one has been adopted already by India and the Dominions; but they also stand equally committed to a policy of protection against Empire goods, if these goods compete with the products of their own industries. United Kingdom, on the other hand, has long been and still continues to be mainly a free trade country in its relations with Empire and non-Empire countries. She can possibly, without much effort, be again persuaded to adopt perfect free trade within the Empire. The safeguarding duties, under which the Empire goods already receive preference, may possibly be abandoned altogether. But can she be persuaded to adopt a policy of protection in her trade relations with foreign countries? It is difficult to pronounce any opinion on the subject particularly in view of the recent General Election which returned a Tory majority. To what extent the voters were frightened into voting Conservative, faced with the National Currency Crisis (the Tory plan being to restore balance of trade by taxing imports and thereby stopping the drain of gold from England), to what they gave a considered verdict in favour of protection as a permanent policy, it is difficult to say. It may be pointed out, however, that at least on two occasions the question of protection was definitely negatived by the British electorate. How will the policy of protection affect U.K.? It is hard to agree with Lord Beaverbrook when he says that it will not raise the price of imported food materials, more than half of which she imports from abroad. If it does not raise

the price it will fail to give any stimulus to Empire production which is its only justification. Acquaintance with elementary economic laws will convince one that it will raise not only the price of foreign food stuffs but also of Empire food. In fact protection to British agriculture is being urged at present by eminent British farmers as the only means of saving British farming from utter ruin, deluged as they are by chief products from overseas. But they make no secret of the fact that it can only be done by raising the price of farm products. But the voice of British farmers is too feeble to be heard by the strong and well-organised industrial workers who form the vast majority of the population and whose interests would suffer by dear food and raw materials. A country whose foreign trade is so important as that of Great Britain and which sends more than half of her total exports to foreign markets, where she is already experiencing great difficulties in marketing them, naturally fights shy of such a proposal. It is very doubtful if she will be able to sell in the Empire market what she fails to dispose of in the foreign markets. The Dominions are not sufficiently thickly populated to absorb very much more of British products, while the purchasing power of the "teeming millions" in India is too low to offer a remunerative market for highpriced British goods. Per head of the population India consumed, in 1926, £7-4s.-11d. of the exports of the produce and manufactures of U.K. It is the lowest among British Dominions (the figures for New Zealand are £14-16s.-5d.) and lower than that of foreign countries like France, Germany and U. S. A. It must be further noted that discrimination against foreign goods is likely to lead to retaliation and the loss of most favoured nation treatment which G.B. at present enjoys. Great Britain may experience other kinds of repercussions also. As a retaliatory measure U.S.A. may refuse to take in British immigrants and thus add to her unemployment trouble. From the beginning of the present century to 1926 U.S.A. absorbed more British emigrants than any other country, though of late years British

North America has come to claim the place of honour. The supremacy of the London Money Market which is not a little dependent on the far-flung commerce of United Kingdom, may be threatened. The supply of raw materials, which is mainly produced outside the Empire, may be partially or wholly cut off. It is thus apparent from the considerations urged that the ideal of immediate free trade within the Empire is "too wild a form of kite-flying to be of any use in practical politics" (Robertson—*Trade and Tariffs*).

In conclusion let us examine if the twofold implications of this policy, *viz.*, free movement of goods within the Empire and a common Imperial Tariff against foreign goods, can be kept apart and which of these two is more capable of adoption, if both cannot be adopted at the same time. From the theoretical standpoint there is no reason why the two parts cannot be kept separate. Professor Nicholson thinks that "internal free trade throughout the Empire, though possible without any customs union, would be promoted and strengthened thereby and the benefits of real commercial union are too great to be cast aside on account of a literal interpretation of free trade..... nor is there any reason to insist on the exact uniformity of the Imperial customs, so long as the main ideas are realised." Prof. Gregory remarks in the same strain, "if inter-imperial tariffs are not necessarily a barrier to a common extra-imperial tariff, neither is free trade within the Empire necessarily a step towards the unification of Imperial customs tariffs. So far as free trade within the Empire is concerned, even when this issue is not complicated by the simultaneous adoption of a policy of "tariff-assimilation" (a common uniform tariff against the rest of the world), the movement of events in recent times, as well as the course of history do not encourage us to hope that in the near future this policy is likely to be adopted within the British Empire. Here the opposition comes chiefly from the Colonies; they have not hesitated to impose Tariffs on goods coming from the mother country to benefit their own industries.

If this can happen when colonies are overwhelmingly agricultural, one can only expect that the opposition of interests between the mother country and the Colonies will become more pronounced with the progressive industrialisation of the latter. *The Economist* (November 16, 1929) says of Australia (and this is true of other Colonies as well) that "it is a country definitely committed to a protectionist policy. Every one accepts the fact, which incidentally, is an example of the insuperable obstacles in the way of Empire Free Trade." In fact with the progress of time the colonies, instead of showing signs of assimilation with the mother country, are on the contrary developing an independent and distinctive outlook. It finds expression in the demand for breaking away from judicial subordination to the English Privy Council, the regulation and restriction of immigration from the United Kingdom, separate representation in the League of Nations. It is again voiced by the Imperial Council of 1926 which lays down, "they (Great Britain and Dominions) are autonomous communities within the Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate one to another, in any aspect of their domestic and foreign affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now master of its own destiny."

Admitting that free trade within the Empire is unattainable, let us next enquire whether the different members of the Empire are likely to adopt a common fiscal policy with regard to non-Empire countries. The answer depends very much on whether the policy adopted is likely to suit the economic interests of the parts concerned. In a world-wide Empire, the economic situation and hence the needs of the different parts are likely to be diverse ; and if the tariff is to correspond to these needs must be highly differentiated. Prof. Gregory remarks "the greater the geographical dispersion, the greater the chances are that a common uniform tariff will be inapplicable and that some parts of the area must suffer in consequence." Mr. Delle-Donne in his

European Tariff policies says, "hitherto the colonies, whose economic interests are so varied and complex that they do not lend themselves to being protected by a uniform policy throughout the whole Empire, have often sacrificed their interests for the benefit of the mother country." A Dominion Prime Minister might have formed a firm conviction that a policy of protection best suits the interests of his country, while an English Labour Premier might have an equally strong conviction that a policy of free trade best accords with the peculiar needs of his own people and may even refuse to take action against the free importation of bounty-fed wheat from Germany. It is quite possible that at no distant future Canada might allow free imports of wood-pulp or flax from U. S. A. or Russia for her paper-making or textile industry (possibly the two most important industries in Canada) and tax the imports of paper and linen from the United Kingdom with a view to protect her own industries. Australia might be willing to import coal freely from U. S. A. while South Africa might think that such free imports would depress her coal mining industry. Tariff assimilation is almost as hopeless of attainment as free trade within the Empire. It has the further disadvantage that even if it were adopted, it is likely to take the form of protection all round rather than of universal free trade. Great Britain, the staunchest advocate of free trade so long, has already partially adopted protection by the Key Industries Act of 1926 and $\frac{1}{10}$ of her imports had already received protection by 1928. It is, however, exactly against this raising of duties by different states that the League of Nations raised its voice. The World Economic Conference held in Geneva in 1927, attended by representatives from 50 different nations affirmed that "a return to the effective liberty of international trading is one of the primary conditions of world prosperity." This view was further endorsed by the International Chamber of Commerce at Stockholm in 1927.

Cannot anything be done in this matter then? Yes, attempts can be made to have freer trade, more trade and increasing trade

between different parts of the Empire and encouragement may be given to inter-imperial trade by better advertisement of Empire goods, by better organisation of transport facilities, by a more thorough study of the needs of the different members of the Empire and by the adoption of more up-to-date methods of production. Already the sentimental preference for Empire goods is strong and the Empire Marketing Board is doing useful work. Yet Mr. Campbell is thoroughly right when he opines that "no such Scheme (Empire Free Trade) should be so rigid as to exclude the possibility of reciprocal or other concessions to foreign countries." The colonies may extend the market for British manufactures by keeping out of their country foreign goods by means of a tariff, but United Kingdom can do little in return for her colonies. Possibly their need for stimulation is less than that of Great Britain, as they export mainly raw materials. This is probably the reason why colonies have persevered in their policy of Imperial Preference even without substantial encouragement from the mother country.

R. BOSE

AMONG THE SEASON'S GOOD BOOKS

The development of travel through the ages is intensely interesting. From primitive horse travelling in the West we have reached, by a remarkable process of stages, the more luxurious transport afforded by modern motor coaches, oil-driven locomotives, and swift moving planes. In the East the primitive methods of travel are still, to a large extent, retained, the camel, the horse, and the elephant playing very important rôles in the great game of transport. Bullocks are still used in many countries, and even dogs are pressed into service for drawing milk-carts in Belgium.

The steam engine, the bicycle, the aeroplane, the locomotive and ship are each dealt with in Lt. Colonel F. S. Brereton's latest work "Travel" (Messrs. B. T. Batsford, London, 4s. 6d.) which is copiously illustrated throughout. Many brains have contributed to the betterment of travel, and it is fascinating, as we proceed through this book, to watch the successful results of the inventors' handiwork.

How we all like to read legends and folk-tales. At least, I do myself, and we find there are few people adverse to a pleasant half hour spent reading such well written books as Donald Mackenzie's "Indian Fairy Stories" (Messrs. Blackie & Sons, Bombay, 5s.). I came into close contact with many fine Indian folk-tales and legends whilst editing a series for a publishing house a few months ago, but those contained in Mackenzie's volume are choice specimens, and are as fine a set as one could wish to read. "The Story of the Star Maidens" is a dainty legend. It deals with the fate of one of three Star Maidens, who, consumed with a longing to visit the distant earth, stole down a fine web of silk, which the King of Spiders spun for them specially, to a pool in a deep forest. When it is time to return, alas! only two can manage to get

back for one sister had the clothes stolen by a wandering hunter, and, as she could not return without them, she was forced to remain on earth as his wife. Many of the stories deal with animals, and some with the notorious 'Rakshasas,' a tribe of legendary evil monsters against whom fairy influence is always working. I spent an hour deeply absorbed in "Indian Fairy Tales," and shall treasure it for future use.

I wonder if there is a more famous spot in the whole world than London. I say 'spot' because London is but a spot compared with the whole of the world. Of course in reality London is a tremendous city, full of charms, beauty, pathos, wonderment, wealth and poverty. If you desire to tour London, and are without the means to carry out your project, read and study W. Teignmouth Shore's "Touring London" (Messrs. Batsford, London, 4s.) and, so well has Shore done his work, so much life, description, and simplicity has he infused into the hundred and five pages which comprise this praiseworthy little volume, that to read it is to emerge educated about the main points of London. Not a stone does he leave unturned to imprint essential facts, upon the reader's mind. We commence from Trafalgar Square (the book contains excellent plates and a topping map) and trek through the Strand, Fleet Street (centre of London's Newspaper publishing activities), Ludgate Hill, around St. Paul's Cathedral, up to the Mansion House, along Cheapside, down Newgate Street, Holborn, Oxford Street, Park Lane, Green Park, St James' Park, and back once more to Trafalgar Square. This comprises the first chapter, and for four lengthy tours Mr. Shore makes Trafalgar Square his starting point each time. He tells us all about the cafes, hotels, theatres and other places of amusement, and about the docks of London, centre of the world's shipping. He positively insists that readers must not look upon his book as a 'guide book,' but rather to treat it as if you were a friendly visitor bent on seeing the most of London, and that you have Mr. Teignmouth Shore as a guide.

To while away a pleasant hour I can recommend Richard Dark's "Shakespeare and That Crush" (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 4s. 6d.). With flippant pen and satirical skill he sketches word pictures of such eminent men as Chaucer, Pope, Milton, Ben Jonson, Addison, Swift, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Carlyle, Ruskin and Tennyson. I will take the liberty of quoting a paragraph or so from the Shakesperean section, "While yet in his teens William Shakespeare ran across Anne Hathaway and immediately succumbed to her charms. She was considerably his senior, and just what it was in her that attracted him he could never satisfactorily explain even to himself...After the wedding ceremony William escaped by the early morning wagon to London...Arrived in the Metropolis he made instinctively for the stage...and in a few years his ability as an actor were recognised by all. Meanwhile he had started also as a dramatist. With the aid of a pair of scissors (probably Anne's), a paste-pot, and a typewriter he set to work patching up old plays, and altering those written by his contemporaries." Genius held up in a humorous light, is the result of Richard Dark's clever fooling.

LELAND J. BERRY

AMERICAN EDUCATORS AS PROMOTERS OF WORLD PEACE

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1931 was awarded to Miss Jane Addams of Chicago and Dr. Nicholas Murry Butler, the President of Columbia University. Miss Addams, the founder of Hull House, the most famous Social Settlement in the United States, has given the best of her energy to spread the ideal of social justice. She has promoted the cause of world peace in a constructive manner. She is the founder of the movement of "Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom," Miss Addams is a pacifist who believes that there cannot be world peace on the basis of status quo which denies freedom to hundreds of millions of people. Her innate sense of justice makes her a champion of the cause of down-trodden individuals and the same spirit urges her to espouse the cause of the oppressed peoples of the world, irrespective of their race and colour. When Ireland was fighting for her freedom and the people were victims of the infamous "Black and Tan Rule," the American people, sympathisers of the cause of Irish Freedom, sought the co-operation of the most respected Americans to investigate the situation in Ireland and Miss Jane Addams was chosen to be the Chairman of this Committee whose most effective work aided the cause of Irish Freedom. Miss Addams is conscious of the wrong done to the people of India and other Asian peoples ; and therefore she advocates their freedom and opposes all forms of repressive measures which strangle human rights. She is naturally opposed to violence and therefore a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and thinks that the method of Non-violent Non-co-operation is possibly the most effective means to remedy social and political wrongs.

To promote the cause of peace and freedom has been the passion of her life. As a constructive worker she knows that

this ideal of promoting world peace with justice and liberty cannot be accomplished in one's life-time. The cause of peace and freedom should be fought in all countries and in all ages and therefore organised efforts among the lovers of world peace and freedom is an essential factor for success. Miss Addams has the support of thousands of women of all nationalities to promote this ideal. Therefore when Miss Addams received her share of the Nobel Prize, she devoted the whole amount to the treasury of Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom which is engaged in educating world public opinion for peace in an effective manner. Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom maintains its international head-quarters in Geneva, while it has national groups and national organizations in all important western countries. But Miss Addams lives quietly in Hull House of Chicago where she devotes her energy in solving social and international problems.

II

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, is one of the greatest educators of the world. He is a realist in his method of work and a great idealist, striving for world peace. As an idealist, he emphasises the ideal of world peace and as a realist he works to remove the existing obstacles in the way of world peace. He is possibly the greatest administrative genius in the American educational world. This can be understood from Dr. Butler's achievements in making Columbia University one of the greatest institutions of learning in the world. In 1902 Dr. Butler became the President of Columbia University. "The growth under his administration is evident if the total enrolment of 4,400 resident students in 1901 is compared with that of 37,808 in 1931, and the budget of over \$1,000,000 in 1901 compared with \$16,638,828 for the fiscal year ending in 1931. The little University of 1901 and 1902 has developed into the greatest in the world."

The aim of true education, according to Dr. Butler, is to develop the "international mind," and not merely acquiring efficiency in certain branch of knowledge. While annually vast sums are being spent for education of under-graduates in Columbia University, but the present tendency is to encourage research and weeding out under-graduates and candidates for admission.

"Research at Columbia is organised under a system which has been influenced by German models, yet which is eminently American in form. The "centre," where allied cultures and sciences are brought together, is typical of the university and of Dr. Butler's policies. The great Medical Centre is its best-known expression, but the proposed Engineering Centre will rest on the same principles. Teachers' College, which has been allied with the university since 1899, the Union Theological Seminary, which is so closely affiliated as to be practically a part of the university, and the School of Journalism are other conspicuous examples.

A similar theory is behind the Maison Francaise, the Casa Italiana, the Deutsches Haus, the Casa de las Españas and the Japanese Culture Centre, in which are taught and studied the whole history and the cultures of the countries represented. In these centres there is a place for the undergraduate who is beginning to specialize, the graduate student and the professional man or teacher who wishes to refresh his knowledge of his chosen subject.

The full list of the university's organized activities is of considerable length and bewildering diversity. But the theory behind them is one of emphasis upon the unity rather than the variety of human knowledge. The "interscholastic mind" as well as the "international mind" is stressed, and co-operation of research workers towards a common end is made possible. It is this policy more than any other which has given Columbia world-wide standing, made its degrees admissible everywhere, and enable it to command support for almost any enterprise it

chooses to undertake. The federal system applied to education, as Dr. Butler has often expressed it, has proved to have a very wide popular as well as scholarly appeal.

Columbia University may be regarded as an institution which is engaged in training experts for all nationalities and these experts with their breadth of vision are to aid the cause of better understanding among nations.

Dr. Butler is not content with allowing the cause of promotion of world peace to develop slowly. He is ever active to accelerate its progress by systematic efforts. He is connected with dozens of organizations which are furthering the cause of world peace in their own spheres. However as the head of the Carnegie Foundation, and assisted by scores of devoted and most experienced workers as Dr. James Brown Scott, Dr. James Shotwell and others, Dr. Butler is promoting better understanding among nations by aiding universities, research scholars on international affairs, journalists, visiting professors and other activities which will promote the cause of world peace. Personally Dr. Butler is a world figure. His personal influence with statesmen of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other countries is tremendous ; and this influence is due to this great American educator's sincere interest in the cause of world peace. Indian educators and statesmen may feel that Dr. Butler has not shown any interest regarding India. But that is not the case. Indian scholars who have come in contact with Dr. Butler will testify that he has great interest in the peoples of the East as well as those of the West. Western scholars and institutions have received Dr. Butler's co-operation and attention, because they showed their eagerness to enlist his support. Those Indian educators and statesmen who are interested in promoting world peace through cultural co-operation, will find Dr. Butler most sympathetic and earnest.

III

For the first time in the history of the United States an American woman—a great woman educator—has been appointed as one of the representatives of the Government of the United States in a major international conference. This interesting and epoch-making event took place when President Hoover appointed Dr. Mary E. Wooley, President of Mount Holyoke College (South Hadley, Mass) as one of the American delegates of the Disarmament Conference which has begun its session in February, 1932.

President Wooley is a great educator and for more than two decades has taken active part in rousing the American people, especially women, to do their best so that “law” and “arbitration” will take the place of war. Dr. Wooley is one of the members of the “*National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War*” of which Mrs. Cassic Chapman Catt is the President. This National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War is composed of representatives of more than a dozen of the most important powerful women’s organizations of the United States. Dr. Wooley represents American Association of University Women. Dr. Wooley advocates that those who have exceptional opportunities for higher education have greater responsibilities for serving the people. Educated women have greater responsibility for promoting the cause of world peace than their less educated sisters. Dr. Wooley is an ardent advocate of woman’s rights and economic independence. But she holds that if women do not use their political and economic power to bring about a better social order then they are not fulfilling their obligations to themselves and to posterity.

Dr. Wooley is an optimist. Recently while she was in Paris, on her way to Geneva to attend the Disarmament Conference, some one cynically remarked to her about the futility of such a

Conference when the members of the League of Nations and signatories of the Kellogg Peace Pact were engaged in an un-official war in the Far East. Dr. Wooley calmly but firmly asserted that the world situation demands that we must exert greater efforts to promote the ideal of peace. She was under no illusion about the difficulty of accomplishing the end, but she was anxious to do her share to the best of her ability.

Among American educators, one finds the finest type of idealists and in their work lies the future of America and to a great extent the future of the world.

TARAKNATH DAS

IS SPIRITUALISM IRRECONCILABLE WITH CONTROL OF NATURE BY MAN

The present age which is essentially an age of Science seems to have made a rapid march towards Scepticism and more especially Agnosticism, and the people of the present generation are prone to think that science alone is competent to unfold the mysteries of the Universe and not religion. In fact ever since Lord Bacon wrote his famous "Novum Organum Scientiarum" or the New Organ of Scientific Enquiries in the year 1620, an unreasoned hatred for all that is religious and moral seems to have made its appearance in the world and people are loath to believe that there is an invisible God—the First Creator or the Creator of men-creators.

The reason for this growing disbelief in religion is not far to seek. In recent years science has made very considerable progress, and has made human life so comfortable on earth that in their mad endeavour to satisfy their ever-growing wants men have almost held their back against religion, which they often think to be an idler's profession. The railway engine with its immense power to carry terrific loads, the flying aeroplane with all its wonder and various other triumphs of science have thrilled the imagination of men, so much so, that they are now expectantly looking forward to a day when life may be produced in the laboratory. Though it is difficult to say whether such a day will at all come or not, the hopes raised by the recent triumphs of science cannot be overestimated.

At the time Darwin wrote his epoch-making book "The Origin of the Species" (1859) people could not believe that a time would soon come when religion would be ousted from its traditional stronghold, only to be taken care of by the churchman

and philosopher. But unfortunately such a time made its appearance immediately after Darwin's publication of his marvellous thesis, which stirred the imagination of the people of the 19th century and made all men look upon the dogmas of the church with doubt and suspicion. In the sequel it will be my chief endeavour to show that belief in an All-powerful Being is not irreconcilable either with belief in the Theory of Evolution or with human power to control the forces of Nature.

It will be well to recall here what Lord Bacon says of science. Bacon says that "*Scientia est potentia. Natura parendo Vincitur*"—science is power, and that by a proper interpretation of Nature, she can be dominated and made to serve our purpose. This assertion of Bacon is full of meaning, though we must not assume it to mean that the verdict of the scientist is the last word in the riddles of the Universe.

True it is that we could not have made much advance in our trade, commerce and many other things but for those immortal scientists like Watt, Faraday, Edison, Marconi and many others, who unfolded the laws of Nature and made people believe that Nature could be controlled and utilised. But, notwithstanding the great skill and thought which they displayed, we ought not to lose sight of the most important fact that though man can control Nature, he cannot create Nature. Man is only a second creator—he can create something new provided the materials are there. Just as a potter cannot create the clay with which he works, so the scientist cannot create the materials with which he works. If then, it is a fact that man cannot create either matter or life, the power and omnipotence of an unseen creator of the Universe must remain an accepted truth.

Now then, we reach a point where the much-accentuated differences between science and religion fade away and both the scientist and the theologian shake hands. The Atomic Theory in its old form is no longer maintained and no one now believes that the atoms dropped straight from Heaven and

that they are the original matter out of which the whole Universe had mechanically evolved through long periods of time. Charles Darwin did not really deny the existence or omnipotence of God, though many people believe that his Theory of Mechanical Evolution leaves no room for belief in an All-Powerful Being. Like Buddha, Darwin is simply silent on the question of the existence of God—a question which he does not touch at all. What I want to show here is that the Evolutionary Theory, if properly understood, does not really run counter to the theistic belief, but simply supplements that belief. Here, of course, we must draw a clear distinction between mechanical evolution and teleological or purposeful evolution. The theory advocated by Darwin is that of mechanical or fortuitous evolution, whereas the other theory—the one maintained by the idealist, is that of purposeful evolution. Now, it will be seen that whereas the second theory is logical and convincing the first one is illogical and unconvincing.

Darwin wants to prove that nature shows no signs of purpose or design, but that everything is fortuitous or mechanical. According to him, man himself had developed from the anthropogite ape and that he is nothing more than a “conscious automaton,” to use a Cartesian phrase. But what I want to point out is that neither Darwin nor the biologists that followed him could explain the origin of life or consciousness—a phenomenon entirely distinct from matter and in no way the product of matter. Matter is inert and dead, whereas life is full of activity, sensations and emotions. Those scientists who dogmatically maintain that life or consciousness had automatically evolved out of lifeless matter fail to explain how matter which is unconscious could give rise to conscious mind. Accepting the law of causality as understood by the scientist, the theory that life or consciousness had evolved out of lifeless matter appears to be illogical and absurd. We fail to understand how the effect could be entirely different from the cause. If matter is supposed to be the cause of life, it must

possess all the characteristics of life ; otherwise it cannot be supposed to be the cause of life. But, as matter does not possess any of the characteristics of life, it cannot be supposed to be the cause of life. The life principle has been an enigma to all scientists of all ages and will probably remain so till the end of time. Huxley, Tyndall and many others fail to explain this strange phenomenon and the scientist finds himself bewildered and puzzled before this "terra incognita," the origin of which is, to use Herbert Spencer's phraseology, "unknown and unknowable."

Contrary to the above, the idealist can give a reasonable account of the Universe as the evolution and self-expression of God, who realises Himself through the innumerable beings He creates. The Universe as understood by the idealist is a vast field for Gods' eternal activity. The idealist does not deny that there are grades of reality, that the lower develops into the higher, but what he emphasises is that everything in Universe is purposeful and what there is no creature on earth, however tiny it may be, which does not serve God's purpose and manifest His glory.

Thus the time-worn quarrel between science and religion is more imaginary than real. Viewed in the proper perspective, neither religion is antagonistic to science nor science is antagonistic to religion. The only difference is that whereas the first deals with the invisible and the eternal, the latter deals with the visible and the temporal. Even this distinction between the visible and the invisible is more apparent than real, as the visible is only an external manifestation of the invisible. They are as if two sides of the same shield. This great truth was clearly seen by the Hindu "rishis" of old, who attributed our supposed reality (in the sense of permanence) of the world of sense to "māyā" or "avidyā" (Ignorance). The objects of the world are not unreal in the same sense in which a chimera is unreal, they are unreal only in the sense of being temporal and evanescent.

If then, science and religion are not enemies but friends, I do not see any force in the argument that science leaves no room for belief in a Supreme being—the original and one Creator of all existing things. In fact, the scientist's world is only a microcosm in comparison with the theologian's world, which is a macrocosm. But, since the microcosm is only a partial manifestation of the macrocosm, the difference between the two worlds is not unbridgable, as we think it to be.

At the beginning of the article I have remarked that the present age is essentially an age of science and that it seems to have ousted religion from its traditional stronghold. In conclusion, I think another remark will be pertinent and fit. Scientific discoveries have done humanity not good alone, but harm too. The huge forces of Nature let loose by science have ultimately turned against men, for whose benefit they were intended and the strange anomaly of the present-day civilisation is that men have not been able to control the various forces of destruction of which they are the masters. This has made the thoughtful section of humanity to ponder deeply over the ultimate worthlessness of science, which in the long run appears to be more destructive than constructive. In fact, an impassioned cry for peace has already made its appearance in the world and I believe that religion alone is competent to cure all our evils and to take us slowly but steadily towards the sure goal of salvation.

PRAPHULLAPRAN CHANGKAKATI

PRAYER

O Lord the night is dark
The way is cloudy long ;
One look of Thine own eye
Anon, I sing my song.
Hard by yon hill dogs bark
I am afraid to sing,
Let Thy face smile awhile
How swift I fare, my King.
The mighty Sun of world
How could Thy eye miss me ?
O everywhere Thou look,
I doubt, how can it be ?

V. H. PANDIT

THE PERSONALITY OF A FAMOUS BENGALI¹

We have assembled here this evening to celebrate the 67th anniversary of the birth of a great son of Bengal who passed away suddenly seven years ago in far-off Patna. To study the various aspects of his impressive personality or to review the salient features of his eventful life within the scope of a short paper is certainly difficult. In this hall which has so often resounded with his eloquence like the great hall or the other side of College Square, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee must seem to many of us to be present bodily this evening; we seem almost to see his stately figure and to hear his mighty voice. There are also many distinguished men present here who were privileged to know Sir Asutosh intimately and to work with him for years. Many here are familiar with his brilliant career as an educationist, a lawyer and a Judge and had glimpses of his extraordinary personality. Here we are surrounded with the very emblems of success which crowned his wonderful life and no further appreciation of it appears to be necessary. But to know a man by the fruits of his victory, to know him by the success which has rewarded his labours is not to know him fully. It is also necessary to find out if he had any disappointments, any unrealised ideals, any void in his soul which his highest achievements could not fill up. Sorrow is a truer index of a man's nature than happiness. As Oscar Wilde says in his *De Profundis*, "Prosperity, pleasure and success may be of rough grain and common in fibre, but sorrow is the most sensitive of all created things." But Sir Asutosh was so uniformly successful in life, that it is difficult to imagine that he might have had any unrealised desires,

¹ Paper read at a meeting in the University Institute under the Presidentship of Sir C. V. Raman on the 29th June, 1931.

that he might ever have yearned for something which he could not obtain or that there might possibly have been in a corner of his heart any pang of sorrow or disappointment. Our doubts, however, are resolved by his own words :—“ Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day-dreams.....they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns *I have sacrificed all chances of study and research.*” Thus he unburdened his soul in his memorable Convocation speech of 1914. This expression of regret is genuine; since the renunciation, for want of opportunity, of a life of scholarship and the sacrifice of brilliant prospects of lasting fame through research and study were, for a man of Sir Asutosh’s calibre, no small sacrifice. The young man whose academic career was one of sustained brilliance and passed into a byword amongst later generations and who by his original mathematical contributions attracted the attention of distinguished authorities in Europe, naturally looked forward, after the termination of his academic life, to adequate facilities for widening the bounds of knowledge. It is certain that under favourable circumstances and with proper assistance and encouragement he would have achieved the most signal success as a savant and carved out a niche for himself in the temple of eternal fame. The days are gone when Indians were looked upon as inherently and constitutionally incompetent to make scientific research and the last of a pretty long series of recognitions of Indians’ capacity in this field came when the eminent scientist presiding over this meeting was ushered into the brilliant audience-hall of the snow-clad palace of King Gustav to receive the Nobel Prize for Physics. Those who have only known Sir Asutosh as a lawyer and as a Judge or have watched his career as a man of action, may find it difficult to conceive of him in a different rôle : they may very naturally ask themselves how a dynamic personality like his could have possibly been buried in contemplation. Yet there is no room for doubt that if he had confined himself

to the study of science, Sir Asutosh would have made abiding contributions to the world's stock of knowledge. Sir Asutosh, like all remarkable men, must have been conscious of his talents, and in turning, for want of adequate opportunity, from science to law, from contemplation to action, he must have felt a severe wrench of the heart and heaved a sigh of regret at the sacrifice which his choice of career involved and which was not required of him for the first time when University affairs became one of his chief concerns in life. This feeling of regret or disappointment gives us a truer insight into the character of Sir Asutosh and explains his subsequent activities as an educationist. The thought that scholarship and research were impossible for meritorious Indians for want of proper facilities in Calcutta was unbearable to him and his interest in the Association for the Cultivation of Science and his subsequent foundation of the University College of Science and the Post-Graduate Departments were all prompted by this feeling. That these institutions are fulfilling the purposes which their illustrious founder had in view and gradually realising his cherished dreams is now beyond question and the Chairman of this meeting is a living proof of the far-sighted wisdom of the great educationist.

I have referred only to one aspect of his life ; but it is so varied and has so many remarkable features that its full analysis must be a difficult task. Though he could not devote himself entirely to the search for truth, he interested himself in almost every subject which has any cultural value. Western literature and Science, Sanskrit and Pali, the modern Indian languages, Philosophy, Antiquities and Jurisprudence—all these claimed a share of his attention. But active life was intertwined with this interest in things intellectual. Civic affairs of this great city, larger destinies of the country, as shaped in the legislatures, guidance of large educational institutions and scientific associations, practice at the law-courts—all these made simultaneous claims on his time, energy and vitality. He

was equally at home as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, President of the Indian Science Congress and of the Board of Sanskrit Examinations, Vice-Chancellor of the foremost University in India and one of His Majesty's Judges in the Calcutta High Court. The burden that would have crushed any other man served only to call forth fresh energy and greater enthusiasm from Sir Asutosh. These are well-known facts. His varied experience gained in important positions and in different spheres of activity combined with his versatile scholarship was responsible for the evolution of a unique personality which baffles analysis. Like all extraordinary men, it fell to his lot to be the butt of criticisms which neutralise one another. Apart from "the risk of having his motives and aims misconceived and misinterpreted," he ran the further risk of having his views and opinions labelled according to the schools of thought to which his friends belonged. Was he a hard-headed worldly-wise man or a visionary? There are supporters of both these views,—one class of them pointing to his remarkable success at the Bar, his successful efforts to secure large benefactions for his Alma Mater and his skill in conducting meetings, and the other relying on his vision of a great teaching University in Calcutta and his undimmed hope of independent research of the highest type being carried on there in all branches of knowledge. Was he, it is asked, a modernist or a classicist, a lover of ancient ideas and writers? We find supporters of both the views and references are made by them, in support of their respective contentions, on the one hand to Sir Asutosh's labours in the Asiatic Society and in the Board of Sanskrit Examinations, his interest in the indigenous system of Sanskrit scholarship represented in the *tolas* and in Buddhistic lore enshrined in Pali, Chinese and Tibetan, the opening, at his instance, of a large number of courses for the M.A. Examination in Sanskrit in the Calcutta University and, on the other, to his repeated insistence on the necessity of the application of western critical

and historical methods in the field of Indian scholarship, the institution, under his guidance, of M.A. courses in modern Indian languages in our University, the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in some cases and, last but not least, the elaborate arrangements made for the teaching of various branches of modern Science in the University Science College. It has similarly been asked whether Sir Asutosh was primarily a man of action or a man of thought, whether he was orthodox or liberal in his religious views, whether he was a nationalist or a "moderate" in his political ideas.

Man has been called by Charles Lamb "a bundle of contradictions." But contradiction, as much as harmony, is largely a matter of personal opinion and conviction and its reality or unreality often depends on angles of vision. It is because ordinary people fail to realise this, that they try to shield themselves against the charge involved in Lamb's words by subscribing to a creed or by affecting to conform to a school. Master minds are capable of taking a comprehensive view; they are alive to the changefulness of social ideas and the complexity of human thought. They can respond to the impact of new forces and appreciate fresh outlook on the part of rising generations, without being fettered by "our little systems." We can apply to such men what a critic said of an English philosophical poet: "The difficulty, and the interest, arises from his equal acceptance of all available authorities; it should not be increased by over-simplification, by trying to confine him to a school."

Sir Asutosh had some illustrious men of Bengal as his contemporaries, who were leaders of public opinion, educationists or jurists. It would be interesting to compare him with these representative Bengalis and to bring out the main features of each of them. Comparisons need not be odious; on the contrary, when made in the right spirit, they are morally and intellectually stimulating and are merely a form of offering tributes of homage and respect. But time forbids me to notice in detail the acute intellect and the saintly character of Gooroodass

Banerji, the massive legal lore of Rashbehari Ghose, the persuasive advocacy and the level-headed politics of S. P. Sinha, the dogged tenacity of Byomkesh Chakerbutty, the thundering oratory and the fiery nationalism of Surendranath Banerjea, the self-sacrifice and emotional abandon of Chittaranjan Das side by side with the versatile culture and the masterful personality of Asutosh Mookerjee. Each was certainly unique in his own way. Intellectual curiosity has been a well-known mark of the people of Bengal since the days of Jimutavahana and Raghunandan and culture has always been held in high estimation by us. It was the privilege of Sir Asutosh to foster this spirit of enquiry, to guide it into proper channels and to afford it some scope for its activity. He organised the educational resources of the country and by centralising them in the University of Calcutta made the latter a potent factor of the Renaissance in India. He brought Indian scholars and students into contact with reputed savants of Europe in order to encourage them and instil into their minds faith and self-confidence.

But, if we go deeper, we shall find that Bengal as a whole loved Asutosh Mookerjee not merely for his varied culture or his valuable achievements in the field of education. Love, as Socrates explains in the *Symposium*, is of something which a man does not possess in himself and it may be said that a nation loves in its great men some attributes of character which are rare even in its distinguished members. Asutosh, to the people of Bengal, was the personification of irresistible power, of immeasurable energy and infinite strength of will. As Rabindranath Tagore said in his tribute to the departed soul, "Men are always rare in all countries...who have the thundering voice to say that what is needed shall be done : and Asutosh had that magic voice of assurance." He visualised his objective in clear outlines, spent restless days and nights on preparations for reaching it and, when the hour came, pressed on with unerring steps and unflinching steadiness. The voices of disparagers

were hushed in silence, carping critics were struck dumb, opposition melted away like chaff before the wind or as autumn leaves before a wintry gale. No wonder that the supine Bengali stared in amazement at the colossus and knelt down in adoration before him. His voice sounded as the trumpet-call, his sallies of intellect were like swift rapier-thrusts, his marvellous power of organisation supplied the driving-force which gave him victory everywhere. In him was certainly embodied the ideal which had long beckoned his countrymen from afar but was regarded by them as unrealisable and which so naïvely expressed by Chittaranjan Das :

‘ আমি চাহি না শাস্ত, চাহি না শিষ্ট, চাহি না নিরীহ ঘেষ ;

‘ আমি চাহি যে রক্ত, চাহি যে চণ্ড, চাহি বীরেন্দ্র বেশ ।

Providence did not spare him for greater and tougher fights in the political arena which he would have probably entered in course of time. Courage and *strength of will* radiate from real leaders and transmit themselves to their followers. Sir Asutosh could infuse enthusiasm into the minds of the most timid and instil hope and faith into all who had the privilege of coming into contact with him. Bengal which knew him so well, had been expecting the emergence of a great political leader in Sir Ashutosh, a leader fit to bear immense burdens and to shoulder stupendous responsibilities,—one who possessed not only courage and patriotism but also soundness of judgment and a sense of reality in human affairs.

Though politics in Bengal could not profit by his leadership, the University has gained immensely from it. His labours in the cause of Post-Graduate Studies which led to misunderstandings with Government in his life-time were recognised by Lord Lytton as Chancellor of the University when he generously promised to stabilise the Post-Graduate Department as a tribute to the memory of its departed founder. He agreed, to quote His Excellency's inimitable words, “to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his

·dying hands and in the years to come, whatever changes may be found essential in the general organisation of the University, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom, or its future development." If this momentous declaration is faithfully adhered to by the Government of Bengal and full effect be given to it, the people of Bengal will be sincerely grateful to it for the honour done to the great educationist who is no more. If his death helps the realisation of his cherished dream which his life-long struggle and labour failed to fulfil, he will go down in history as a martyr to the cause of scholarship and culture.

But it is now seven years since His Excellency the Chancellor gave his solemn assurance and, if I may say so without impropriety, it is a matter of regret to all interested in Higher Education in Bengal that the chances of the stabilisation of the teaching departments of the Calcutta University seem to be as uncertain and as far off as ever.¹ Undoubtedly Lord Lytton was moved by a sincere and magnanimous desire to perpetuate the memory of Sir Asutosh when, unasked and unsolicited, His Excellency undertook on behalf of his Government to put the Post-Graduate Departments on a secure foundation; for he knew that the best means of honouring the dead as well of giving peace and satisfaction to their hovering spirits, was to help on the cause for which they had lived and worked; and the welfare of these Departments was the object which, in Sir Asutosh's later years, was nearest his heart and on which he lavished unsparingly his vitality, his time and powers of mind. One is prompted to ask what delays the fulfilment of a solemn and self-imposed

¹ Since this paper was read, the Government of Bengal has expressed its intention of making a fixed recurring grant to the University. It is a matter of satisfaction that this has been rendered possible through the personal efforts of His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson and the Hon'ble the Minister of Education. It bids fair to remove many of the grievances of the University as voiced in the last portion of the present paper. The paper is here printed exactly as it was read without any alteration which might be regarded as desirable in view of the announcement relating to the Government grant but which would have required the recasting of a large portion of it.

obligation by the Government of Bengal. It would be indelicate to wonder if

“.....the lore
Of nicely calculated less or more”

is responsible for this slackness on the part of the authorities. Seven years is a pretty long span of time and the echo of Sir Asutosh's deep voice is growing fainter and fainter every day as “from the great deep to the great deep he goes.” Asutosh Mookerjee is slowly passing into History and the memory of all that was mortal of him is growing dimmer with the lapse of time ; but the appeal of the cause for which he stood grows stronger every day and it should be as strong and as irresistible as that of the heroic men who fell fighting on the field of Flanders for a glorious cause—so felicitously expressed by the English poet :—

“ We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe :
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch, be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.”

The enemy against which Sir Asutosh fought is Ignorance and superstitious Self-complacence, the common enemy of all; and his appeal is to the Government and the people of Bengal alike, for the cause of culture of which he was the champion, ought to be sacred to both. Private benefaction and Government aid should therefore flow in in an unstinted measure for the stabilisation of the Teaching University of Calcutta without which his weary and perturbed soul can find no peace even in the “vasty hall of Death.”

• MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJE

SONGS OF THE SEA

Few people have laboured like Sir Richard R. Terry to rescue the old traditional songs of the sea from their obscure resting place in oblivion. For this painstaking toil on the part of Sir Richard, we should show heartfelt gratitude and joy. I feel that the sea shanties and ballads of days long since past, simply bubble over with cheerfulness and good fellowship, whilst, in some measure, many of them hand down that rousing spirit of gallantry and patriotic pride of the Motherland.

In studying sea shanties we delve deep into the ancient lore of the ocean, tinged, very often, with superstition, but always characterised by that sentimental vein of humour that is peculiarly the seaman's own.

One feels that these songs of the sea might be more widely known than they are, for they would be immeasurably more understandable to singer and audience alike than is the average song that is put up on present-day concert programmes. Such songs as "Chesapeake and Shannon;" "Farewell and Adieu to you, Spanish Ladies"; "Billy Boy;" "The Saucy Arethusa;" and "Lowlands Low" are worthy of inclusion in any concert singer's repertoire.

Whilst such songs as several of the above are not essentially a product of the sea, being composed primarily for the stage, they are inseparably allied to the traditional side of our collections of sea songs. "Tom Bowling" is yet another song of the stage that has clung to its sentimental tarriness and become known as a song of the sea.

Sir Richard Terry's most recent of sea-songs has been published under the title "Salt Sea Ballads" by Curwen, with an admirable Foreword by Morley Roberts, who congratulates Sir Richard "on what he had done to preserve something more of the days that have passed for ever."

Here we have thirty songs of the sea, each with the original words (as far as they were humanly possible to trace) and each with a judicious pianoforte accompaniment added or arranged by Sir Richard himself.

There are, of course, many different editions of sea-shanties and the like, all of whom claim to be authentic. It is remarkable the various words one finds fitted to a single tune, and the various tunes one finds adapted to one set of words. Terry says in his Introduction: "The contrast is painful between the platform performances I hear, and the memory of the same tunes as I heard them in childhood—crooned by the fisher women as they sat baiting their lines by the waving bents, to the accompaniment of the sea's deep bourdon."

It is difficult to state the ages of any of the older sea songs, so many generations have sung them, so many fathers have handed them to their sons, and those sons have in turn handed them on to their sons, to say nothing of those loyal woman hearts who sang the same tunes whilst waiting patiently for their men-folk to return home from the sea.

There are roughly two types of sea-song, the one which was written for singing at hostelrys on shore, and the other which was of the sea itself, that seemed to find natural birth in front of the mast. The true songs of sea have been submerged in heavy floods of shore-born ditties that arose simultaneously with any stirring naval event, such as a battle, a chase or an escape.

Sir Richard Terry introduces several rousing choruses, such as "Don't forget your old Shipmate," "Hoh-a-derry dando" and "The Chinese Bumboat Man." "Blow the Wind Southerly" is, in my opinion, one of the finest numbers in the book.

LELAND J. BERRY

THE "SCRAPS OF PAPER" AND THE PROBLEM OF THE STATES

The Indian princes are insistent in their demand that if and when they join the Federation their relations will be direct with the Crown through the Viceroy and not with the Governor-General-in-Council. Only such matters of common concern which have been expressly delegated to the Federal Government should be administered by the latter, everything else being taken care of by the states themselves. In making this demand the princes are no doubt actuated by their undoubted loyalty to the Crown but mostly by their fear that a democratic Federal Government will make more and more inroads upon their prerogatives and their treaty rights will be violated. But a close scrutiny will reveal that their fears are entirely groundless and their condition under the new regime is not likely to be worse than under the present, for these very treaties which are claimed to be sacrosanct have been repeatedly violated by the Political Department of the Government of India under the plausible excuse of either imperial exigencies or for the sake of uniformity of political practice. The author of the "Scraps of Paper" has rendered a distinct service to the cause of Indian nationalism by exposing in all their nakedness the ruthless process by which the princes were humiliated in the eye of the public by the Political Department and their privileges usurped one after another in spite of the solemn promises repeatedly given, guaranteeing their rights, privileges and honours. The book if carefully perused will convince the princes in whose behalf it was written that these treaties upon which they put so much emphasis are looked upon by the Department as no better

than mere scraps of paper to be consigned to the scrap-heap when it will suit their convenience. The sacrosanctity of the treaties is a mere myth and the tenure of their exalted offices is as insecure as possible. On the flimsiest of pretexts a hereditary prince like the Maharana of Udaipore, the Doyen of the Rajput princes, can be thrust away from the Gaddi which he had filled for so long a time with conspicuous ability or that the Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh of Kashmir who according to the testimony of Sir Walter Lawrence, the author of "The India We Served," was a most loyal and worthy ruler, could be similarly shorn of all power on the merest suspicion. For the establishment of the salt monopoly the Government of India did not hesitate to violate the treaty rights of the princes of Kathiawar and Cutch, have destroyed their flourishing trade with other parts of India as well as South and East Africa, have eventually destroyed their shipping and ship-building trade, crippled the finances of the states and have lastly reduced their subjects to penury and have compelled many of these latter to migrate to British India in search of their livelihood. With a view to establish the same monopoly large tracts of the once fertile lands in Kishengarh state in Rajputana have been converted into deserts by withdrawing all supplies of water from them. Again, how the sovereign rights of the states are constantly infringed on the specious plea of exercising uniform jurisdiction over the railways passing through the states as well as cantonments and residencies established in them, is furnished by the rapid growth of the Residency at Indore into a considerable town in close proximity to the capital, depriving the latter of a large part of its customs and excise revenue. The record of the suzerain power is not at all an honourable one which on one plea or other and often in the teeth of determined opposition of the states concerned and not infrequently taking advantage of a minority administration, has sought to tighten its grip on the states and has reduced them to impotence. In his chapter on the "Bed of Procrustes" Nicholson clearly shows how a determined

attempt was made by the Government of India to reduce all major states to the level of Mysore which under the conditions of rendition was obliged to accept many limitations upon its autonomy but which did not apply to the former in whose case there could not have been any question whatsoever of not looking a gift horse in the mouth. In the case of the minor states the rulers were compelled to sign the "fealty bonds" surrendering all the sovereign rights solemnly assured to them. It is sad to reflect that inspite of the devoted and tested loyalty of the princes and their constant readiness to place all their resources at the disposal of the paramount power on the outbreak of hostilities or the least apprehension of danger from any quarter of the globe and last of all the splendid services rendered by them during the last Great War, grave suspicion still seems to lurk in the minds of the authorities as regards the intentions of the feudatories and every request made by the Durbars for up-to-date weapons to arm the state police is subjected to the closest scrutiny. Even the Maharaja of Patiala, the late Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, enjoying the rank of an Hony. Lieutenant-General and Prince Ranjitsingh, so popular with his English friends, were not immune from this suspicion and it was after a tedious correspondence extending over many months that the latter's request to have a small number of rifles to arm a section of his police was complied with. Similarly the Patiala Durbar's request to have only 25 revolvers to arm its police officers above the rank of sub-inspectors has been the subject of a long and humiliating correspondence. It was first started in February, 1926, and is perhaps still being kept up. Thus it will be clear that all the great feudatory states, one after another, have come under the grinding process and have been compelled to part with much of their sovereignty and not infrequently large slices of their territory. As an instance of the latter the case of Berar may be cited. It can be safely assumed that the Swaraj Government will under no circumstances act in this grasping manner provided the princes have the good sense to

accept the contention of the Indian nationalists and establish the reign of law in their territories. The strongest guarantee of the rights and privileges of the princes, on which they have put the greatest emphasis and which Indian opinion has unanimously accepted, will be the establishment of a Supreme Federal Court which will decide all justiciable cases arising out of the interpretation of treaties, engagements and sanads. Up till now this request of the princes has fallen upon the Government's deaf ears. In all disputes with the paramount power the states are at a distinct disadvantage. The Government of India has both been a part to a dispute as well as the judge. In the absence of an independent tribunal the case of the Princes has always gone by default and judgment has invariably been pronounced against them.

From this it will be clear that the Princes have nothing to lose and everything to gain from a change in the existing form of government. The only price that will be asked in exchange will be the introduction of constitutional government in their dominions. Already in many of the advanced states the foundations of some form of representative government have been laid and the rulers of many others have repeatedly professed their willingness to do the same. The only thing that they will be now required to do will be to implement these promises so often made. If they have any lurking suspicions in their minds that by introducing these reforms they will weaken their authority they are wholly mistaken. On the contrary by doing this they will infinitely strengthen their hands and their tenure will be secure and permanent. They will have to establish the reign of law in place of the rule of discretion that obtains at present. But this is a change which has been introduced in all civilized countries and is sure to overtake them also, sooner or later, but the sooner they introduce it on their own initiative the better it will be for them; for then it can be effected with the least dislocation of ordinary business as well as change in the established order of things. It is to be expected that the Princes

being generally educated and enlightened will not fail to realise that the rôle of a constitutional ruler is in no way inferior to that of an autocrat. As an *enlightened* ruler of his *enlightened subjects* the former fills a more exalted office and can wield more power when he can enlist the willing co-operation of his subjects. As a constitutional ruler the Prince will establish himself more securely on the throne and will be still left in enjoyment of a very considerable amount of power, patronage and initiative. He will continue to be the head of the executive government, being the fountain-head of all power, honour and prestige. All the officers, executive or judicial, from the chief minister downwards, will be appointed by him or under his authority. The ministers will hold office only during his pleasure though they will have to be appointed from among those enjoying the confidence of the state legislature, this practice being brought into line, from time to time, with that obtaining in Federal India. The writs will run in his name and he will have the privilege of summoning, proroguing or dissolving the legislature. His office will be a hereditary one. He will be the channel of all communications with the Federal Government and for many years to come he may be entrusted with the charge of seeing to the execution of all federal laws in his realm subject to oversight by federal officers. This was exactly so in *pre-war* Germany as opposed to the custom which prevails in America where federal officers work side by side with the state officers. But pre-war Germany, divided as it was unequally into a large number of principalities, great and small, and one great partner which overshadowed the rest, offers in many respects a more suitable model for our imitation than America with her strict ideas of equality in the *status of the states*. The Prince may be also the commander of the state forces as in Bavaria, a privilege and honour which he now does not enjoy though the force will be a part of the federal army and will have to be officered in its higher ranks by federal military officers and as regards recruitment, training, equipment and inspection will be subject to

regulations formed by the Federal Government in the interests of efficiency and uniformity. In the years immediately succeeding the establishment of the Federation the states' representatives to the Council of State, which will be the Federal chamber, may be the nominees of the Durbars instead of the representatives of the subjects who will find their place in the Legislative Assembly, a practice which also obtained in pre-war Germany (Woodrow Wilson's "State," p. 449). Through these representatives acting under instructions from the Durbars, the Princes will be able to exercise a potent influence on, and to guide the course of, federal politics. Their honours and dignities will remain intact. They will always represent the states on all ceremonious occasions. Over and above this they will be entirely relieved of their constant fear of the encroachment of their rights by the agents of the Government of India which now keeps them on the tenter-hooks. In fact the powers which will still be left to the Princes or which will be added to the existing ones will be so considerable that the strongest constitutional monarch in the world may well envy them.

This change from arbitrary to constitutional rule will not be so great as it looks on the surface if we are to believe in the assurances constantly given that already many of the states have accepted the recommendations of Lord Irwin regarding a fixed privy purse, security of tenure of the services and an independent judiciary. All that the Princes will have to do now will be to advance a step further and to grant constitutions to their subjects defining strictly the limits of the royal prerogative and the extent of the popular privileges. If they can make up their minds to take this decisive step they will immensely advance the cause of Indian nationalism and will firmly establish themselves in the respect and loyalty of their subjects as well as of the British Indians.

When that blessed day will come we shall surely owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. A. P. Nicholson, the author of the "Scraps of Paper" for marshalling with conspicuous ability all

these cases of flagrant breaches of treaty obligations by the Paramount Power and thus providing that the remark frequently made about British India equally applies to the Government's relations with the states, *viz.*, that its history is a record of broken pledges. It would have disabused the minds of the Princes and would have convinced them that on what they had leaned for support was only a broken reed. He has rendered us the greatest service though unconsciously and perhaps in spite of himself.

HARICHARAN MUKERJI

Reviews

Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts.—Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji, M.A., I.E.S. *Macmillan & Company, Ltd., Revised Edition, 1930. Re. 1-8.*

This is the fourth edition of a book which originally appeared under a slightly different title. An account of Hindu fasts and feasts (the Rai Bahadur describes here 20 of them) is an indispensable help towards understanding the Hindu view of life, the code of Hindu religion,—so much place do they take up in the normal conduct of a member of Hindu society. The book is a substantial step towards such a study, along with other remarkable books on the subject,—*Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans* (Calcutta, 1914), *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials* by Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte (Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., 1916), and *The Hindu Religious Year* by Mr. Underhill (Association Press, 1921).

The style is lucid and the book is well-planned, the ceremonies have been graded according to the season of the year in which they are timed to occur, from the end of *Pous* to the *Purnima* of *Kartik*; the month of *Agrahayana* being a period of mourning, as being the month when Ram had been banished, it was considered to be specially unlucky. Even those who look out only for entertainment will find an abundant supply of their food in the volume under review.

P. R. S.

Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion—By J. G. Mackenzie, M.A., B.D.—George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., pp. 144., 5s. net.

The title of the book is too apt to engender the suspicion at the very outset that it is a piece of casuistical literature, and, as such, amenable to the criticisms justly enforced against what is known as the science of 'casuistry' by the French Mathematician and Philosopher, Pascal, in the seventeenth century, and repeated ever since. Dealing, as it does, with 'the application of psychological knowledge to concrete difficulties with which any one may meet,' the book does yet evince a scientific treatment of problems all through. The concrete cases to which the author refers are typical ones; and his mode of treating them is singularly attractive. It is not that he calls up these concrete cases just to substantiate some

abstract thesis or pet theory of his own, but it is these concrete instances and individuals, in whom he is primarily and pre-eminently interested, that supply the necessary incentive to his search for psychological theories, and their subsequent application to these concrete situations. What is particularly refreshing about the author's treatment of the problems is that his approach to these, all and sundry, is not that of a theorist, nor is it that of a quack administering patent *recipes* to cure ailments of the soul, superficially similar. From the beginning to the end, what is in evidence is the trained insight of the expert which seldom fails to do justice to the individuality of each case. Moreover, he does not, in strict accordance with his professed aim, bring together herein varieties of religious experience and problems in a preponderately theoretical interest. His is not clearly the function to evolve, but to solve, the problems of religious life—and this he seeks to do, not by summoning to his aid the whole armoury of technicalities in the keeping of the special sciences, but by popularising the latest achievements of these in a way acceptable to the lay people. In this he has all along preserved a judicious balance and exhibited a sense of proportion, the importance of which cannot possibly be exaggerated. While in its attempt to be popular, the book has not degenerated into a pseudo-science, it has not, on the other hand, remained severely technical and academic, cut off from the moorings of daily life. Nor would it be just to represent it as a clinic of psycho-therapeutics. All things taken together, the book in question should fittier be styled, "Applied Psychology of the Religious Life."

The suspicion which is likely to invade the reader at the sight of the title wears off as one gets to the end of the very first chapter. One is here filled with admiration at the astonishing variety of topics traversed in quick succession within the range of eighteen chapters, each of which covers not more than eight pages. Though inspired by the same ideal, these chapters do not bear on one continuous theme. They are, however, bound each to each by a missionary zeal, illustrative in the end of the triumph of the 'adventure of faith.'

We are introduced in Chapter I to 'Our Immediate Problem'—which is 'not what happens to us that matters, but how we reach to it.' Truly, it is not the *why* but the *how* of things that is the engrossing concern of the scientists to-day; and here in the very first chapter we are acquainted with the earnest of scientific outlook which the author brings to bear on the concrete difficulties of the religious life. In Chapter II, the author rightly dwells on the message of the 'Incomplete Life' for the religious consciousness of man. All religious reform, all social service,

all-ethical endeavour must for ever remain truncated, until and unless they have for their coping-stone "the new relationship to God, the 'rightness' with God from which all else follows." Hence the importance of the watchword 'Get right with God,' and all else will follow as a matter of course. Expressed in a homelier language the injunction means this: "Put the central thing in the centre and everything will fall of themselves into their respective positions." In dealing with 'An Adolescent Problem' (which is the topic of Chapter III), he rightly gives the initial warning that 'it is neither the feelings nor impulses that constitute our real danger; it is the manner in which we react to them.' Accordingly, the solution of this adolescent problem would lie not in the direction of concentrating and enlarging on our congenital weaknesses but in invoking what Channings called the 'expulsive power of a higher affection' or what our author prefers to call 'a creative relationship with Christ.' This explains why one should, in an ethical or religious interest, insist 'on forming new habits' (Chap. IV), that is good habits, in order to conquer bad ones. For, psychologically speaking, 'we cannot break a habit; we can only create a new one.' No less formidable is 'the problem of growing up' (Chap. V) or rearing up 'children to become adjusted to their social environment and to the demands of their own nature.' Now, it is *prima facie* impossible to put forward a cut-and-dried scheme for training children. All that one can do is to indicate, in very general terms, the essentials of such training. In the interest of moral or religious instruction, for example, 'it is much more important to give the growing child an interest in God than a ready-made idea of Him.' The general hint that may be given is that the growing child should be helped "to be praiseworthy whether he gains the praise of men or not." With his remarkable gift of intellectual sympathy, our author rightly divines 'what our young people are thinking' (Chap. VI) and points out that just as the Oxford movement is in danger of losing itself in subjectivity and emotionalism, our young people of to-day are heading towards an 'intellectual humanitarianism' which 'will not give an adequate motive for their self-imposed task either of realising the ideal in themselves or society.' At this juncture he tries to re-orient our outlook under the caption of 'Christ and World' (Chap. VII). Just to rally the sceptically disposed, our author preaches 'the inwardness of religion and morality that Christ revealed, not their dogmatic form.' No one can reasonably expect any religion to provide one with 'copy-book headings' for the guidance of one's moral or religious life. The same outlook is contained in Paul's exhortation: "All things are yours because ye are Christ's and Christ is God's." In his treatment of 'Temptation and Church-going,

(Chap. VIII)—a rather queer combination—he preaches a humanising gospel, taking temptation to be the very index of our human self-hood. 'It is only when the soul is spiritually dead that temptations cease to trouble us. Temptation is not sin.' On the contrary 'temptation is always a challenge to the youth to give his soul a chance to control all his desires and instincts.' What he here prescribes, as a trained psycho-analyst, is the cultivation of those 'sentiments' which 'inhibit the temptations' and not the 'repression' of desires. For 'repression only drives the desire inwards; control has always the tendency to crush it out altogether.' With reference to 'our regrets and fears' (Chap. IX), it is wisely observed that 'to occupy the mind with vain regrets of the past is to shut out the possibility of evaluating the present.' Among 'the troubles of old age' (Chap. X), brooding and despondency are the most troublesome, and the only bulwark that one can set up against the invasion of these is the unshakable faith that 'it is not our love to God that saves us but God's love to us' for 'it is the knowledge that we are loved that always stimulates love and makes it grow deep and strong' In his 'Psychology of Sleeplessness' (Chap. XI), we are favoured with expert opinion on the subject. The first hint that he gives is: 'Never try to go to sleep' for 'there is no greater danger to sleep than the fear that we shall not sleep.' Indeed, the surest way of chasing away sleep is to go a-courting it. The paradox of sleeplessness, like the paradox of hedonism, demands the recognition that the best way to get sleep is to forget it altogether. On the positive side, auto-suggestion is another 'effective method' of inducing sleep. In his treatment of 'the Delinquent child' (Chap. XII), he has given unmistakable evidences of his acquaintance with latest researches on the subject *e.g.*, those of Dr. Cyril Burt, and calls for patient circumspection in finding out 'the *why* before one can answer the *how*.' All the practical hints that he gives here for dealing with cases of juvenile delinquency are tuned to the same key of sympathetic understanding. If souls are ever in the making, the question that naturally suggests itself, as it did of old to St. Paul: 'Are we clay in the Potter's hands' (Chap. XIII)? Having construed, in the manner of Browning, 'that metaphor' of 'Potter's Wheel,' an author makes the interesting observation that 'we are driven by necessity, but it is the prerogative of man to choose the necessity that is to drive him.' The rallying-point, however, of his different observations is the 'psychology of faith' (Chap. XIV), which makes an initial separation between 'the logical meaning' and the 'psychological meaning' of faith, and thus seeks to avert a confusion of issues. 'It is the faith-state and not the body of beliefs which the psychologist studies; and if one may say so, it is in this faith-state

that the blessings of religion come.' The need of forming clear and distinct ideas is forced into prominence in view of the 'false antithesis' of which the problem of faith is a typical instance. One may recount other instances of such false antithesis—that between 'man and woman' 'science and religion' or 'mysticism and logic.' But 'the opposite of man is not woman; the opposite of man is *beast*. Woman is the complement of man; she is man on the female side as the word itself denotes. How many centuries of repression have women undergone because of this false antithesis! " Similarly, 'the opposite of science is not religion but superstition; and the opposite of religion is not science but Godlessness.' Again 'the opposite of faith is not reason but *sight*, a refusal to trust anything which cannot be discerned by the senses.' Faith, then, 'is neither the opposite of reason nor science, but the dynamic energy behind both.' The distinction between 'faith' and 'belief,' which the author seeks to enforce, seems to be a hair-sp'itting one. If faith is accepted as a 'will attitude,' belief is simply 'readiness to act'; and between the two there is only distinction without a difference. No less important and enthralling is his categorical answer to the burning question of the day: 'Does Christianity need Christ' (Chap. XV)? Following Harnack who once said: 'Christ could think of no higher task than to point men to Himself,' our author says: 'To me Christianity is Christ.' 'The essence of Christian life is not a man's relation to what Christ taught, but an experience of Christ Himself.' Without the 'indwelling presence,' this 'abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls,' as Martineau would say, 'you do not so much as touch the threshold of religion.' Having threaded his way with unmistakable precision through the tangle-wood of the so-called 'Higher' (or shall I say 'lower'?) criticism of the Bible, of Psychologism and Modernism, our author makes the journey to the promised land, and lays his finger on the fulcrum about which the whole thing turns. Truly, "the whole doctrine centres on Christ," and the penetrative call: "Follow me." From the very heart of the *Bhāgavad Gītā*, which is the Bible of every cultured Hindu, a similar call has gone forth with the same demand for undivided loyalty to Lord Krishna: 'Having forsaken all else, betake thyself to Me and to Me alone.' It is from the living response to such a call that religion draws its chief inspiration. 'Religion is neither taught nor caught; it is evoked; it is elicited; it is the response of a soul to a Soul.' He then proceeds to sum up his attitude towards Christ, in 'Christ—Teacher or Lord' (Chap. XVI) ! Just as 'our bodies are the means of communication between minds' so is Christ 'the bridge whereby the Eternal Being gets

across to our souls.' In expressing this fellowship 'our failure to find an adequate formula is not because he is just human, but because He is divine.' In 'God, prayer and immortality' (Chap. XVII) he finds incontestable evidences of the soul of man 'which gives the meaning' to these concepts. In tackling the rather ticklish question 'why people do go to church' (Chap. XVIII), the author judiciously concentrates on the 'psychological reasons' as against 'the rational grounds.' As William James once said that 'the reason why we do pray is simply that we cannot help praying,' so also 'we go to church because we must.'

The string of discourses gathered in the form of the book under review is interspersed with sparkling gems of thought that present the daily round of our duties in a transfigured light. Nothing more is expected from a book of this kind, as also nothing less.

S. K. DAS

Ourselfes

SRIJUKTA SWARNAKUMARI DEVI

The death of Swarna Kumari Devi removes from Bengal one of its most brilliant daughters. Born in 1856 in a family of wide, liberal culture, the Jorasanko Tagore family, she was associated as the editor with the *Bharati*, a foremost Bengali journal which was by itself an event in the history of Bengali literature, for more than a quarter of a century, from 1884 to 1895, and again from 1906 to 1920. She wrote a number of historical and social novels, dramas and poems which were widely appreciated both on account of their romantic setting and a classical style. Her *gathas* or Bengali ballads were a successful experiment in a new line. In all the branches of women's activity she was a pioneer, and her services to Bengali literature were gracefully recognised by the University of Calcutta by the award of the Jagattarini Gold Medal in 1926. She retained her intellectual powers undimmed to the end and presided over the Bengali Literary Conference in 1930 held last time at Bhowanipore. She would have completed her 76th year in August next, and there was a move to give her a public ovation on the occasion of her next birthday, but a sudden attack of influenza intervened and proved fatal. She breathed her last on July 3, 1932, about 10 in the morning. May her soul rest in peace.

*

*

*

MOKSHADASUNDARI GOLD MEDAL 1933

AND

NALINISUNDARI GOLD MEDAL 1933

The Mokshadasundari Medal for 1933 will be awarded for the best essay written in Bengali by a lady graduate of this University on the subject—

“Female Education in Pre-British days”

or.

“Asoka”

The Nalinisundari Medal for the year 1933 will be awarded for the best poem written in Bengali by a lady graduate of this University on the subject—

“Brindaban”

or

“Chand Bibi ”

Every candidate for each of the two aforesaid medals shall be required to submit, not later than 30th November, 1933, an essay or a poem, as the case may be, on the subjects specified above to the Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

*

*

*

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1932, was 19,174 of whom 107 were absent, 5 were disallowed and 92 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 18,970 of whom 13 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 12,452 of whom 4,860 passed in the First Division, 5,405 in the Second Division and 2,143 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 37.

The percentage of passes is 65·7.

*

*

*

L. T. EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination, 1932, was 7 of whom 7 passed.

Of the successful candidates, 5 passed with Distinction.

B. T. EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination, 1932, was 94 of whom 81 passed, 12 failed and one was absent.

Of the successful candidates 18 passed in the First Division.

* * *

PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M. B. EXAMINATION,
APRIL, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination, April, 1932, was 202 of whom 131 passed, 68 failed, 3 expelled and *nil* absent.

* * *

FIRST M. B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the First M. B. Examination, April, 1932, was 171 of whom 128 passed, 41 failed, *nil* expelled and 2 absent.

* * *

SECOND M. B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Second M. B. Examination held in April, 1932, was 96 of whom 73 passed, 23 failed, *nil* expelled and *nil* absent. One has obtained Honours marks in Pathology.

* * *

THIRD M. B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Third M. B. Examination, April, 1932, was 126 of whom 101 passed, 24 failed, *nil* expelled and 1 absent.

6 candidates obtained Honours in Hygiene.

FINAL M. B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Final M. B. Examination held in April, 1932, was 249 of whom 103 passed, 142 failed, 4 absent and none expelled.

*

*

*

DVIVEDI COMMEMORATION VOLUME

We are very glad to publish the following appeal and earnestly hope that the invitation thus made will find hearty response from all parts of the country :—

DVIVEDI COMMEMORATION VOLUME

(An appeal to scholars and literary men)

Hindi is the *Lingua Franca* of our country. It is the mother-tongue of 100 millions of people and an equal number of people belonging to non-Hindi-speaking provinces, can speak and follow it. In other words, it has under its sway two-thirds of the entire Indian population. It also possesses the most extensive, important and excellent classics among all the Indian languages and some of these masterpieces occupy an honourable place in world literature. Its modern literature is growing healthily and vigorously, the seed of which was sown 50 years ago by our renowned and versatile literateur, Bhartendu Harish Chandra. But it was not until 30 years ago that its proper nurturing and development commenced under the able and capable guidance of Acharya Mahavira Prasada Dvivedi, who forms the subject-matter of this appeal.

He has devoted in a most selfless and disinterested manner 25 years of his life to the cause and has rendered extremely valuable and memorable service in building up the modern Hindi literature. The modern Hindi prose and poetry in all their phases bear a permanent impress of his master hand,

It is the duty of the Nation to pay its homage to his literary genius by celebrating his septuagenary which comes off in the next May in a proper and befitting manner. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares which is the foremost literary society of Hindi has therefore, undertaken this task. In this connection it has been arranged to bring out a suitable commemoration volume of a very high literary and artistic quality, displaying all the individuality of our Ancient Land.

I therefore beg to invite all the foremost and prominent scholars and savants of every branch of learning, poets and authors, writers and composers to be pleased to join hands with the Sabha in the great undertaking and contribute to the volume, anything on their own subject or of their choice and honour a great literary man and thus strengthen the bonds of Inter-Provincial literary brotherhood and fraternity.

General Secretary,

Nagari Pracharini Sabha,

Benares City.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1932

INDIA'S DUTY AT OTTAWA—PART ONE

Sir Jehangir Coyajee's few but spirited arguments for reciprocity,¹ if not preference, and Mr. Walchand Hirachand's vehement protest against the personnel of the deputation to Ottawa and his passionate plea for leaving the determination of future fiscal policy to India's Legislative Assembly alone, raise the future fiscal policy to an imperative issue on which clear-cut notions ought to exist. Since Sir Basil Blackett referred to this old economic nostrum of Imperial Preference² several Indian economists and official apologists have been advocating the above measure. A sort of backdoor admittance of Imperial Preference idea took place while protection has been recommended against Japanese competition by the Indian Legislative Assembly even though the preferential export duty on hides and skins proved a miserable failure.³ The grant of preference to British steel goods is another instance of the application of Preference idea in our country.

¹ Reciprocity means the cementing of a tariff bargain to extend advantages by means of negotiation of agreements.

² Imperial Preference means the adoption of the practice of setting up a tariff either for revenue or protection. Without impairing the primary motive duties are raised in the case of non-empire goods. Protection is not given up. Duties are not raised as bargaining counters. Internal development and not retaliation is the key-stone of the Imperial Preference idea.

³ From 1919 to 1923 the Imperial rebate existed in the case of export duty on hides and skins. But it did not assist the tanning industry. It injured England's entrepot trade.

The almost parlous condition of the premier Indian industries brought about by successive labour strikes, lack of cheap means of communication, loss of overseas markets and failure to rationalise the industries has been the subject of constant enquiries by the Tariff Board itself and a policy of discriminating protection has been inaugurated since the formation of the Tariff Board. Whether this mild form of protection has succeeded in restoring health and granting a new lease of life to the threatened industries cannot of course be discussed at the present moment. The prevailing sentiment is to put India's interests first. India first, India second and India third is the prevailing craze of all patriotic Indians.

The Government of India's recent circular attempts to mobilise Indian commercial interests and their opinion on the topic of Imperial Preference. The very selection of reciprocites and Preference approvers as delegates to Ottawa indicates which way the wind blows. A change of fiscal policy might not be an impossible thing. But a change of this fiscal policy for Empire free trade or Imperial Preference proposal even when the Dominions themselves are not so very enthusiastic about Imperial Preference and pooh-poo the idea of self-contained Empire, would lead India nowhere. The adoption of a policy of reciprocity even connotes a change from the present "discriminating protectionist policy."

Changed Economic Conditions.

The changed economic conditions of the world no doubt warrant a change in the traditional doctrines of economic thought. The hegemony of free-trade doctrine has been swept away by Imperial Preference idea. Finding herself protected to a great extent under the shelter of preferential tariffs the cry has been raised in England that Imperial Preference ought to be adopted as the general policy of the mother country, the Colonies and the Dominions. "The most favoured nation clause" itself is

being deprecated and the consensus of opinion is to advocate an Empire Customs Union immediately if such a radical policy is feasible. The idea is to bring about a British Zollverein to ensure the industrial leadership of Great Britain by retaining the vast Empire countries as a market for its manufactured goods. The Empire raw materials are to benefit the British or Empire producers and the Empire industry. The whole British Empire is to form one Great Customs Union, one vast political and economic complex styled the British Commonwealth of Nations whatever its implications from the international or national standpoint might be. Men and money are to be provided by the mother country. The Colonies and the Dominions are to provide the markets and have a share in the prosperity of a closely-knit Empire. The older ideas of assisted emigration and advancing money free of interest for a few years which were tried with much success during 1815 to 1830 are revived once again in a somewhat modified form. The long distances within the Empire are being overcome by the new taxi-cab—the aeroplane—which is becoming as powerful as the English language itself in acting as a great unifier within the Empire. Industries of the mother country are establishing themselves freely in the Dominions. A systematic and well-concerted drive is now being aimed at to realise the consummation of British Economic Empire.

The present-day economic conception of British Commonwealth of Nations has been carefully stated by the late Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord Melchett) in his *Industry and Politics*. He writes that “its resources in raw materials are almost infinite. Its population is gigantic and its potential consumption capacity is unexplored. The British as a nation whose occupation now as against the rest of the world is the production of manufactured goods for export has within the Empire the markets for the adoption of their manufactured goods. The various component parts of the Empire which are in some essentials raw materials already actually and in others vastly potentially the chief source of supply for the world's industries, seek markets for their natural

products. Within Britain the Empire has its markets on the basis of free exchange of products." Imperial consolidation and arrangement with international peace and co-operation is the key-stone of the British economic policy. L. S. Amery argues that as Free Trade is an immoral policy at least reciprocal protective duties ought to be enacted. Lord Beaverbrook argues emphatically for Empire economic unity. The old fear¹ that food would become dear to the British consumer is being disproved and is considered to be baseless as Empire countries are teeming with vast potential supplies of food products which can be rationally exploited and a British tariff against non-Empire foodstuffs might be a possible certainty in the near future. Another rational economic argument adduced by these neo-protectionists is that goods produced by foreign nations which grant low wages and exploit their workers mercilessly to secure competitive advantage in Empire countries, where prevail higher conditions of the standard of life among the workers ought to be heavily penalised by the levying of a high tariff wall.

Big Areas.

Indian people have to look a long way into the future and at no other period of our history are long views as essential in the affairs of this country as at the present moment. As against the great American Union the European states are endeavouring to build up a European Customs Union. The attempts on the part of the German Steel Trust and the Belgian and the French Iron and Steel Industry and potash and chemical industries of Europe

¹ The present position is that Great Britain is enjoying the Dominion privilege without giving anything adequate in return for it. Food is not taxed. If Great Britain were to have protection it would be treating the Dominions literally as foreign countries though they have granted already some preferences for the last thirty years. The National Government has recently enacted a protective tariff and ten per cent. tariff has been kept in suspense in case of entry of Dominion goods. This is the only belated response shown by Great Britain. The moment the Dominion goods are taxed all talk of preference ends and retaliation might ensue on the part of the Dominions.

is to form one European economic unit so as to withstand the American menace. The situation is resolving itself plainly into the United Economic States of Europe *versus* the United States of America. Joint action in taxation, tariffs and industry is the method advocated to achieve this European complex. No country can afford to stand on independent legs and hope to achieve permanent industrial salvation by a policy of economic insulation. India has to join the Empire Customs Union as her political rulers wish to do or select the policy of becoming entirely a vigorous nationalistic country seeking to establish new industries and solve the widespread malady of unemployment which is tending to become more and more disastrous in its effects as a result of increasing mechanisation process in a number of manufacturing industries.

Gains to the Empire.

The economic policy of joining the Customs Union is the adoption of the Imperial Free Trade and permitting the free entry of goods and materials within the borders of the Empire without let or hindrance. Each part has to specialise in the line where it has the greatest advantage. Thereby the Empire can easily increase the industrial output and increase the happiness of the producers by widening the market for their goods. The Empire at the present moment controls 27 per cent. of the world's wheat production, 60 per cent. of the world's rice production, 51 per cent. of the world's production of sheep, 53 per cent. of the world's population of cattle, 69 per cent. of the world's gold, 42 per cent. of the world's tin, 88 per cent. of the world's nickel, 15 per cent. of the world's silver, 30 per cent. of the world's zinc, 23 per cent. of the world's lead, 77 per cent. of the world's wool supply and 87 per cent. of the world's rubber supply. Except a revenue tariff which might incidentally yield an iota of protection no deliberately planned high protective duty is to be imposed against co-member Empire units. Thus viewed the total wealth of the Empire can be easily augmented to an astonishing value.

Immediate and present-day maladjustments in the matter of Empire's world trade would be corrected in course of time.

Specific Gains to India.

There is no gainsaying of the fact that the free use of the raw materials, the securing of market for some kinds of produce as cotton, tea, coffee, hides and skins, tobacco and rice and the avoiding of Japanese or American industrial penetration would greatly strengthen the economic position of this country.

A quota basis of complementary production in the matter of existing or new industries which can be developed on the lines suggested by L. S. Amery¹ a free and unrestricted outlet for the surplus population and the scientific adjustment of the present-day administrative part of the fiscal machine, *i.e.*, Indian tariff and a lowering of it, if justified by the revenue position of the country, are the immediate advantages that India can hope to secure by joining the Imperial Free Trade League.

Empire capital can be freely invested in India for furthering Indian Economic development and the starting of industrial ventures under experienced and efficient entrepreneurs would be a very desirable gain so long as monopolistic powers are not granted to them and indigenous supervisory and technical labour is not discarded.

Some kind of organised buying by import boards from Empire countries alone would practically stimulate the realisation of this conception. Of course many men who value their freedom would dislike being ordered about by Government to buy only this article or that. The economic possibility of securing import goods at world-price level would be impossible but if we consider the State as the guardian of every form of

¹ Such a thing exists in the case of the Steel Industry of Canada and the Steel Industry of Great Britain. To broaden this policy and secure Inter-Imperial rationalisation of industries is the objective.

human relationship there ought to be no murmur against this policy. The campaigning on the part of the Imperial Marketing Board and the cry of "buy British Goods" alone can be justified on this ground.

Nextly the Dominions might give us a better *quid pro quo* in the matter of political rights enjoyed by Indian emigrants or settlers in their Dominions if their trade is encouraged with India.

Finally competition amongst the different Empire export producers would be eliminated. Witness for example, Indian pig iron being sold at lesser prices than Belgian or English Iron and Steel products.

Outstanding Difficulties.

But has the idea of Empire economic co-operation been fully worked out? How many of the Indian interests would be damaged? What would be the resultant effects of this policy on our trade with non-Empire countries? Our exports, being purely of a raw material character, would not receive a great injury even if retaliation were to be thought of by non-Empire countries. Are the Dominions willing to grant real Preference and reciprocate any such tendencies on the part of the members of the Empire? So far as Canada is concerned Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada has said long ago "I stand four-square behind the policy of Canada first." While increasing ten per cent. its general tariffs he granted ten per cent. preference to Empire countries for a like preference in theirs. But he was cautious enough to add that the fundamental basis of his action is adequate protection to industries now existing or yet to be established. He was not only explicit enough in his statement that protection would not be weakened even if preferential tariff is advocated but he has plainly stated that "the proposed preference cannot be considered as a step towards Empire Free Trade." He added that "in our opinion Empire Free Trade is neither desirable nor possible for it would defeat the very purpose we are striving to achieve." This is the Dominion

conception of the British-ollverein. Every Dominion naturally wishes "to have short circuit between raw materials and industries instead of establishing the Imperial circuit." Evidently it does not come up to full free trade conditions in the vast areas of the Empire as the British Federation of Industries would like it to be. The old Indian Fiscal Commission Report emphasises somewhat blandly this home truth that Imperial Preference or reciprocity does not weaken the protectionist policy of the country. As India similarly aspires like Canada to become an adept in the matter of advanced industrial technique so as to check the excessive dependence on agriculture, the preservation of the vast potential market for infant industries has to be done. It is now being done either by the Government with the policy of discriminating protection or by the public who are freely showing their sympathy by their policy of swadeshim and economic boycott. It must however be borne in mind that the existing policy is not to bolster up inefficient industries or create an unnatural and forced industrial development by refusing to part with raw materials of industry to be manufactured elsewhere.

Apart from the natural desire of every Dominion to manage its own industrial policy and destiny, diversify its industrial activity and develop certain key industries which forms a real obstacle in the realisation of the interests of the Empire Free Trade idea, silly sentimental objections generally stand in the way of envisaging the distant future. Tariff bargaining would perhaps militate against the existing tendencies or bonds of kinship between the Dominions and the Empire or amongst the different members of the British Empire.

Again reciprocal tariffs cannot be easily arranged. It requires a lot of higgling and huckstering. Prolonged and cumbersome negotiations have to be undertaken to arrange reciprocal tariffs. The recent Canada-New Zealand butter episode illustrates the inherent difficulties of the situation. In 1931 New Zealand placed all Canadian imports on the general

tariff list and refused to grant British preferential rates since Canada failed to reduce the duty on New Zealand butter and failed to arrive at any satisfactory agreement regarding reciprocal tariffs.

If the idea of Empire economic union scheme is to be realised by developing Empire free trade it runs counter to the cherished ambitions of the Dominions which aim to develop the present and new industries. The existence of revenue tariff must be granted and its necessity understood. Under such conditions real and substantial advantage will not be forthcoming by the Empire Free Trade conception. It is not within the range of practical politics for the different economic units represent dissimilar economic entities.

The recent fall in world prices has acted adversely on all the countries. Neither the Dominions nor India would give up protection just at present when special difficulties are being experienced by the industries as a result of the disastrous fall in prices.

Economically viewed no country can hope to maintain a self-contained entity. Human wants constantly tend to increase. The standard of life is always a dynamic movement and to exclude the raw materials of non-Empire and attempt to develop them within the Empire alone would be futile. All the Dominions have vast ramifications in the matter of foreign trade with non-Empire countries. The Empire roughly absorbs 50 per cent. of the exports of the Dominion alone and if non-British empire countries were to retaliate there would be grave diminution of the export trade¹ which might not be absorbed by the Empire countries alone.

¹ For instance the President of the U.S.A. is empowered to retaliate against foreign discrimination and this is contained in S. 338 of the tariff Act of 1930 or the Smoot-Hawley Tariff as it is known. He may subject to limits impose additional duties on articles wholly or in part the growth or product of or imported in vessel of any foreign country when it is found that unfair treatment is accorded to American exports or American commerce is being discriminated and if further discrimination is attempted he may exclude from importation any article into the U. S. A. See Huebner and Kramer, "*Foreign Trade*," p. 64.

Finally the politico-economic situation of the Indian people as helots in the Empire is the main stumbling block and the only strong impediment in the way of accepting the Empire ideal and all that it connotes including Free Trade within the Empire. The political malcontents would easily say that it is no part of India's duty to maximise Empire's wealth if the benefits were to be concentrated in the hands of the White portion of the Empire or Great Britain alone.

A Workman-like Solution.

Of whatever nature the resolutions arrived at Ottawa might be it behoves us to consider the significance of the scheme, and the Tariff Board should easily examine and analyse the situation of the different export industries. Everything imported should similarly be subjected to a scrutinising analysis. A thorough exploration of this ideal has to be carried out afresh. Take for example the recent preferential tariff in the case of cotton import duties. Apart from the fact that it clearly proves that our much vaunted fiscal autonomy is a mere misnomer, the duty has neither helped Lancashire nor protected effectively the Bombay cotton mill producers whose recent wail against Japanese dumping is well-known to all students of economics. The expected revivification of either the Lancashire industry or the Bombay mill industry has not been forthcoming. Both need effective rationalisation and vigorous and up-to-date methods of marketing in a manner suitable to the needs of the consumers. Thus the above example of imperial preference would neither prove nor disprove the case of general preferential or reciprocal tariffs. As the Indian consumer has been hard hit by the recent protectionist wave which has granted protection to sugar, pig iron, steel,¹ cotton, paper, etc., it would be the height of wisdom if all the specific products suffering from external competition are pointed

¹ See the Second report of the Tariff Board on the Steel Industry (pp. 151-153), which admits clearly the loss to the consumers.

out and discriminating protective duties alone were raised. This is the bare economic justice to which the consumer is entitled. The wider ideals of British economic unit or of reciprocal preferential tariffs cannot be hoisted on the Indian public unless the real economic implications have been explained to them.

Quid pro quo's.

Neither the Tariff Board nor the Indian people should forget the *quid pro quo* that India should obtain in the matter of preferential import duties. The virtual bounty that is granted to Empire producers should be understood. As the suggestions of the World Economic Conference of 1927 for a two years' tariff truce and for free exchange of goods have not materialised no very great antipathy would be shown by the Indian public to the idea of Imperial Preference or reciprocal tariffs or the Empire economic entity itself. It is indeed true that the undeveloped economic conditions of the earlier years might have militated against the acceptance of the Imperial Preference idea. A scientific working out of the general Imperial Preferential idea as laid down already, with the privilege to water down preference as soon as it is found unlikely to benefit the country, would not be dangerous to our individual prosperity and economic growth. Loyalty to the Empire can be shown in several ways and this is one. The narrow boundaries of national commercialism must be forsaken. The real interests of the nation demand the harmonious co-operation of all sections of the people. A protective duty which does not draw any difference between the foreign and the British producers would only tend to raise the cost of living. It is on this score that the Imperial Preference idea of the cotton duties can be justified. But it would undoubtedly act as a premium on inefficiency. The urgent need of the hour is a more rational exploration of the idea of the Empire Customs Union from the viewpoint of Indian interests. The exacting of sufficient *quid pro quos* which can be easily secured if an improved political status

were conferred on India at the time of joining the British Commonwealth of Nations, should not be forgotten. If these are not understood the prevailing Swadeshi spirit would undoubtedly play havoc with the cherished notions of the Empire economic entity advocates.

What of Economic Nationalism?

A policy of Economic Nationalism with high protective duties is fraught with danger to the economic interests of the country. The limited experience of the ten-year period since the report of the Indian Fiscal Commission of 1921-1922 does not warrant us to vote blindly for this policy. It is indeed true that educative and slightly protective duties alone that have been experimented with, and when these have been only whetting the appetite of producers for further doses of protection and have not produced corresponding advantages to the consumer or the body economic of the nation as a whole, it abates the ardour and enthusiasm for the policy of Economic Nationalism. On the whole it is not the duty of three representatives to settle the future fiscal policy of the country. The policy of economic nationalism, Imperial Preference, reciprocal preferential tariffs and Empire Free Trade are the alternatives before us and as soon as the political status of the country is settled a fact-finding committee has to be appointed on the basis of whose report the future fiscal policy can be designed by the Indian Legislative Assembly.

PART TWO

EMPIRE CURRENCY.

Present-day Reasons for reviving this Old Ideal.

Besides individual arm-chair economists¹ and bankers² of the stamp of Mr. Darling other fully representative associations like the Empire Economic Union,³ the Federation of British Industries and the London Chamber of Commerce have been clamouring for fixity of exchange relations amongst the different countries of the Empire. Since the banker, Mr. Darling, mooted this idea of Empire Consols in 1929 the idea of monetary co-operation in the British Economic Empire has been gaining steady ground. But prior to this he advocated the idea of Empire Currency in the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923. Undaunted by any of his previous reverses he has once again taken up this ideal as soon as the gold standard had to be given up in 1931. It is indeed true that his idea of the Empire Pound was hatched in 1930 as a preventive measure against the shortage of gold but it did not receive wide cognisance until the value of silver degenerated into a hopeless muddle. The recent breakdown of the gold standard, or as Prof. Keynes humorously remarks "its inability to pull on with sterling," has necessitated the rediscussion of Empire exchange stability afresh. The fallen and fluctuating pound sterling dislocated world trade as well as Empire trade. Imperial monetary reorganisation would be another important subject that would engross the attention of the Ottawa Conference. The full implications of Empire Currency scheme would therefore have to be digested by the Indian public.

¹ Sir Robert Horne rightly remarks, "We are in a position to become the centre of a great area of the world trading on a sterling basis and pouring new life-blood into the commerce of the nations." See his address to the Glasgow Constituency.

² See his Currency Co-operation in the British Empire—Economic Unity of the Empire—Empire Consols—A New International Currency—The Rex.

³ Report on Empire Currency and Financial Policy.

Mr. Darling's Scheme.

Briefly stated the idea is to stabilise imperial exchanges by the starting of an Empire Bank which ideal can be attained by reconstituting the Bank of England as an enlarged Empire Bank, with additional capital subscribed by the Dominions, in return for which they may get representation on the Board of Directorate of the Empire Bank. The branches of this bank are to be located in the different Dominions. The gold and silver resources of the Empire would have to be pooled in the hands of the Empire Bank. The metallic reserve of the Bank can be composed of gold and silver in the ratio of one to twenty. The Dominion note issue would have to be regulated by the Empire Bank and imperial exchanges would have to be worked on a system of par somewhat on the model of the Anglo-Egyptian exchanges.

In addition to this feature currency co-operation should extend further in the direction of the creation of Empire Currency Bills which have to be issued and managed by a Currency Commission. These Currency Bills would have to be freely converted into Empire countries' currencies. The currency of a country can be issued against gold or currency bills. A gold reserve of 10 per cent. has to be maintained against the Currency bills. The indebtedness of one Empire country to another would first have to be paid not by freely shipping gold but by exporting Currency Bills in the first instance but these are however freely convertible into gold and *vice versa*.

Another essential feature of his scheme is the wise creation of credit for mere productive purposes alone and not for financing sheer speculative operations of society. The Credit Boards of the different Dominions ought to regulate their Banking codes and the creation of credit in the sound manner related above.

Expected Advantages.

Mr. Darling would do away with the present-day excessive dependence on gold. In addition to economising gold he would

see credit freed from its narrow basis of gold backing. Empire economic co-operation and stable imperial exchanges would be the desirable results. The British Empire would be freed from the necessity of being drawn behind the chariot wheels of the F. R. system. Rightly created and judiciously used British credit would develop and consolidate the Empire. The present-day excessive dependence on gold being removed the credit of making gold the servant and not master of mankind would fall to the happy lot of the British Empire.

The Outstanding Difficulties.

Whether "the Rex" or new Empire pound will be accepted or not on the lines suggested by Mr. Darling or some other scheme of Empire currency based on managed paper currency basis is formulated one has to understand the difficulties in getting this new-fangled notion accepted by the public. The difficulties are so very many that one almost despairs whether any good will result from a rational discussion of such schemes as these.

Exchange Difficulties.

The great economist and practical banker, Sir Henry Strakosch, summarily dismissed this scheme so early as in 1921 by citing the cardinal economic truth that exchange dislocations are symptoms of the disease rather than the disease itself.¹ What is needed is not to eliminate these exchange difficulties for the economic law is that exchange tends to correct itself. Any hindrance to the natural operation of economic laws would be unwise, suicidal and abortive in the long run. If overborrowing and overspending on the part of any country has to be discerned it is by observing the infallible course of the unfavourable exchanges. This is the writing on the wall and any economist who reads it understands it.

¹ See the Times Trade Supplement, Article on Empire Finance, September 9th, 1921.

An absolute stabilisation of exchanges would not allow the observer to understand the situation. Apart from the fact that it is unwise to interfere with the operation of economic laws or tendencies there exists machinery which is capable of facilitating exchange payments more smoothly than at present, provided the duty of co-operating with the Bank of England is well-nigh understood by these countries. Dominion Central Banking co-operation would be a better panacea than this cumbrous scheme itself.

Politico-economic Objection.

A politico-economic objection raised by the British Treasury is one of the sovereign rights of the Dominions. Empire currency invades the sovereign prerogative of the Dominions.

Issue of Currency Bills.

Thirdly the safe issue of currency bills by a Currency Commission might become impossible if Dominion currencies become subjected to the influence of inflation or deflation. A common link called gold on the basis of which credit and currency are issued would no doubt delimit the possible dangers under this heading. But a too continuous co-operation of the Currency Commission with the Dominion Governments is postulated in this suggestion and this might or might not be forthcoming. The exigencies of Governmental Finance might not brook to listen to the dictates of prudential issues which the Currency Commission would undoubtedly cultivate as a measure of safety.

Normal and Abnormal Credit.

Fourthly, the nice distinction of *A* credit or normal credit for productive purposes and *B* credit or abnormal credit for speculative purposes is already a well-known issue to students of economics. Prof. J. L. Laughlin was one of the first economists to insist on such a subtle difference. Mr. Darling would

reimprint this nice distinction on our minds and inculcate the doctrine afresh that credit has to be used for sheer productive purposes alone. The most meritorious feature of the scheme consists in this insistence of credit creation to run parallel to productive operations of society.

The Gold Industry and the Gold-Producing Countries.

Another objection to the scheme is that South Africa is vitally interested in the stable value of gold.¹ Any scheme which unduly economises gold and attempts to do away with its monetary use would be an anathema to the South African gold-mining industry. The economy of gold is indeed a world problem which requires immediate attention. But if gold were to be demonetised directly or indirectly it would cause havoc to the gold-mining industry which is undoubtedly one of the important industries of the British Empire.

What of Canada ?

Nextly Canada's economic ties are indissolubly connected with the U. S. A. It would be no mistake to consider Canada as an economic appendage to the U. S. A. The whole of N. America can be rightly considered as one vast economic region where the hegemony of U. S. A. capital interests reigns undisputed. It would be difficult for Canada to sunder these ties. Besides Canada is producing gold in increasing quantities of late. As a great gold-producing country she would join hands with South Africa in rejecting any scheme which would undermine the monetary future of gold.

Would London belittle herself ?

The financial supremacy of London would dwindle away if she were to protect the interests of mere empire economic union

¹ See the Article entitled Imperial Monetary Reconstruction, *The Banker*, December, 1931.

alone. Endowed with specialising machinery which has a wealth of experience at its back, an honest and efficient banking system, enough capital resources which can be locked up or invested in any part of the world and endowed with true financial instincts, London has been playing the significant and traditional rôle of world's financial leadership with consummate skill and ease.¹ To degenerate from this dignified rôle to that of a petty Empire financier would be too humiliating a task. Will not the Bank of England revolt at this suggestion?

What if Empire Currency were to Depreciate?

While Imperial Exchanges can be steadied by this method or by any other systematic method of pooling gold as in the case of the Gold Settlement Fund of Washington, the whole exchange situation might not be easily controlled. For a safe conducting of the trading relations with non-empire countries exchange stability is needed. Of course by the well-known arbitrage methods Empire exchanges can be easily steadied even under the present planless methods of conducting inter-imperial trade. There is again the possibility of Empire currency as a whole depreciating in terms of foreign currencies. So absolute stability of exchange conditions cannot be postulated under this scheme which guarantees inter-imperial exchange stability:

Existing World Machinery for improving Exchange Situations.

Again the possibility of co-operating with the Bank of International Settlements would stand negatived under the scheme which requires an Empire Bank and allegiance to

¹ Charles Rist, the French Economist, tacitly admits that "pound sterling has fallen like a good soldier fighting for the stability of the currencies of Central Europe. See *Economist*, 8rd October, 1931. See also Dr. Paul Einzig, "The Tragedy of the 'Pound,'" opening chapter.

this tin god is the *sine quâ non* of credit, and currency co-operation amongst the Dominion countries of the British Empire.

Special Measures affecting India.

While the Empire pound scheme and objections to it have been explained the special provisions with reference to India have to be understood. The unrestricted coinage of silver by the Indian mints and the issuing of sterling by the Empire Bank against a silver backing of 1s. 6d. per rupee are the cardinal planks of his currency reform. This scheme intends to raise or bolster up the bullion value of the silver Rupee so that the nominal and the intrinsic value would be the same. This would be realised at 48d. per ounce. Enhanced monetary demand would have to accomplish this miracle.

Objections to this Scheme.

While detailed attention has been drawn to the diverse plans of stabilisation of the value of silver in another place, attention will therefore be diverted to some salient objections alone. Granted that a stimulus towards minting of the new silver rupee would be imparted it does not solve our monetary problems in any way. The rise in internal prices may be welcome to certain sections of society, *i.e.*, producers—while the consumers would be the chief sufferers. The maintenance of high exchange value for the Rupee would become impossible and extremely difficult under such conditions of furious output of the Indian mints.

Granted that demand for silver would easily ensue, thereby raising the gold value of silver, it might not be the case that the rise would be to the exact figure of 48d. an ounce. The opinion is held that the need for bank cover would increase the pressure

1 See my article on "Stabilisation of Silver."

arising out of unrestricted coinage. So the cryptic figure of 48*d.* an ounce would be realised easily by the silver-producing interests.

Existing Attitude of Central Banks towards Silver Cover.

It is not commonly understood that many of the Central Reserve Banks have already been empowered by existing legislation to have silver bullion or coin in their metallic reserves in some proportion or other to gold. The following table shows the Central Reserve Banks which can keep silver within their vaults.

Name of the Bank.	How and in what manner can silver be held?
1. The National Bank of Albania	33 and $\frac{1}{3}$ of its notes can be kept in gold or silver.
2. The Bank of Belgium	... Notes can be paid in silver at its market value in gold.
3. Bolivia ...	... Of the reserve which ought to be 50 per cent. of its notes and deposits silver coin can be kept up to not more than 10 per cent. of Bank notes in circulation <i>plus</i> its deposits.
4. Colombia ...	... Silver coin up to 20 per cent. of the minimum required reserve ratio.
5. Cuba ...	... American silver coin circulates.
6. Great Britain ...	... A part of the metallic reserve in silver—5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ ms. pounds silver coin.
7. Guatemala ...	... One-thirty-three per cent. of the notes in circulation can be kept in silver coin.
8. Japan ..	... Silver cannot be more than one-fourth of the total reserve.
9. Mexico ...	... Silver can be kept up to five per cent. of the total reserve.

Name of the Bank.	How and in what manner can silver be held ?
10. Java Bank ...	Silver is unlimited legal tender.
11. Persia ...	Notes redeemable in silver alone.
12. Philippine Islands	... Notes payable in silver and working on the Gold Exchange Standard basis.
13. Portugal ...	... Silver notes.
14. Straits Settlements	... Silver circulates as current coin.
15. Surinam ...	... Silver coins.
16. Union of South Africa	... Up to 20 per cent. of the reserve can be held in silver specie.
17. Bank of Yugo-Slavia	... Silver up to any limit fixed by the Minister of Finance acting in consultation with the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Bank Governor. Notes can be issued up to three times metallic reserve of gold and silver.

(See the League of Nations' publication on Legislation on Gold.)

Mr. Darling's proposals which have been recently echoed by Sir M. De P. Webb insist on the Empire countries amassing silver in their bank-vaults. Barring Great Britain, India and South Africa which can keep silver as part of their metallic reserves, Australia, Canada and New Zealand have to adopt this practice. The enhanced demand for silver would not be very great and the fatuous assumption that silver's gold price would jump to 48*d.* an ounce tantamounts to rather begging the question itself. Unless Governments are forced to buy silver at a high price no sustained rise in its value, enduring for a certain time, would take place. As these lines are being written Reuter informs us that President Hoover has agreed to buy silver at 66 and $\frac{2}{3}$

cents an ounce. If monetary demand were to increase simultaneously with such large-scale purchases it might rise but there is no guarantee that it would stay there for quite a long time. If not, unpleasant contingencies would happen to the Government of India if it were to decide to act upon this suggestion of throwing open the mints for unrestricted coinage of silver. Unrestricted coinage of silver of a note printed on silver, which the rupee would become were its bullion value to be less than its nominal value, cannot be thought of. Were the bullion value to rise higher than 48*d.* the minted rupees would be sent to the melting pot. Stabilisation of the value of silver at 48*d.* an ounce would be essential if unrestricted silver rupee coinage were to be contemplated. The artificial bolstering up of price cannot take place except for a limited period. The moment Government control is relaxed the prices would drift away from the old moorings, *viz.*, 48*d.* level.

Revivification of Purchasing Power.

If the revivification of purchasing power of the Eastern masses be the ideal even then an unqualified assent cannot be given to the proposal for the increased purchasing power need not after all be spent in acquiring western manufactured products alone. The Eastern standard of life is rather markedly low and when additional cash resources were to be placed in their hands a "population use" of their riches might ensue. Their wants being circumscribed to a narrow limit the immediate increase in the sale of western manufactured goods might not be brought about.

Managed Paper Sterling Standard.

While these are the ideals of the advocates of the Empire currency reformers who base their contention on the resurrection

of the better-managed gold standard and the partial remonetisation of silver at least in the Eastern countries, the more radical currency reformers have been advocating the expansion of "managed currency" over the whole of the Empire, if not over the major portion of the world. Scandinavia, South America and other Dominion countries of British Empire have to adopt the sterling standard. Armed with a flexible fiduciary issue and note-issue privilege, a low exchange value of the paper pound sterling,¹ a formidable tariff against imports and an exchange equalisation fund to stabilise the external value of the paper pound sterling these reformers are considering this moment as a god-sent opportunity to enable them to prove to the world the efficacy and practicability of their logical conceptions concerning the superiority of a managed standard as against the supposed "automatic" working of the gold standard regime. These people have been aiming to raise the price-level to the 1928 limit. The stabilisation of the international price level at that height is the *summum bonum* of these advocates. An international understanding and reciprocal measures with reference to the extension of credit and currency have to be brought about.²

Respective Abilities.

It might be that successful management of credit and currency can succeed in a drilled, disciplined and highly integrated banking system as that of England. The same amount of knowledge and suitable machinery for credit control such as the general mechanism and special means do not exist in most of the Dominions of the Empire except in Canada. South Africa, Australia and India have much to learn and accomplish in this

¹ See the Arguments of Prof. J. M. Keynes for a low Exchange, quoted from the monthly review of Midland Bank.

² See the representation of London Chamber of Commerce to the Imperial Economic Conference to be held at Ottawa.

direction of solving the manifold problems leading to wise banking development. While the paper pound sterling can be managed almost scientifically no such postulate can be thought of in the case of Dominion currencies. Taking India for example the recent Hilton-Young Commission certifies that the Gold-exchange standard management has not been understood by the Indian people. The higher imaginative flights needed in understanding the tenets of managed currency are denied to most of the Indian public. Stabilisation of currency under such conditions would be an impossible thing. Again Dr. T. E. Gregory raises the pertinent issue that "the interests of all parts of the Empire are not sufficiently identical to accept the working of a currency based on and managed in London."¹

Price-level is an International Issue.

Another objection to the Empire currency scheme is the fact that the price-level is not a mere Empire matter but an international one. Unless the world influences operating on the price-level are gauged accurately the resiliency needed in adjusting the internal currency policy will not be forthcoming. These difficulties are so inherently great that certain economists have been postulating the possibility of a separate stable internal currency policy to suit the diverse interests of the nations and the satisfactory maintenance of it whatever might happen in the international field. Prof. Keynes thinks of the feasibility of the ideal and it must be admitted that such management can succeed only when people have absolute confidence in the ability, integrity and honesty of the currency managing Board which might consist of representatives of C. R. Bank, the Treasury, the commercial, agricultural and industrial interests of the nation. Barring England no other Dominion of the Empire can hope to envisage the practical consequences of this course of action.

¹ See Dr. T. E. Gregory, *The Gold Standard and its Future*,

Extraordinary Talent.

Thirdly an Empire monetary Union based on currency management cannot last long even granted that the Board of management is consisting of super-talented individuals. Of course the paper pound sterling of the last six months has been steady in terms of commodity values. How long will the managed currency tend to be stable? Can it be prognosticated? New economic factors may likely complicate the issue.¹ If America were to be off the Gold Standard and if gold were to be demonetised by France, new factors are likely to arise leading to a rise in the value of the paper pound sterling thus automatically reflecting the depreciation in the value of gold. Unless concerted international measures are taken in the matter of resurrecting the gold standard the trading world including the British Empire will not be in smooth waters by such tinkering measures as those of raising the value of silver, the remonetisation of silver and wider extension of the sweeping hold of paper pound sterling over the major Empire countries and those of the world.

A Better-managed Gold Standard.

Mr. McKenna wisely insists on one single fact that "the final abandonment of the gold standard" has not to be advocated. Failing a wise management of international gold standard its inevitable abandonment would have to be faced with equanimity. But until a concerted drive in this direction has been made it cannot be recommended that the gold standard has to be given up. The final report of the League of Nations concerning gold

¹ Such a contingency would not happen if the provisions of the Glass-Steagall Bill for expanding credit can free gold and relax eligibility, provisions for rediscounting are passed into law and action taken on the above lines. The effective supply of money can increase by an enlightened liberal credit policy on the part of the Federal Reserve System as suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mills.

standard has not been issued as yet.¹ Currency education has not been forthcoming in abundance in order to enable people to realise the highly abstruse notions underlying managed currencies and credit standard. Without this preliminary propaganda it would be a mere leap in the dark if the Ottawa Conference were to recommend the adoption of stabilised currencies based on sterling exchange standard. It might not be so serviceable to the Empire or the Dominions in the long run.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ Since then lines have been written, the final report has been issued and it is gratifying to record that the resurrection of the gold standard has been advocated by it.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL ATMOSPHERE AROUND MAHA-VIRA AND BUDDHA

I. POPULAR BRAHMANISM.

The religion to which the general people in India owed allegiance in the sixth century B.C. was a highly artificial cult of sacerdotal formalism from which the spontaneity and simple devotion of the earlier religion of the Hymns were entirely missing. The theology of this popular Brahmanism remained the same as in the Yajur-Veda or the Atharva-Veda but many changes crept into it in matters of detail. Some new gods, a large number of symbolical personifications, spirits, goblins and demons were admitted into the Pantheon. The most important change, however, was in the spirit of this religion.

Instead of fervour, it was now the ceremony of the worship that drew the most attention. It became a priestly cult of formulae and liturgic details. The priest dominated the entire religious outlook and arrogated to himself a position second only to the gods. The motive of worship was propitiation of the gods and this was to be effected through the good offices of the priest who even claimed to be like unto the gods as, says the *Satapatha Brahmana*, ii. 2.2.6 and 4.3.14, "There are two kinds of gods ; for the gods are gods, and the priests that are learned in the Veda and teach it are human gods." Sacrifice was extolled to the heavens and to it were attributed miraculous powers. The regular course of natural phenomena were held to be due to details of sacrifice.¹ The attainment of divinity and immortality by the gods was also due to their proficiency

¹ *At. Br.* i. 7. 6-12.

in matters of details of the ceremonies.¹ Performance of sacrifice, taught the priests, conferred on the *yajamāna* not only spiritual benefit in the shape of favours of gods, beneficent and noxious, and the right to share the joys of paradise after death, but also health, long life and even destruction of enemies while on earth in this life. The priest's immediate interest was the fees paid by the *yajamāna*, for "the sacrifice goes up to the world of gods, and after it goes the fee which the sacrificer pays ; the sacrificer follows by catching hold of the fee that is given to the priests."²

This highly complex and elaborate cultus comprehended the "great sacrifices" and a number of other "domestic rites." The wife of the *yajamāna* had no independent right of worship. Both kinds of sacrifice required the lighting and keeping the sacred fire and daily offerings to it. The "domestic rites" required the lighting of only one fire and the services of one priest while the "great sacrifices" required at least three fires, the lighting whereof was in itself a very complicated and impressive affair, and a number of priests.

The "great sacrifices" consisted of either the *iṣṭis* or the *somayāgas* and in the former offerings of cakes, soups, grain, butter, milk and honey were made to the fire, while in the latter the *soma* or its substitutes when it was unprocurable was to be added to the list. The *Agnihotra*, one of the *iṣṭis*, was to be performed twice every day. Other *iṣṭis* were performed at stated intervals, on days of the full and new moon, on reaping of the harvests and at the commencement of the seasons. The *Vājapeya* or strengthening beverage, the *Rājasūya* and the *Aśvamedha* are *somayāgas*.

A *somayāga* sometimes took a day or more than a day to perform and in some cases it dragged on to weeks, months, and even to years. In every case it involved enormous expenses

and most elaborate arrangements; the altar had to be made anew every time with extreme skill in construction. Lavish entertainment of Brahmans, distribution of alms, holding of games, and liberal distribution of fees and presents of gold, garments, cattle and food to officiating priests were parts of the ceremony. It would be apparent that these sacrifices were meant pre-eminently for the wealthy. Another point to be noted in connection with these *somayāgas* is that most of them required animal sacrifice. In the "domestic rites" harmless substitutes such as barley, etc., had taken the place of animal victims but some of the *iṣṭis* and all *somayāgas* were highly sanguinary. The practice of human sacrifice is also darkly hinted at in many places of the texts. Besides gods, sacrifice was offered also to serpents, air and heaven.¹ It must be noted also that in course of time a humane element began to be felt as the frightfulness of butchering a large number of animal victims was mitigated by either allowing symbolic substitution or by releasing many of the victims after having brought them to the altar or sometimes by dispensing with them altogether.²

The "domestic rites" consisted of *saṃskāras* or sacraments, investiture with the sacred thread and study with a teacher, the duties of a householder, and lastly, renunciation of the world.

The *saṃskāras* had to be performed by the father himself for the benefit of his children or have them performed if he was not a Brahman, by a priest. Out of a total of forty, the principal sacraments were the rites of onset of conception, determination of the male sex of the foetus, parting the hair on the expectant mother's head, tasting of honey and ghee on the birth of the child, giving a name to the child, first taking-out of the child for seeing the sun and the moon, giving solid food for the first time to the child, shaving the child's head,

¹ *Aśv. Gr. Sūta*. 2.1.9.

² *Cf. Ast. Br.* ii. 8 and *Sat. Br.* i. 2.3.6.

giving him the sacred thread, and lastly his marriage which was put off till after the return of the boy as a full-grown youth on completing his studies with a teacher. The initiation was binding on all except women and Sūdras¹ After marriage the youth entered the householder's stage of life and it was now his duty to establish the sacred fire in his house, maintain it and give offerings to it. He had besides to give offerings every day in honour of the gods and departed ancestors, entertain guests and Brahmans, repeat the sacred texts, mantras and prayers, observe funeral rites in discharge, as it were, of his debts to them, only on the fulfilment of which the happiness in the next world of the souls of the departed was to be ensured. He also observed the different ceremonies at frequent intervals and stated periods and performed other duties and rites of purification, expiation and sanctification. His religious life thus was a long round of fixed ceremonies from day to day, from season to season.

The priestly class had their own interest in this complexity of the sacrificial religion. The priests were careful to lay down the precise fee to be paid by the *Yajamāna* which consisted of valuable garments, cows, horses or gold the number whereof was fixed for each occasion.² So keen was the love of gold in the minds of the priests that they declared this precious yellow metal to be the seed of Agni, nay immortality itself, and as such highly suited to be the reward for their holy functions.³ In one place the fee is prescribed to be one thousand cows but a priest hastens to add "he may give more."⁴ Those who could not pay the fees were regarded as mere "fillers of space."

The tyranny of the very complicated cultus was not, however, the whole of the religion. We shall presently see the higher thoughts of the intellectuals of the age. Even within

¹ *Aśv Gr. Sūt.* 1 19. 8 9

² *Sat. Br.* iv 3 4 6-7. 14

³ *Ib.* ii 2 3. 28; iv, 3 4. 14.

⁴ *Ib.* iv. 5. 8. 14.

their own fold the priests had to count such persons like Yājñavalkya of whom it is recorded that when his brother-priests claimed that part of the benefit of the sacrifice should accrue to the officiating priest, Yājñavalkya declared in protest "How can people have faith in this? Whatever be the blessing for which the priests pray, the blessing is for the *yajamāna* alone."¹ He admonishes other priests thus: "Let the priest not say 'guard me' but 'guard the *yajamāna*,' for if he says 'me' he induces no blessing at all; the blessing is not for the priest but for the *yajamāna*."² In their prayer to the Sun other priests said "Give me cows" but Yājñavalkya substituted "Give me light."³ Another priest, Āsuri by name, when confronted with the direction in the liturgy for the *yajamāna* to shave his head, said, "What on earth has it to do with his head? Let him not shave."⁴

We also find a gradually improving moral tone in the literature of the Brahmanas. Truthfulness, chastity of women, mercifulness and purity of mind came to be regarded as indispensable virtues. "One law the gods observe—truth," and again "To serve truth is to serve the sacred fire; he who speaks truth feeds the fire; he who tells lies pours water on it"⁵ and so on. Besides the "forty sacraments" mention is also made of "eight good qualities of the soul," *viz.*, mercy, forbearance, freedom from envy, purity, calmness, correct behaviour, freedom from greed and from covetousness. Observance of the forty sacraments without possessing the eight good qualities was regarded as insufficient for the purpose of entering into union with Brahma "but he who possesses the eight good qualities and but a part of the forty sacraments enters into the heaven of Brahma," says the law-giver Gautama. We have got to take special note of this change of emphasis from faultlessness of the

¹ *Ib.* i. 3. 1. 26.

² *Ib.* i. 9. 1. 21.

³ *Ib.* i. 9. 3. 6.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 6. 2. 14-17.

⁵ *Sas. Br.* i. 1. 1. 4 and ii. 2. 2. 19.

observance of details of sacrifice to practice of moral virtues in our study of the influence of Jaina and Buddhist teachings on contemporary religious and philosophical thought.

II. HIGHER BRAHMANICAL PHILOSOPHY.

Yājñavalkya and Āsuri, as we have seen above, felt sceptical about the efficacy of many of the ceremonial detail and there were undoubtedly many like them ; but another class of thoughtful men went further and regarded the ceremonials as quite insufficient and inadequate to answer deep questions of life. They felt they had found something higher than what the religion of sacrifices offered.¹ Their attitude towards the Vedic cult was even one of contempt for we find them describing the worshippers of gods as house-dogs of the gods and the gods being vexed at the discovery of this superior knowledge for it would mean to them loss of their so-called house-dogs.² “What is the sacrifice?—brute beasts ! ” is the exclamation of Yājñavalkya, and again, Yama is described as having his abode in the sacrifice, but the sacrifice in the fees ! ”³

This higher philosophy originated with the Kṣatriyas who taught it to Brāhmaṇs who had hitherto had no knowledge of it but accepted it as something higher than what they possessed.⁴ Later on the Brāhmaṇs adopted this philosophy and interpreted it so as to agree with the details of their ceremonies, thus fully incorporating this new doctrine within the frame-work of their ceremonial details.

The principal quest of this new philosophy which is found in the Upaniṣads is the First Cause, the search for which was long and laborious, fixing at first on the forces of Nature, the

¹ *Chānd. Up.* 7. 1 ; 5. 3. 4 ; *Kaṭh. Up.* 2. 23.

² *Bṛh. Up.* 1. 4. 10.

³ *Bṛh. Up.* 3. 9. 6 ; 3. 9. 21.

⁴ *Chānd. Up.* 5. 11-24, 3 10 ; 5. 3. 7 ; 1. 8-9 ; *Bṛh. Up.* 2. 1 ; 6. 2. 8 ; *Kaus. Up.* 4.

elements or the different manifestations of life or the emotions, then passing through the various functions of the reason finally deciding it to be *Brahman* who resides in ourselves as the *ātman*.¹ Atman is the individual soul within us, Brahman is the universal soul and the two are identical—this is the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads. Brahman is changeless, eternal, all-pervading, all-comprehending, incomprehensible by our ordinary senses, he is bliss and knowledge. He is truth and infinite; beside him there is nothing else, there is no second outside of him. One who knows him knows everything else just as one who knows a lump of clay knows everything made of clay. He is the creator of this universe, he is the cause of everything, he is beyond good and evil. He is the *ātman* within us and all our sorrows proceed from our not knowing this identity. He causes men to perform good or bad deeds according as he desires their upward and downward progress. The world is rooted in him, he lies at the basis of everything; of him is made all things down to a blade of grass. Overcome by the *guṇas* of *prakṛti*, we fall into an illusion and fail to recognise *Brahman* who is within us, hence all our desires, sorrows and sufferings. By the renunciation of desires and destruction of passions, when we realise our identity with the entire world pervaded by *Brahman* our sorrows are ended and we are liberated.² The means of obtaining this knowledge are the moral virtues of liberality, right dealing, non-injury to life, truthfulness, etc., and self-restraint and asceticism after retirement from the world in old age.

The Upaniṣads embody no systematic doctrine but are a collection of speculative theories of the age on the deeper questions of life. It is to be specially noted that this high and deep philosophy touched but the outer fringes of the cult

¹ *Kaus.* 4; *Bṛh. U.* 3. 9. 10-17; 4. 1; *Chand. U.* 5. 11-17; 7. 1-15.

² *Bṛh. U.* 1. 4. 10; 4. 4. 6-7; *Tait.* 1. 9. 2. 9; *Īśa.* 6; *Mund.* 2. 8. 2; *Chānd.* 3. 17; *Bṛh. U.* 4. 4. 23; 5. 2.

of sacerdotal formalism practised by the general masses under the direction of the priests, and did not supplant it. This "secret doctrine" was confined within the select few who could profit by it, leaving society in general untouched by its ennobling influence. "This higher religion," to use the words of Radhakrishnan, "was swamped by the lower religion" of the priests with all its nonsense and superstition. The priests borrowed the symbols of the Upaniṣads only to add respectability to their elaborate ignorance.

III. HETERODOXICAL SCHOOLS AND SECTS.

The second stream of thought of the period was represented by numerous teachers, schools and sects who did not recognise the authority of the Vedas or Vedic practices, or were entirely independent of many of the premises and notions of Brahmanism. The literature of both the Jainas and Buddhists contain references to these views.

Jaina Account of Contemporary Sects.

Mahavira divided the philosophical thought of his time broadly into four groups, *viz.*, the Kriyāvādins, the Akriyāvādins, the Ajñānavādins, and the Vinayavādins. By a method of theoretical classification these four groups were again subdivided into three hundred and sixty-three different schools.

The Kriyāvādins were divided into one hundred and eighty schools according as they held the ultimate principle to be Time or God or Soul or Chance or Nature, whether these were eternal or uneternal, and whether these were known by themselves or not known by themselves. By *kriyā* was meant the existence of an active principle.

The Akriyāvādins denied the existence of any active principle and were held to be of eighty-four kinds according to the specific form of the denial.

The Ajñānavādins held that negation of knowledge was the way to liberation for knowledge led to pride and quarrel and that true and correct knowledge was impossible to obtain. They fell under sixty-seven varieties according to their ways of expressing doubt and the questions on which the doubts were expressed.¹

The Vinayavādins regarded reverence as the cardinal virtue and were of thirty-two kinds according to the person to whom and the manner in which reverence was to be shown.

Schools of thought included in the above classification and yet mentioned separately are, as the commentaries say,

the Ā t m a ś a ś t h a v ā d i n s who held that the soul is a substance like the other five substances or elements of which the world of matter is composed, and that these elements, the soul being the "sixth," are eternal, unchangeable and indestructible,

the T a j j i v a t a c h h a r i r a v ā d i n s who held that the five elements are the cause of all that exist but from the combination of which arises another, *viz.*, the soul, which being a product of the five elements and having no independent existence of its own ceases to exist with the dissolution of the physical body and nothing is left over ; there is no karma, future life, virtue or vice,

the N ā s t i k a v ā d i n s who held that there is no soul ; all that exist are the five elements which are eternal and that the questions of future life or good or bad karma do not arise,

the Ś ū n y a v ā d i n s who held that all existence is an illusion for in reality nothing exists ; all is mere appearance, a mirage, a dream or a phantasy,

the S ā t a v ā d i n s who held that enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses lead to liberation, for *mokṣa* being an agreeable state is to be reached by agreeable means,

¹ In my *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* (Visvabharati Bookshop, 1929), I have given a full account of the doctrines and practices of philosophical schools and religious sects mentioned in Jaina literature.

the Ā j ī v i k a s who held that everything, the fate of man and his ultimate deliverance, was determined by destiny ; there is no karma or human effort that can change the course of destiny ; there is no avail in human strength, vigour or manliness ; deliverance depends not on karma but on series of thousands of births as predetermined by destiny, and

the S e c t of P ā r ś v a who laid down the four vows of non-killing, truthfulness, non-stealing and possessing no property.

Besides the above schools, the Jaina literature contains a mention of numerous kinds of religious sects some of whom believed that deliverance is obtained by regular bath or by tending a fire, dressing in particular articles, or by abstaining from certain kinds of food or by using certain kinds of articles only as food, or by adopting particular habits.

Buddhist Account of Contemporary Schools.

Buddha divided contemporary philosophical opinion, as stated in the *Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya*, into eight classes broadly and these were subdivided into sixty-two kinds, viz. :—

The S a s s a t a v ā d a s who held that the soul and the world are both eternal ; they were of four kinds,

the E k a c c a s a s s a t i k a s were of four kinds and held that Brahma was eternal but not all souls,

the A n t ā n a n t i k a s held that the world is infinite or that it is finite ; they were of four kinds,

the A m a r ā v i k k h e p i k a s who gave equivocating and ambiguous replies to all questions and were of four kinds,

the A d h i c c a s a m u p p a n n i k a s were of two kinds and held that the world and the soul came into being without a cause,

the U d d h ā m ā g h ā t a n i k a s were of thirty-two kinds and held various views on the condition of the soul after death,

the U c c h e d a v ā d a s were of seven kinds and held that the soul is annihilated after death, and

the N i b b ā n a v ā d a s who held that the soul is capable of obtaining emancipation in this world and were of five kinds according as they held the four stages of dhyana or full enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses as the way to emancipation.

The *Sāmāññaphala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya* also mentions six celebrated wandering teachers who were contemporaries of Buddha. Of them Mahāvīra was one and the other five were G o ś ā l a , A j i t a , K ā t y ā y a n a , K ā ś y a p a and S a ñ j a y a . Gosāla was the leader of the Ājīvikas ; Ajita's views were almost the same as of the Nāstikas ; Kātyāyana's views were approximately the same as Ātmaśaṣṭhavāda ; Kāśyapa held that the soul is passive and unaffected by good or bad karma—an echo of the Sāṃkhya, and Sañjaya was an agnostic who held that perfect knowledge was not attainable—he would come under the category of the Ajñānavādins of the Jainas and the Amarāvikkhepikas of the Buddhists.

In estimating the value of Mahāvīra and Buddha's contribution to contemporary thought special importance must be given to the growing moral tone of the Brāhmaṇa literature. Earlier Vedic thought, as Keith observes, was not interested in moral progress ; moral consciousness was absent from it ; its attitude towards women was contemptuous and extremely cynical. It is highly probable that the stress which Mahāvīra and Buddha laid on moral worth and conduct stimulated to a great extent the rise of moral consciousness in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Mrs. Rhys Davids, who combines in herself ripe scholarship and the insight of her sex, has recently expressed the view that the thoughts of the Upaniṣads are post-Buddhistic in conception. This view has not yet been fully discussed by scholars, but in support of it may be pointed out the surprising fact that earnest enquirers of truth like Mahāvīra and Buddha do not reveal, in the literature of the Jainas and Buddhists, even the least knowledge of the grand

conceptions of the Upaniṣads. The acceptance of Mrs. Rhys Davids' view would also necessitate a recasting of the accepted chronology of the Vedic literature, thereby making a large part of it, hitherto regarded as pre-Buddhistic, post-Buddhistic and therefore *primæ facie* indebted to Mahāvīra and Buddha for their tone and conclusions.

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

NATIONAL AND LOCAL FINANCE

The *raisons d'être* of local taxation are (1) to secure economical and efficient local administration, and (2) to secure economical distribution of population and capital. The National Government finds that there are certain subjects which can be more efficiently and economically dealt with, if entrusted to groups of inhabitants both regarding expense and management than if managed by the Central Government itself through its officers. The second reason is that a growing proportion of public expenditure gives a particular locality an advantage in the competition which is always going on between it and the other localities. Moreover if all types of expenditure had been defrayed by the Central Exchequer it would lead to unjust results for as "ability" is the principle of just taxation "equality" is the basis of just distribution. If the Central Government spend money for local benefits land and fixed property would improve in value at the cost of the general taxpayer.¹ A certain class would benefit most from general taxation. Local taxation prevents such unjust advantage. Equitable taxation of property counteracts the extra advantage that the landowner derives from local improvement. From this point given local taxation which does not increase the value of property should not be anywhere greater than what is absolutely necessary to secure economy and efficiency.

It is clear from this that local taxation is inseparably connected with some sort of local government. Unless there be some local authority to administer the taxes economically and unless thereby it provides a healthy competition, there is no justification for such taxes. The local authorities must be such as can fulfil the purpose of such taxation. Lord Farrer² laid down two propositions to explain the nature of such bodies from the

¹ Prof. Edwin Cannan, "National Review," November, 1896.

² Memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, c. 9528, 1899.

financial point of view. (1) "Authority which receives taxes should be responsible for their expenditure ; conversely, the authority which administers the expenditure should collect and have control of the taxes out of which it is paid." This indicates the principle which should regulate the relation of the local authority with the Supreme Government. If there be certain subjects which the local authorities have been given charge to administer they must be allowed to have control of the taxes. (2) Secondly, "Both in case of Imperial and Local Taxation the authority which has the control of a tax and of its expenditure should be responsible¹ to the persons who pay the tax." The theory behind "Democracy" is that he who pays the piper shall call the tune. This indicates the relationship which should exist between the ratepayer and the local authority. If we analyse them it is evident that without these essentials Local taxation fails in its purpose. Lord Farrer was however a doctrinaire politician ; he was in favour of complete separation of Local and National finance. We shall consider later if there should be any control by the National Government and if so how it should be exercised. Now if there should be some local authorities for administering some services for the common good of the State, the question arises which services should be managed by them or, in other words, we are to examine the principle of distribution of the burden of expenditure and trouble of management between National and Local Governments. Professor Bastable¹ has very clearly laid down the principles. He says, "There are certain classes of duties specially suitable for Local Government, *viz.*, those which exclusively or mainly concern the inhabitants of the locality, (2) those in which more effective, including more economical, management and supervision can be attained by local administration, and (3) those in which the variety and flexibility are required in order to meet differing conditions." In his opinion examples of the services under class (1) are maintenance

¹ *Ibid.* .

of roads, water supply and sanitary measures. Examples under class (2) are Poor Law arrangements, and Police and Education are examples of the third. The first class should be delegated for just distribution of the burdens and the other two classes for general advantage.

If we classify them on another basis it would mean that local authorities have to manage (1) "services carried out and controlled almost entirely by local authorities in the interest of the respective localities and not to any marked extent for the benefit of the nation as a whole," and (2) semi-national services—while they are administered by the local authorities the State has at the same time so marked an interest in their efficiency as to justify a claim to the supervision of the administration.¹

We had to study the principles of local taxation and the principles of distribution of services in order to study the principles of equitable assistance rendered by the Central Government to Local Authorities. Local taxation justifies itself because it is necessary to bring about economic distribution of population and capital. Those areas which can most economically provide local amenities attract capital and population and people can afford to pay for them. Non-uniformity is the very essence of local taxation.

Some of the services again which are "semi-national" are given to local authorities for economical management. The burden of national onerous local rates for these should be as far as possible equal in the local areas. New taxation for these purposes is likely to be subversive of the very principle of local taxation and introduces unjustified burden on occupiers. "The only legitimate use of State-subsidies is to diminish the bad effect by diminishing and equalising this part of local taxation as far as can be done consistently with the attainment of the end for which it remains local, *viz.*, to secure economy and efficiency."² From the point of view of equity

¹ Departmental Committee on Local Taxation, 1914.

² Cannan, *National Review*, 1896.

therefore grants should be as large as possible to reduce the irregularities of this portion of local taxation. But such grants may lead to extravagance and so the principle of equity must be tempered by another principle, *viz.*, principle of economy, which is the most important for our present purposes. The object of central grants should therefore be to relieve its local agents not altogether regarding local services but as far as it safely can. From practical consideration¹ "rates raised by spending authorities themselves must not merely be the groundwork of Local Finance but they should constitute the whole edifice," that is to say principles of taxation cannot be studied piecemeal—"local rates" for local services and "local rates" for national services. We must study them together. "Regarding rates as the proper source from which all local expenditure should be defrayed, it is the unequal distribution of wealth which is the foundation of the dole."² Grants-in-aid are thus required for giving relief according to necessity.

Sydney Webb³ (Lord Passfield) although he comes to the same conclusion and is in favour of grants according to necessity, challenges the whole theory of division of services. There cannot be any distinction between National and Local services. There is no real basis for such classification. The explanation of this "curious classification is the assumption that local services are those only which purchase an income in the rental value of local real estate."² On the other hand if the benefits do not result in paying extra rent for them, *e.g.*, education, provision for the poor and police-protection, they are described as onerous "and are thought fit to be borne by the National Exchequers. If this classification again is really recognised the evil of local autonomy regarding these local services is surely at hand. Such classification will make the localities thoroughly subservient to the Central Government. The fallacy must be buried and grants

¹ Row-Fogo.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Grants-in-aid," Sydney Webb.

must be made not for services that can be supposed to be more "national" than others but "in aid of certain definitely selected services whether locally useful or not in which the real object of Grants-in-aid can be most conveniently attained and in the efficiency of which the community as a whole has a considerable although by no means an exclusive interest." The economic justification of grants-in-aid is that they prevent an extreme inequality of burdens between one district and another, and that they help the districts in maintaining the minimum efficiency of the services. The relatively poor districts will inevitably lag behind the standard of local amenities. "The distribution of the common burden of taxation is felt to be so inequitable as to hinder any further development of the public services." This view of the subject does not appear to provide for any justification for local taxation. If economy and efficiency are the only reasons for devolving some duties, it can be achieved by uniform state taxation followed by devolution of duties to local authorities.

Distribution of sub-
vention.

Grants cannot be made on the basis of expenditure of the local authorities on the selected services. This is often dangerous, for if the National Government relies on the local agents they are likely to be extravagant. Subventions lead often to extra expenditure and not simply relief of the local ratepayer by the national taxpayer, but to extra central taxation. The local authorities cannot increase the rates against the opinion of the ratepayers; on the other hand, a subvention being made it gets absorbed in the sink of crying demands of local authorities. Secondly, expenditure of the local authorities may not be the real criterion of efficiency of the services. Sydney Webb proposed that grants should be made in such a way as to (1) maintain the interest (of local authorities) in economical administration; (2) secure the enforcement everywhere of a "National minimum" of efficiency in each service; (3) stimulate and encourage improvements and a rise in the standard of living; and (4) so far equalise the burden on the ratepayer as to prevent the poorest district being made to pay

more than the average rate in the pound of the kingdom as a whole." The fourth principle coupled with the dictum that the grants should be generally one half of the total required expenditure appears to be very rigidly laid down. This is not the place to discuss the question, but Prof. Edwin Cannan says, "No principle is available except the general one which justifies the method of comparing and some sort of averaging the unanalysable judgments given by competent authorities conversant with the circumstances of each case." This dictum appears to be more practicable.

The evolution of State-subventions is generally based on historical facts and differs in different places. So it is difficult to lay down any principles of distribution. In England grants-in-aid are the guiding principle by which local finance could be developed.¹ From the very time when local government was attempted to be organised on systematic principles, state assistance became important on grounds other than economical. The organisation of local authorities provided the organisation of the State and these units had a sense of autonomy and local pride. They refused to recognise for a long time that they were co-ordinate members of a homogeneous state. In other places where this sentiment of "union without unity" was stronger the organisation of the State resulted in Federations. It is only by grants-in-aid that the Central Government bought administrative control over the local authorities which preferred to part with their rights one by one in lieu of subventions. These are most useful for giving weight "to the suggestions, criticism and authoritative advice to secure greater efficiency and economy of administration." Secondly, they furnish a practicable method consistent with local autonomy, of bringing to bear upon local administration the wisdom of experience, superiority of knowledge, and breadth of view which the Central Departments cannot fail to acquire

for carrying into effect the general policy which Parliament has prescribed.¹

Economic principles underlying State assistance, although formulated from time to time were not effectively carried out according to any consistent policy in England, before the Local Government Act, 1929. In 1834, the cry was for relief of 'national burdens' and Lord Grey's² Government agreed to bear one half cost of prosecution at Assizes and Quarter Sessions. From 1867, there was demand for relief of "hereditary burdens" by the landowners who complained against inequality of incidence of rates against real property. Viscount Goschen in imitation of the Continental example introduced a system which was not at all based on any principle. Administrative facilities were purchased at the cost of the ratepayer. Due to expansiveness of British revenues the assigned revenues became too large and local authorities were allowed to utilise the surplus for purely local purposes. Later history was complete surrender to the cry of unequal incidence of rates. The Agricultural Rates Act of 1876 and Tithe Rent Charge Act of 1899 were instituted to give relief to the landed gentry. The Departmental Committee on Local Taxation recognised the principle of rendering State-assistance for semi-national services for removing "inequalities of local taxation system both existing between individuals and those existing between districts" because burden of local taxation mainly fell on real property whereas any transference of such local burden would tend to a fairer distribution of such burden." They felt a doubt regarding the reasonableness of such method as subventions had to enter taxation and there is always "difficulty in determining what is the true incidence of rates and the tendency for the burden to be shifted would render it highly conjectural whether the relief to be afforded by the new taxation would reach the individuals who are bearing the

¹ Sydney-Webb "Grants-in-aid."

² Historical account taken from Hamilton's memorandum to Royal Commission on Local Taxation.

burdens." The 1929 Act recognised that necessity should be the criterion for subventions, at the same time with a view to assisting the revival of agricultural and basic industries of productive industry abolished the rating of agricultural land and agricultural buildings and reduced the incidence on industrial and freight transport hereditaments. Government fixed upon "(1) modifying the basis and method of State subventions, arranging for meeting the case of necessitous areas, (2) arranging for obviating the difficulties of those authorities whose finances were on too narrow a basis."¹ The General Exchequer contribution fund—a national fund—was created for compensating for the grants abolished, the loss caused by the Derating Act of the standard year 1928-29 and £5 million for the first three years for England and Wales.

Regarding method and distribution the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation suggested that a "basis which combines unit with expenditure" was the most suitable because the greatest objection to unit-basis alone was that "the expenditure per unit depends upon many of the factors besides the ability of the district and that it varies from locality to locality within very wide limits." Adoption of expenditure alone would lead to extravagance. In 1928, the Ministry of Health found that "the existing system was complicated by payment of grants on varying bases and came to the conclusion that a proper system should recognise—

(a) that a fair contribution should be made for the Exchequer towards the cost of local services ;

(b) ensure that Local Authorities have complete financial interest in their administration ;

(c) be adapted in its working to the needs of the areas ;

(d) permit the greatest freedom of local administration and initiative;

¹ Cmd 3134, 1928 proposals for Reform in Local Government and in the Financial relations between the Exchequer and Local Authorities and Ministry of Health.

(e) and provide for sufficient general control and advice from the Central Departments to ensure a reasonable standard of performance."

If we examine the Continental system as we ought to do inasmuch as the Indian system will be found to be more allied to it, we shall find that the whole local governmental system is more logical although less autonomous. From the legal point of view local authorities are non-sovereign bodies subordinate to the State. They are to be considered as parts of a homogeneous State. Their existence justifies itself if they discharge their functions in such a way as to conduce best to the common good of the whole community. The distribution of public services is actually based on this principle. The division is purely administrative. The services have been divided into "local" and "central"—the latter being those which the Central Government decided to keep under its own supervision for political, administrative or financial reasons; the rest being considered local. For the sake of convenience and economy some of the central subjects are given to the local bodies for administration and are "obligatory."¹

So far as financial arrangement is concerned there is no clear-cut division. The Central authority will always see that the obligatory services are satisfactorily discharged with at least minimum of efficiency. If they are not so done additional taxation, if necessary, may be imposed or the requisite expense may be inserted in the local budgets. There is a hierarchy of local authorities and resources are derived from all of them and also from outside institutions and persons by endowments and subscriptions. Whether the whole or part of the cost of the obligatory services is met by the National Exchequer, definite control is exercised by the Central Government over them. In

¹ Description of the Continental system has been taken from Watson Grice, "National and Local Finance."

the case of "optional" services also though the Central Government has not much interest when necessary the State renders assistance by grants or loans. The primary purpose of State assistance is thus not political, not for compelling allegiance by bribes but mainly economical, *viz.*, necessity for relief. The hierarchy of local authorities in the Continent provides a machinery for administering discriminating relief which is not to be found in England. The individual circumstances are well examined and "it is considered as axiomatic that such a task is beyond the capacity of the Central Government."¹ The method of distributing the grants on the Continent, however, is similar to that in England, *viz.*, subvention in aid of specific services and not in aid of the general revenues. In France there are some general grants, *e.g.*, some portion of the proceeds of certain State-taxes,² but they were obviously intended as monetary inducements to the local authorities for supervision and collection of State-taxes.

Control.

The control of the Central Government in the Continent is thoroughly different from the British system.

In England, the Central Government has large powers of control but they cannot be termed administrative. The ways in which the control is exercised were related by Mr. I. G. Gibbon of the Ministry of Health in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Local Government, 1922. He admitted that the "general supervision tends to be over-shadowed by the more direct control through loans and grants." The more important methods are (1) issuing of general orders and regulations, (2) Inspection by officers of the Central Government, (3) confirmation of bye-laws, (4) audit, (5) control over grants, (6) control over loans, (7) appellate functions, (8) power of acting in default, (9) power in respect of local legislation. If

¹ Row-Fogo.

² The "quatre vieilles" were abolished in 1917 and the local additional centimes are levied on an imaginary basis depending on the abolished taxes but I do not know if the system of subvention was changed.

we analyse these it would be apparent that local bodies "may exercise only those powers which have been specified and bestowed on them by legislative enactment by which they were constituted or by general Acts of Parliament applying to all authorities of a certain class"¹ or by special local acts." The Central Government has methods of ascertaining the necessary and illegal expenditure but finally the decision rests with the ordinary Courts of Law. The result is that although technically by writs of mandamus or otherwise the Central Government can exercise its control really unless some financial interest is at stake, the will of the Central Government cannot be enforced. There are some methods of administrative control, *e.g.*, it is reserved that regarding the Poor Law administration the appointment and dismissal of the more important officials shall be subject to the approval of the Central Department, but this power as well as the power of nominating members to the Local authorities is sparingly used. The power of inspection and audit left with the Central Government although cannot enforce the will of the Government in a technical way on the local authorities, is formidable. The very idea of stringent audit threatens the authorities from refraining from acting illegally.² The power of surcharge and disqualification of a member for illegal and unreasonable expenditure for 5 years (1927 Audit Act) although enforceable through law courts is formidable enough for regulating the acts of the authorities. It is known to people who actually do the work that the work of inspection, if carried with sufficient intelligence, can enforce the policy of the Central Government on most occasions. But still as we have seen the system is a little different from the Continental one, where the local authorities can do what they are not prohibited from doing but the administrative control is stringent including the finances. The Central Government can compel the execution

¹ Watson Grice, "National and Local Law."

² Taken from Dr. Finer's lectures on Local Government Problems as far as I could follow.

of an obligatory work and has power of approving the budget ; they have power of approval or appointment and dismissal of responsible officials. It has been often contended that the centralised system in France was nullified by the Communal Charter of April 5th, 1884, but as Mr. Barthby quoting Mr. Harris in his " Local Government on Many Lands " said, " Administrative supervision is still supreme. France cannot be abandoned to the whims of 87 General Councils and 36,000 municipalities."

In India, the introduction of local taxation is to be explained by historical facts.¹ The Court of Directors never approved of any additional tax on land besides land revenue. In the sixties of the last century however the Imperial Government was passing through a severe financial crisis. The financial statements of the period amply testify to that statement. Mr. Laing, the Finance Member, proposed in his budget of 1861-62, to stop the grant of £500,000 for Public Works to save deficit and to have it raised by local taxation. This was not carried into effect. The Imperial revenues were not sufficient to meet even the demands of general, civil and military expenditure. On the other hand ² " there is much absolutely requiring to be done if the civilisation of the people is to be improved which the Government cannot overtake out of Imperial Funds.....The Imperial Government will no longer continue to provide for Imperial Funds the means of carrying out works of local improvement throughout India and that if more local roads and schools and hospitals and other useful works of importance are required they must be provided from local resources and not general taxation."

Along with the question of introducing local taxation came the question of establishing local boards. Local bodies to manage the funds were considered necessary for several reasons.

¹ Quoted in Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 14th April, 1861.

² Secretary of State's (Duke of Argyll's), Despatch of 1870 regulating local cess.

(i) It¹ would be most desirable if the local character of the rates could be "marked by committing both the assessing of this and the application of this to local bodies." Sir John Lawrence was anxious that the assent and concurrence of the ratepayers should be secured both in the levy and in the management of rates. It was necessary that the local character of the rates should be made "direct and palpable" and hence the unit of local government was considered proper to be as small as possible.

(ii) "Local interest, supervision and care" were necessary for management of roads allotted for local welfare purposes, specially when local resources were "as multifarious as inexhaustible" to borrow Trevelyn's words. Without local agency local taxation was not likely to succeed in its purposes.

(iii) Besides these, however, the purpose of educating the people for self-government was always kept in view. "The scheme would greatly foster the growth of municipal institutions and of what is still more important of the spirit of local self-help and self-guidance which is at the bottom of a nation's greatness" (Laing, 1861-62)—"Local rating, although it may be imposed in the first instance by Imperial authority, must become a powerful means of further educating the people in an intelligent management of their own affairs" (Duke of Argyll's Despatch of 1870). This view was reiterated in the resolution published in 1864 where it was stated that local government was an old institution in India and would succeed well under encouragement. Lord Mayo in 1870 (Resolution on decentralisation) and Lord Ripon also reiterated the same views.

The distribution of services between local authorities and the respective Provincial Governments was in consonance with the purposes of local taxation and based on historical grounds. The local authorities were expected to manage some of the public services which it was intended should be met from local

¹ *Ibid.*

taxation. Financial stringency was at the root of such devolution. In the beginning there was no well laid-out policy regarding the distribution of these services, but from the Government of India Resolution No. 2245, dated 31st August, 1864, we can have some idea as to which services were meant to be transferred. The views of the Government were thus indicated. "Holding the position as we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people by means of funds raised by themselves and to confine ourselves to doing those things which must be done by the Government and to influencing and directing in a general way all the movements of the social machine." The actual services which were meant to be transferred, although not clearly stated, were indicated in Duke of Argyll's Despatch of 1870 and from the various statements made during the sixties. We can deduce that municipal police, elementary education, local amenities including roads, public health including vaccination and medical relief, were primarily meant to be managed by local bodies and met from local taxation. The Acts were framed according to this policy.

(1) In the same resolution it was stated that "the expense of police specially required for the purposes of town populations should be defrayed by these populations" and "that the cost of the municipal Police ought invariably be the first charge upon the Municipal Fund after the expenses of collection." This was supposed to be in keeping with Indian tradition in as much as cost of local police was always met by the villages.¹

¹ In ancient India, police was organised on the basis of land tenure. The zemindars and the subordinate tenure-holders were responsible for peace and order within their areas. Ultimately there was joint responsibility of the villagers. The notorious Kavelgari system of Madras was an instance how villagers had to compound with the heads of the robber races, the Kavelgars and Palegars who levied heavy blackmail for forbearance from crime. (Memorandum submitted by W. Robinson, Inspector-General of Police, Madras, to the Police Commission, 1860.)

(2) It was also suggested that if Municipalities had been brought into being for Police purposes they would serve another purpose, *viz.*, providing for local requirement under the municipal system more promptly and fully than by Governmental agency and “when the people would see that they were allowed to manage their own affairs, they would feel confidence to do things which they would not have accepted from Government.”

(3) Government of India always thought (No. 5876, dated 28th October, 1867, to Government of Bengal) “Expense of Roads, Education, etc., in Lower Bengal cannot be borne by the Imperial Exchequer out of its existing revenues and that it must be met by special rates levied locally for the purpose.” “As a matter of fact the State has never undertaken to provide for the education of the mass of the people.”

The division was thus made for administrative and financial convenience. Some services the nature of which, *e.g.*, local roads, was mainly local and some others which in other countries might be considered “national,” *e.g.*, Police (Police in Municipalities of India was thoroughly controlled by the Police Department) and “Education,” were given over to local bodies for management mainly by local taxation. Government’s policy was made more clear and comprehensive by Lord Ripon in his letter No. 3513, dated 10th October, 1881, to the Government of Bengal. “Provincial expenditure which may be transferred to local control appears in the accounts under heads of “medical,” “education” and “public works” but Government is anxious that no artificial restriction be imposed on such transfers..... Governor General would be glad to see Municipal bodies relieved altogether of the charge of Police, equal amount of expenditure on education, medical charity and if possible “Public Works” of local interest being transferred to them with as full control as may be practically expedient.” Mr. Westland’s memorandum submitted to the Finance Committee in 1886 also suggested that education, local public works and public health including Hospitals, Dispensaries and vaccination were meant to be met

from local revenues. The nature of the services transferred remains almost the same as was done in accordance with Lord Ripon's Resolution except that Police (Municipal and village) was transferred to the Government in the United Provinces in 1905 and 1908 respectively. With the details of distribution we are not concerned here, for there have been many such charges in this respect, *e.g.*, in Bengal recently (1927) the Provincial vaccination staff was transferred to the District Boards, in Madras the District Headquarter Hospitals have been provincialised.

Although some method was now introduced regarding devolution of services, no principle of subvention of the Provincial Governments or of the Central Government was laid down. The changes made during Lord Ripon's regime did not differ fundamentally regarding assistance to local bodies. The principle of transference of services followed the previous method of handing over certain services to local bodies for management by local resources but instead of desiring that these should be mainly met from taxation some of the Provincial revenues were assigned more systematically (specially in Bengal) and it was expected that the local charged would be solely met from the local resources and some fixed grants when necessary. The revenues assigned however proved inelastic and assistance had to be rendered to the local bodies. Although no definite principle appears to have been laid down in the eighties if we follow the system of assistance that was given (which will be related in detail in a later chapter) we can realise that the assistance given was based on the principle of "necessity for relief." This dictum however is subject to various interpretations. In the European countries, as we have seen, it means (1) the maintenance of national minimum of efficiency in the local services and (2) equalisation of burdens of local authorities. The method of distribution is based on the necessity of individual services instead of assistance to the general financial position of the local authorities.

In India the dictum of "necessity for relief" could not be interpreted in that way.¹ The incidence of local taxation was extremely low specially in rural boards and if efficiency was to be maintained grants were to be prohibitively large, the problem of roads and education, although being tackled by various methods, has not still been completely solved. No criterion of adequacy of these services could be established for giving grants. Moreover it must be remembered that inordinate grants not only lead to extravagance but also to additional taxation. A large part of the Governmental revenues consists of tax on land and so additional subvention would mean additional burden on land. Sir James Meston in 1912 (March) pointed out in the Indian Legislative Assembly :

"It has been a sound policy of Government of India to keep burden on land low. It can hardly be a sound policy to allow local bodies to increase it and certainly it would be thoroughly unsound to base this system of finance on arbitrary enhancement of taxation on land combined with arbitrary doles from the Exchequer."

Probably because of this low incidence of local taxation and the paucity of funds at the disposal of local bodies coupled with the inadequacy of funds at the disposal of the Government of India during the nineteenth century, no general principles regarding purposes of assistance to local authorities could be laid down. We can however trace one negative principle for giving relief which was promulgated in 1897, and reiterated in 1902, in which it was stated that grants should not ordinarily be given for sanitary and other projects solely for the benefit of local areas unless these were very important and that aid should be given by way of loans. (Finance Department letter No. 1245 A, dated 16th March, 1897, to Madras Government.)

¹ But cf. Gokhale's views that in India the ratio of the incidence of the sum of National and local taxation was to the taxable capacity of the Indian taxpayer the same as that in the European countries but the distribution of the proceeds was much worse among local authorities than in other countries (1912, Legislative Assembly speech).

This principle however was laid down only for purposes of economy of the Imperial purse and the Provincial Governments were not only not debarred from contributing from their savings in case of important works but actually made large grants. (Cf. Public Works grants in Bengal, necessity explained by Bengal Government letter No. 424 TF, dated 6th November, 1899). Large grants however were made by the Government of India for education and public health when the Imperial Purse could afford to make contributions and the principle of "necessity" was confined to, not in a rigid way, but in so far as it was compatible with financial and administrative convenience.¹ It is because of these difficulties that Government of India in the Resolution on Local self-government in 1915, suggested the possibility "of supplementing taxation by development of municipal property." It is very difficult to ascertain whether the significance of the suggestion is in any way connected with the question of grants but in some of the Provinces grants have been utilised as a lever for increasing the resources of local authorities. In Bengal capital expenditure of local bodies by loans was abnormally low. The authorities are always inclined to finance capital works from current revenue. An ingenious method was adopted in 1928 (103-103 T-P.H., dated 28th May) by which Government proposed to utilise the water supply grants for partial relief of interest on loans for capital expenditure. In Madras under section 37 of the Elementary Education Act, Government has to contribute not less than the proceeds of taxation that local authorities may impose for elementary education under section 34 of the Act. The 25% Road-cess grants although more mechanical were based on the proceeds of the cess income. It is apparent therefore that some of the grants are being given, and should be given, due to peculiar circumstances in India, for increasing the local resources both current and capital.

¹ Because of the complexities of the situation the Financial Relations Committee, Madras, 1920, suggested it to be the only practicable principle.

Interpretation of "necessity for relief" cannot be confined to mean some fixed amount required for satisfactory discharge of services but also to improve the general financial position of the local authorities not by general grants but by helping the authorities to increase their resources.

So far as the question of equalisation of burdens is concerned it has not been lost sight of by the Government. Government of India Resolution of 1915 on local government accepted the recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission that "assistance may legitimately be given by Government to poor municipalities which would be unable to carry on the normal standard of administration required from them." The agencies through which subventions are given and the method of distribution facilitate the granting of subventions according to needs. So far as rural boards are concerned, in most of the Provinces there is a hierarchy of local authorities and they can ascertain the needs of the lower boards. In Bengal, some of the grants, *e.g.*, a substantial portion of the 25% Road-cess grants and additional cess grants due to deprovincialisation of the Public Works cess are meant to be distributed to the Union Boards. The educational grants consisted partly of Imperial grants (mostly recurring) before the reforms and partly of Provincial allotments. There does not appear to have been any fixed principles of making the grants excepting that determining the ways in which the expenditure was to be shared between the local authorities and the governments.¹ But the Budgets are prepared by the education officers of the Department (Education) and are based on the grants-in-aid rules laid down by the respective governments and hence facilitate distribution of grants according to needs

¹ In Bengal, since 1907 (notification, dated 20th March 1907) it was laid down that the total expenditure of Boards must not be less than what they spent in 1901-02. Grants consisted partly of what was incorporated within "equilibrium" grants abolished since 1913 and partly of allotments. In Bombay, Government agreed to share $\frac{1}{2}$ of the educational expenditure of local bodies on primary education since 1903. This has been modified by the Bombay Elementary Education Act, 1923.

The Provincial Governments have taken into account the principle of attempting towards equalisation of burdens with regard to the augmentation grant (25% Road-cess grant since 1905). This used to be given on a mechanical basis, *viz.*, the proceeds of the road-cess. The result was in certain cases that these districts which needed grants most, due to the smallness of the local cess, got the least. This has been abolished in Madras and is given now for second class roads. In Bengal, the principle has been reshuffled since 1925 and half of it is now given on the basis of needs of the districts, the commissioners of the respective divisions having been allowed discretion to allot the grants. In Bihar and Orissa a re-allotment of augmentative grants based on divisional needs was adopted for a period of 5 years in 1920.

When far-reaching changes during Lord Ripon's regime were brought about (as we shall examine later) in some of the Provinces, *e.g.*, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province, it was arranged that a computation of the requirements of rural local authorities would be made on the basis of the expenditure in 1885-6 and an equilibrium-grant as a lump sum would be given for meeting the additional charges that were transferred to them. The revenues assigned to the authorities however proved inelastic and the grants estimated on the basis of a particular year were bound to become obsolete and did not work. Since 1913 when the Public Works cess in Bengal and a part of the cess (20%) in the United Provinces which used to be spent for general administrative expenditure were transferred to local bodies, the equilibrium grants were resumed. Besides these general grants and the augmentation grants however all the other grants have been given not as general grants but for individual services—in many cases being earmarked for particular items of the service. Government of India Resolution of 1918 accepted the recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission for abolition of the system of specification of incomes on certain services and for introducing the principle of giving lump grants and percentage

contributions towards individual services rather than towards earmarked heads.

The evolution of principles of local government in India was on lines similar to those in the Continent—although in form it might be different. The local bodies were initially mere agencies with a gradual tendency to make them co-ordinate units of a homogeneous State. They were given certain functions because it would be conducive to the common good of the State as a whole. Local taxes could be imposed and collected more economically and with the best possible results and certain services could be most economically managed by them.

Here also, as in the Continent, decentralisation was the first object for economic management, then came the intention of introducing non-official element, but during the time there was always administrative control and supervision. We have already discussed the question of decentralisation by creating local authorities. So far as the question of introduction of non-official element is concerned it was done with a view to assist the people of the country to learn to manage their local and gradually national affairs and secondly because “as education advances it is not only a bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilise the intelligent class of public-spirited men”¹ who could be so conveniently utilised for relieving the official element of overburden duties.

Before Lord Ripon's scheme was carried into effect the system of local government was thoroughly bureaucratic, being controlled completely “from within and without.” The situation was very tersely put by Sir A. Mackenzie in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1880. “In India on the other hand, a foreign but nevertheless benevolent government taxes the people *ab extra* in their own interest and often in their own despite. Viewed thus municipal and other local taxation is in India

¹ Lord Ripon.

as distinctly Imperial taxation as the Income tax itself..... In order to bring in economy of administration, to secure the help of those locally interested and to reconcile local populations to special burdens, Government transfers the assessment and management of sources of revenue to local bodies but the ultimate responsibility still lies with Government and it is for the Government to lay down the limits within which the system shall be worked. That, Sir, I conceive to be the only sound theory of local taxation in India."

Lord Ripon in his resolution of 1882 laid down the principles of control and was of opinion that control should be exercised from without than from within, that is to say there should not be any external dictation of policy by introducing the official supremacy in the constitution of the boards but external control, *e.g.*, provision of Governmental sanction for certain acts such as power of taxation, and raising of loans besides some amount of special outside control empowering Government to set aside proceedings of local bodies or superseding negligent boards or compelling the defaulting boards to do some work.

The Government of India issued two comprehensive resolutions in 1915 and 1918. So far as internal control is concerned Government accepted the opinion of the Decentralisation Commission that there should be elective majorities in rural and municipal boards (subject to a proviso in the latter) that chairmen in municipalities should be elected non-officials except when an official was elected by non-official majority subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the Division and in rural boards "Local Governments should arrange for election of chairmen whenever possible and appointment of non-official chairmen in others."

The very nature of local Government indicates that due to this non-sovereign character there must be some legislative control requiring some restriction for taxation and certain other acts. Besides the general limits however Government was of opinion that in case of indebted municipalities sanction of

Government should be ordinarily required to any alteration which might reduce the reserves of municipalities. With regard to Rural Boards it was not considered feasible to give them powers of taxation. Subsequently, however, this restriction has been removed in certain cases.

By the Government of India Act, 1919, under section 45-A, local and municipal matters have been made "transferred subjects" and under section 80 A-3-(a) read with Rule 3 of the Taxes Rules, the legislative council of a province may without the previous sanction of the Governor General authorise any local authority to impose for the purposes of such local authority any tax included in Schedule II of these rules.¹ In most of the important provinces except Bengal, new Municipal and Local Boards Acts have been passed. In some of these Acts the local authorities are empowered (*e.g.*, sec. 99 of the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923) to levy any tax within the said schedule, subject to the sanction of the Commissioner (sec. 101), power being reserved to the Government to suspend the levy of objectionable taxes. In others, *e.g.* U.P. District Boards Act, 1922, specified taxes are leviable by the authorities subject to the same restrictions. The municipalities have long enjoyed the power of levying of some of the specified taxes subject to the sanction of the Government. The local authorities in some cases (Bengal is still a great exception—so far as District Boards are concerned) are partially rating authorities having been given the power of selecting suitable taxes.

So far as administrative control over finance is concerned, this has been much reduced—the Commissioner's and the local Government's control, as the case may be, being confined to seeing that the budget provides for the due discharge of all

¹ Madras Local Boards and Municipal Act, 1920. These Acts were introduced before the inauguration of Reforms in Madras—

Bombay Local Boards Act	...	1923
„ Municipality Act	...	1925
U.P. Local Boards Act	...	1922

and so forth.

liabilities in respect of loans contracted by any local boards or municipality, and the maintenance of a working balance.¹ We must also note in this connection that in certain cases (*e.g.*, Bengal Village Self-government Act) the Government has still some administrative control over the finances of the village local authorities.²

Some special powers however have been reserved by the Governments whereby in case of default the District Boards and Municipalities as the case may be (Sec. 39 (4), Madras Municipal Act, Sec. 54 (2) of C. P. Municipal Act, Sec. 64 of Bengal Municipal Act; Bengal S. G. Act, Sec. 125) may be made to do the act or appoint some person to do it, the persons having custody of the funds of the authority being compelled to pay the expenses in priority to any other charge against such fund except charges for the service of authorised loans. Because of this diminution in general administrative control over the finances of the local authorities Governments in some of the provinces find that the local authorities are drifting into undesirable autonomy. "In Bengal there are several authorities who can criticise and advise...but no authority has effective power to enforce action" (Bengal Government's Memorandum to the Simon Commission). In many cases the grants given by the Governments have not been properly utilised. Under Rule 46 of Part II of Schedule I of Devolution Rules power of audit of local Boards and Municipalities is left to the Provincial Governments. It is always necessary that grants are spent within reasonable time and the purposes and

¹ Bengal—Circular No. 7 T-L.S.G., dated 12th October, 1912.

Madras—Sec. 117 (2) of the Local Boards Act, 1920, Sec. 120 of the District Municipality Act, 1920.

C.P.—Proviso to subsection (8) of Sec. 86 C.P. Municipal Act 11 of 1922.

U.P.—District Boards Act, 1922, Sec. 161 (2), where the Government has further power of seeing that any Governmental allotment is properly utilised.

² Rule 1-A of the Account Rules of Bengal Village Self-government Act requires that items of Part I of the budget relating to dafadars and chankidars are subject to the sanction of the District Magistrate being submitted through the Circle Officer and Subdivisional Officer. This control is not limited to any restrictions.

conditions are fulfilled. The Bihar and Orissa Local Fund Act¹ recently passed and finance rules of local authorities in Madras provide for powers of surcharge. The auditors "shall disallow every item contrary to law and shall charge against any person responsible therefor the amount of any deficiency or loss incurred by negligence and misconduct." It has been reported that in Bihar threat of surcharge was never sufficient to have the irregularities set right in 3rds of the cases and in only 14th of the cases requisitions had to be issued.

The Local Authorities Loans Act of 1914 consolidate the laws relating to borrowing powers of local authorities and Rules under the same Act (Indian Finance, 1020 A, dated 10th November, 1914, and Resolution No. 1019-A, dated 10th November, 1914) clearly laid down their powers and the purposes for which loans could be incurred. The provincial Governments are the sanctioning authorities except in certain cases of non-Government loans, when the Government of India is the final sanctioning authority. Restrictions of such loans are mainly an enquiry by the Government regarding the financial position of the authorities and utility of the purpose and after the borrowing some control and inspection of the works and accounts (Rule 12). Some of the bigger municipalities and Improvement Trusts are allowed power to "borrow money by means of issue of bills and promissory notes payable within any period not exceeding twelve months."

(i) In view of the conditions noted above it will be our purpose hereafter to examine the system of local taxation in India, and how far it should be improved, because with the growth of trade commerce, some taxes which are local ought to be nationalised and in differing conditions national taxes may be localised.²

(ii) The system of distribution of services and how far it should be improved ; in certain countries there is a tendency

¹ Sec. 11 of the Act and Rule 60 A of Finance Rules, Madras Act V of 1929.

² Seligman's Essays in Taxation—State and Local Revenues.

towards nationalisation of local functions, *e.g.*, England, in others decentralisation, *e.g.*, France, and along with it the system of subventions and how far the principle and method of distribution should be improved.

(iii) The question of control, for it is essential that there must be some control in order to ensure (1) that the finances of the local authority shall be run on sound and constructive lines ; (2) that minimum standard of efficiency be maintained as regards essential services, *e.g.*, Police, Health and Education ; (3) to avoid an undue upsetting of the established order of things.”¹

B. K. SARKAR

¹ E. D. Simon, “ City Council from Within.”

MIR QUASIM'S EXPEDITION AGAINST NEPAL

Early in January, 1763, the Nawab proceeded on an expedition against Nepal. He set out with a grand army led by his Commander-in-chief, Gurgin Khan, almost immediately after the departure¹ of Mr. Vansittart from Monghyr. This expedition deserves more than a passing mention, as it admirably serves to illustrate the Nawab's innate cupidity and ambition. That he should have planned and attempted the conquest of a hilly country like Nepal with an ill-equipped and newly recruited force shows not only an utter lack of foresight, but the absence of even ordinary commonsense and prudence. It is indeed strange that the Nawab should have turned his attention to foreign conquest at a time when his own dominions needed settlement and consolidation. He had, however, been led to believe that the reduction of Nepal would be an easy task,² and so he thoughtlessly undertook the venture in a most optimistic mood. Little had he calculated the peculiar difficulties that his army would have to face in an unknown mountainous country!

It was Gurgin Khan who had been principally responsible for the initiation³ of the project, and the Nawab readily approved of it to gratify his own greed and ambition. A number of circumstances appeared to be favourable to the proposed expedition. In the first place, the Nawab had recently⁴ reorganised and re-modelled his forces according to the European fashion, and its efficiency and strength were reported to the Nawab in exaggerated terms. The new army had to be put to the test before the Nawab could consider himself secure against the English, and Gurgin Khan therefore urged the Nawab to

¹ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 184. Mr. Vansittart left Monghyr on January 9, 1763.

² Siyar, II, p. 447.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 446, and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, All. Univ. MS., p. 781.

⁴ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 185.

undertake the expedition with a view to make a trial¹ of the army he had lately disciplined, and of the artillery he had so efficiently created and trained. In fact the Nawab too seems to have been extremely anxious to test the strength of his army. Had this not been a fact, he could surely have asked for the assistance of the Company's forces. That he deliberately rejected² the counsel of his close friends like Ali Ibrahim Khan who had rightly asked him to drop the idea of the expedition or undertake the venture with the help of the English, is extremely significant and points to the Nawab's intention of relying on his own troops, and giving it a fair trial. In the second place, the fortress of Bettia had only been recently taken,³ and the district of Champaran still awaited a thorough subjugation.⁴ A force would have to be sent there sooner or later for establishing order and peace. Could it not be both convenient and easy to utilise this opportunity for annexing the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal? In the third place, there were in the Nawab's service a number of people from the hills and, possessed as they were of a first-hand knowledge of their country, they constantly offered their services as guides⁵ in an expedition to Nepal, and their encouragement was a decisive factor in the end. In the fourth place Gurgin Khan had collected a good deal of information about the Himalayan countries from the hordes of mendicants who annually visited⁶ those parts, and from the Kashmiris and Armenians who traded in Tibet. Finally, the affairs in Nepal were at this time in a troublous condition, and invited interference. The country was passing through a critical period of her chequered history. Ranjit Mall, the last Newar ruler of the country, was

Siyar, II, p. 446.

Siyar, II, p. 447.

Ans. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 13. The Nawab's troops took the fort in March, 1762.

Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608).

Siyar, II, pp. 446-47.

Siyar, II, p. 447.

vainly trying¹ to stem the tide of Gurkha invasion led by Prithwi Narayan, the daring Gurkha Chief, who was fast subjugating the valley of Nepal. In short, the country was in the throes of a revolution, and in a state of complete confusion and anarchy. This seemed to be a tempting opportunity for fishing in the troubled waters of that country, and anticipating its inevitable conquest by the Gurkhas.

What influenced the Nawab most in his ultimate decision was the alluring report that Nepal was an exceedingly wealthy country abounding in gold and other valuable commodities. The prospect of easily acquiring the fabulous wealth of Nepal fired the imagination of both Gurgin Khan and his master, and the conquest of such a country held out temptations that the latter could hardly have resisted. As a matter of fact, the principal commodity imported into Bengal from Tibet was gold, and this fact lent colour to the popular belief that Nepal and the countries beyond abounded with gold mines.² According to the author of the *Muzaffar Namah*,³ the Nawab undertook the expedition, chiefly at the instigation of Raja Sukh Lal among others, who authoritatively informed the former that there were gold mines in Nepal, and that these were easily accessible.

Mir Qasim could hardly have been unaware of the many other advantages that would result from the success of his project. From times immemorial, there had been a considerable trade between the province of Bihar, and the trans-Himalayan regions through Nepal, and its vicinity to the district of Champaran afforded immense facilities for the development of this trans-Frontier trade of Bihar and Bengal. If only Nepal could be annexed to Bengal, this lucrative trade would soon grow to the advantage of the Nawab's government. Besides, there was a real apprehension that the success of the Gurkhas might ruin

¹ *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*. By Kirkpatrick, p. 268.

² *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 781. *Khulasat* (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608). *Siyar*, II, p. 446.

³ *Muzaffar Namah*, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 334.

towards nationalisation of local functions, *e.g.*, England, in others 'decentralisation, *e.g.*, France, and along with it the system of subventions and how far the principle and method of distribution should be improved.

(iii) The question of control, for it is essential that there must be some control in order to ensure (1) that the finances of the local authority shall be run on sound and constructive lines ; (2) that minimum standard of efficiency be maintained as regards essential services, *e.g.*, Police, Health and Education ; (3) to avoid an undue upsetting of the established order of things.' ' ¹

B. K. SARKAR

¹ E. D. Simon, " City Council from Within."

MIR QUASIM'S EXPEDITION AGAINST NEPAL

Early in January, 1763, the Nawab proceeded on an expedition against Nepal. He set out with a grand army led by his Commander-in-chief, Gurgin Khan, almost immediately after the departure¹ of Mr. Vansittart from Monghyr. This expedition deserves more than a passing mention, as it admirably serves to illustrate the Nawab's innate cupidity and ambition. That he should have planned and attempted the conquest of a hilly country like Nepal with an ill-equipped and newly recruited force shows not only an utter lack of foresight, but the absence of even ordinary commonsense and prudence. It is indeed strange that the Nawab should have turned his attention to foreign conquest at a time when his own dominions needed settlement and consolidation. He had, however, been led to believe that the reduction of Nepal would be an easy task,² and so he thoughtlessly undertook the venture in a most optimistic mood. Little had he calculated the peculiar difficulties that his army would have to face in an unknown mountainous country!

It was Gurgin Khan who had been principally responsible for the initiation³ of the project, and the Nawab readily approved of it to gratify his own greed and ambition. A number of circumstances appeared to be favourable to the proposed expedition. In the first place, the Nawab had recently⁴ reorganised and re-modelled his forces according to the European fashion, and its efficiency and strength were reported to the Nawab in exaggerated terms. The new army had to be put to the test before the Nawab could consider himself secure against the English, and Gurgin Khan therefore urged the Nawab to

¹ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 184. Mr. Vansittart left Monghyr on January 9, 1763.

² Siyar, II, p. 447.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 446, and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, All. Univ. MS., p. 781.

⁴ Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 185.

undertake the expedition with a view to make a trial¹ of the army he had lately disciplined, and of the artillery he had so efficiently created and trained. In fact the Nawab too seems to have been extremely anxious to test the strength of his army. Had this not been a fact, he could surely have asked for the assistance of the Company's forces. That he deliberately rejected² the counsel of his close friends like Ali Ibrahim Khan who had rightly asked him to drop the idea of the expedition or undertake the venture with the help of the English, is extremely significant and points to the Nawab's intention of relying on his own troops, and giving it a fair trial. In the second place, the fortress of Bettia had only been recently taken,³ and the district of Champaran still awaited a thorough subjugation.⁴ A force would have to be sent there sooner or later for establishing order and peace. Could it not be both convenient and easy to utilise this opportunity for annexing the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal? In the third place, there were in the Nawab's service a number of people from the hills and, possessed as they were of a first-hand knowledge of their country, they constantly offered their services as guides⁵ in an expedition to Nepal, and their encouragement was a decisive factor in the end. In the fourth place Gurgin Khan had collected a good deal of information about the Himalayan countries from the hordes of mendicants who annually visited⁶ those parts, and from the Kashmiris and Armenians who traded in Tibet. Finally, the affairs in Nepal were at this time in a troublous condition, and invited interference. The country was passing through a critical period of her chequered history. Ranjit Mall, the last Newar ruler of the country, was

Siyar, II, p. 446.

Siyar, II, p. 447.

Abd. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 13. The Nawab's troops took the fort in March, 1762.

Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608).

Siyar, II, pp. 446-47.

Siyar, II, p. 447.

vainly trying ¹ to stem the tide of Gurkha invasion led by Prithwi Narayan, the daring Gurkha Chief, who was fast subjugating the valley of Nepal. In short, the country was in the throes of a revolution, and in a state of complete confusion and anarchy. This seemed to be a tempting opportunity for fishing in the troubled waters of that country, and anticipating its inevitable conquest by the Gurkhas.

What influenced the Nawab most in his ultimate decision was the alluring report that Nepal was an exceedingly wealthy country abounding in gold and other valuable commodities. The prospect of easily acquiring the fabulous wealth of Nepal fired the imagination of both Gurgin Khan and his master, and the conquest of such a country held out temptations that the latter could hardly have resisted. As a matter of fact, the principal commodity imported into Bengal from Tibet was gold, and this fact lent colour to the popular belief that Nepal and the countries beyond abounded with gold mines.² According to the author of the Muzaffar Namah,³ the Nawab undertook the expedition, chiefly at the instigation of Raja Sukh Lal among others, who authoritatively informed the former that there were gold mines in Nepal, and that these were easily accessible.

Mir Qasim could hardly have been unaware of the many other advantages that would result from the success of his project. From times immemorial, there had been a considerable trade between the province of Bihar, and the trans-Himalayan regions through Nepal, and its vicinity to the district of Champaran afforded immense facilities for the development of this trans-Frontier trade of Bihar and Bengal. If only Nepal could be annexed to Bengal, this lucrative trade would soon grow to the advantage of the Nawab's government. Besides, there was a real apprehension that the success of the Gurkhas might ruin

¹ An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. By Kirkpatrick, p. 268.

² Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 781. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608). Siyar, II, p. 446.

³ Muzaffar Namah, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 334.

this profitable commerce between Bengal and the Himalayan countries, and it was because of this that the annexation of Nepal by the Gurkhas was dreaded by the English who at the time of Cornwallis sent an unsuccessful expedition under Captain Kinloch to help the Newar prince.¹ There was another obvious advantage. The Nawab surely knew that a brilliant military campaign would considerably add to his prestige and renown. Nepal was the only part of India which the Muslim arms had never fully reached, and if the Nawab could succeed in bringing it under his rule, he would have the unique honour of carrying the banner of Islam into that country! Above all, he would be able to earn the distinction and prestige of a conqueror, and thus surpass the previous Subahdars of Bengal.

If the author of the Muzaffar-Namah is to be credited,² the Nawab, before setting out himself, had originally sent under a trusty officer only a small force consisting of three battalions of Tilangas to make the preliminary attack against the borders of Nepal, but the latter, however, not only failed to achieve any success, but also ultimately perished³ in an unsuccessful attempt to scale the heights, being crushed by huge stones that were rolled down upon them by the enemy. In all about three thousand men are thus reported to have lost their lives. When the Nawab heard of this dismal event, he determined to avenge himself on the insolent Gurkhas by sending a grand army against them under Gurgin Khan himself, and personally started⁴ for Bettia to direct the attack from that place.⁵

With the help of guides, Gurgin Khan and his forces reached the outskirts of the mountains of Nepal, and entered the

¹ Kirkpatrick's Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, p. 270.

² Muzaffar Namah, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 334.

³ *Ibid*, p. 335.

The Siyar makes no mention of these details.

⁴ On the 25th of Zamadiulsani of 1176, according to the Siyar. The Muzaffar Namah simply mentions the month of Zamadiulsani.

⁵ Siyar, II, p. 448. Khulasat (J.B.O.B.S., V, p. 608).

interior of the valley of the Kurra by the end of January, 1763.¹ The Nawab in the meanwhile remained at Bettia, and showed no inclination to go any further. This is certainly interesting, and it illustrates the Nawab's well-known timidity and lack of soldierly talents. Mr. Vansittart did not exaggerate when he wrote,² ".....for war he (*i.e.*, the Nawab) was totally unfit from his excessive and known timidity....." Gurgin Khan triumphantly led his men almost up to the neighbourhood of the fort of Mukwanpur which stood on the ridge dominating the valley of the Kurra.³ The fort commanded a strategic point, guarding as it did one of the entrances into Nepal, and as such, its capture was absolutely essential. Gurgin Khan intended therefore to storm the fort, but before he could do so, he had to be master of the Mukwanpur ridge itself. He sent a detachment of his forces to force its way up to the summit of the pass.⁴ There ensued a fierce encounter between the Nawab's troops and the Gurkhas. The latter offered a stout resistance against the invaders, and inflicted heavy losses on them. Mere numbers were in the beginning of no avail against the guerilla tactics of the defenders, and the number of the wounded and slain among the Nawab's troops was very large. The bloody engagement went on from morning till the afternoon, and at last the mountaineers decided to effect a retreat. Towards the evening the victors reached the top of the ridge overlooking the fort of Mukwanpur. Theirs was indeed a hard-won victory, and it reflected a great credit on their endurance and bravery.

Tired after the day's fight, the victors encamped on the summit of the pass to have some rest for the night. The night

¹ 5th of Rajab, 1176. (*Vide* Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 782). The Siyar does not give the date of Gurgin Khan's arrival at the pass where the momentous battle took place.

² Narrative, II, p. 187. (This view is amply corroborated by other authorities too.)

³ Kirkpatrick's Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, pp. 24-5.

⁴ Siyar, II, p. 448. Khulasat (J.B.Q.R.S., V, p. 608). Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 782. Muzaffar-Namah, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 335.

was dark,¹ and nobody suspected that the enemies were close by ready to make a surprise attack. The Nawab's army lay care-free and fatigued, and the officers were criminally negligent. They sadly neglected to keep watch on the movements of the enemies. The result was a foregone conclusion! Under cover of night, the latter issued from their mountain retreat and made a sudden attack. Gurgin Khan's men were taken absolutely unawares. There was a regular panic when the hill-men attacked them from all sides with stones, arrows, and musket-bolts.² The Nawab's troops could hardly offer any opposition, and panic-stricken as they were, they began to retreat precipitately down to the bottom of the pass, where Gurgin Khan had encamped. A large number among them were killed during retreat, and most of their guns and ammunitions were seized by the enemies.³

It was a disgraceful rout, and Gurgin Khan suddenly lost all hope of success. It must have been with a heavy heart that he witnessed the shattered army that had tragically belied all his bright expectations. His own reputation and that of his new army were blasted. The poor general grew anxious for his own safety, as punishment seemed to be in store for him at the hands of his disappointed master. He was in great despair.⁴ He deemed it futile to proceed with his demoralised troops, whereas he expected to be signally censured, or punished, if he chose to come back to the Nawab.⁵ He was so much ashamed of his failure, that he dared not show his face again to the latter. When he was informed of this disaster, the Nawab himself grew despondent and decided after some hesitation to recall the general.⁶ It has been suggested by Kalyan Singh that the Nawab felt

Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608).

Siyar, II, p. 448. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 782.

Ibid, and Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608). Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MSS.), p. 335.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MSS.), p. 783.

Siyar, II, p. 448.

Ibid. Ali Ibrahim Khan had to be deputed to being the general back, as the latter was unwilling to appear before the Nawab out of shame and remorse.

thoroughly humiliated after this.¹ That the latter should have been bitterly humiliated is easy to understand. He had started with very great hopes, and he had now to return after sustaining a disgraceful defeat.

It is indeed curious that the Nawab made no further attempts and chose to return to Monghyr. The following reasons may be suggested for this :—

(i) The Nawab may have realised the futility of prolonging the expedition with his shattered army ;

(ii) Gurgin Khan's attitude was also not encouraging ;

(iii) The cost of further operations must have been prohibitive ;

(iv) Prithwi Narayan also urged him in the meanwhile to abandon the expedition ;

(v) The quarrels between the Company's servants and the Nawab's officials suddenly assumed a serious character after the rejection of Mr. Vansittart's regulations by the council at Calcutta, and the Nawab therefore resolved to hasten to his capital.

Thus ended ignominiously the Nawab's abortive plan of conquest. The Nepal expedition not only caused a heavy drain on the Nawab's resources, but weakened the morale of his new forces. The Nawab's own prestige was sorely affected. The failure of the expedition was obviously due to a number of circumstances. The idea of attacking a mountainous country with an ill-trained army was intrinsically unsound. Besides, the difficulties that are to be met with and surmounted in such a country were practically unknown, while the chances of success against the guerilla tactics of the mountaineers were grossly miscalculated. Ill-concerted as the enterprise undoubtedly was, a study of the expedition makes it abundantly clear that it was ill-managed from the beginning, and its disgraceful conclusion surely resulted from the lack of ordinary prudence and leadership

¹ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608).

on the part of the Nawab's officers, and the supine negligence of Gurgin Khan himself. The attempt on the fort of Mukwanpur was both ill-judged and hasty. Gurgin Khan should himself have led his men on this occasion, but he remained encamped at a safe distance, and entrusted the command to inefficient people. On the whole, this unsuccessful expedition is an interesting and little known episode in the eventful history of Bengal during this period.

NANDALAL CHATTERJEE

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN ASSAM

The pressure of depression cannot be accurately measured, but a rough estimate of the loss resulting from the abnormal fall of prices may be formed. Assam is pre-eminently an agricultural province, no less than 89 p.c. of the whole population being returned in 1921 as dependents on some form of agricultural pursuit. More than three-fourths of the population were returned as ordinary cultivators. Since then there had been a rapid inflow of immigrants and considerable extension of ordinary cultivation. In the meantime industrial employments expanded only slowly, and on the evidence of the Banking Committee the home-industries have, on the whole, been on the decline. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that about 80 p. c. of the population are directly dependent on ordinary agriculture with few or unimportant subsidiary earnings while another 10 p. c. are dependent on agriculture in an indirect way.

The main agricultural products of the province are paddy, jute, sugar and cold-weather crops like mustard, various kinds of pulses, potatoes and other minor crops. Rice is by far the most important food crop that is grown extensively in all the plains districts. Jute and mustard are the most important non-food crops.

On the basis of the agricultural statistics of Assam for 1928-29 the Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the normal yield of the various rice crops as 1,830,000 tons and its value as 29.4 crores of Rupees at an average price of Rs. 5-12 per maund. The total outturn of jute (which was 116 p.c. of the normal in 1928-29) was 6,24,200 bales of 400 lbs. each and of mustard (which was 83 p.c. of the normal) 66,200 tons. Taking the average price of jute at Rs. 7-8 per maund and of mustard at Rs. 7-8 per maund the Banking Committee put the estimated

value of a normal jute crop at 1·9 crores and of a normal mustard crop at 1·6 crores. The normal yield of sugar in the province was about 50,000 tons of *gur* and taking the average price of *gur* at Rs. 9 per maund the value of normal sugar crop was calculated to be 12½ million rupees. The average annual gross value of the major crops was thus put at 34 crores of rupees.¹

It is convenient to start from this position as the Banking Committee reported at a time when the advent of depression was hardly felt. The year 1928-29 is again the last year which approximates the normal fairly. The year 1929-30 was marked by disastrous floods, and from 1930 began the downward trend of prices which culminated in the final catastrophe of 1931.

Beginning with the flood of 1929 the agricultural history of the province is marked by a series of calamities. The flood itself did considerable damage in the Surma Valley and was followed by epidemics and heavy cattle mortality. In spite of fair winter crops distress conditions prevailed well up to the middle of next year. The situation was more normal in the Brahmaputra Valley except in the riparian areas where a failure of the pulses and mustard crop created a local distress calling for relief by liberal agricultural loans. The low prices of agricultural products, again, depressed the material condition of the people, and the Muhammadan immigrants depending on jute were particularly worse off owing to the low prices of jute. The next two years witnessed a progressive deterioration of the crop markets, a general breakdown of rural trades, a growing scarcity of money and the consequent distressed conditions. Weather conditions were generally fair in 1930, though in some places the crops were destroyed by drought, hailstorm and insects. Earthquake caused considerable damage in the Goalpara district. Last year there was another flood in the Brahmaputra Valley which damaged much property and crops. The percentage of outturn

¹ Report of the Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, pp. 32-33.

per acre to the normal of the various major crops in the last three years were as follows :—

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	%	%	%
Winter	86	79	90
Autumn	76	75	...
Spring	90	100	85
Jute	64	72	57
Sugarcane	78	83	86
Rape and Mustard	85	78	90

The average prices of the main agricultural produce of the province during the last three years were as follows :—

	1929.	1930.	1931.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Rice (common quality) per maund	5 8 0	4 12 0	3 12 0
Sugar (<i>gur</i>)	8 0 0	8 0 0	5 0 0
Rape and Mustard ..	7 0 0	6 8 0	4 14 0
Jute	7 8 0	4 0 0	5 8 0

The prices were generally higher in the Surma Valley than in the Brahmaputra Valley. No statistics of jute prices are published in the Government Gazette. The average prices, in this case, have been ascertained from the local markets. Jute is the most important crop in the immigrant settlements of the Brahmaputra Valley. With the fall of prices there has been a tendency to substitute rice for jute and other commercial crops. The following statements of the estimated area and outturn of major crops (made from Government statistics) will give an indication of the progress of cultivation.

Area in thousands of acres.

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	4,295	4,305	4,530
Jute	168 *	192	95'6
Sugarcane	29	30'9	31'1
Rape and Mustard	336 (1929-30)	272 (1930-31)	286 (1931-32)

Outturn in thousands of tons.

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	1,358'4	1,206'3	1,516'8
Sugar (raw or gur)	26	30	30'8
Rape and Mustard	61'8	50'3	48'7
Jutes (in bales of 400 lbs.)	315,000	618,800	190,000

The gross value of these crops at the prices prevailing in the local markets, compared with the normal value, as estimated by the Banking Committee would stand thus :

In crores of rupees.

	Normal value.	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	29'4	20'1	16'7	15'8
Jute	1'9	1'1	1'2	'5
Sugar	1'2	'5	'5	'4
Rape and mustard	1'6	1'1	'8	'6
Total	34'1	22'8	19'2	16'8

Thus the estimated shrinkage in the gross income of the people from the major crops during the last three years comes to about 42 crores.

* Average of 5 years 1925-29.

A fall in prices is in itself immaterial, if there is a corresponding fall in the burdens involved. Such burdens may be natural or contractual, or may be inherent in the price movements, as the prices of different articles move very differently in the market. It is well known that in a period of falling prices, the prices of agricultural produce move more sharply than the prices of manufactured goods. Thus, while the purchasing power of the agriculturist is curtailed, the prices of their requirements are not correspondingly reduced. It is indeed true that the consumption needs are, to some extent, elastic, and where the standard of living is low, this maladjustment need not be so serious at least in those cases where the people grow up their own food crops. The extent of misery will thus be less severe in rice districts than in the jute districts. But even in the rice districts the prices of such necessary articles such as salt, mustard oil, kerosine, clothes, etc., materially affect the welfare of the people. It is important to note that while the prices of agricultural products exhibited a downward tendency since 1928, the prices of other necessities of life continued high till 1930, and in some cases have been on the rise. The following index (in which the average prices in 1927 and 1928 are represented as 100) will give a fair idea of the price-movements of some articles in the local markets during the last three years.

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	90	82	63
Cereals	98·3	89·3	62·3
Pulses	108	91·5	62·8
Salt	85·1	85·1	87·2
Mustard oil	94·1	88·2	66·6
Kerosine	102	101	106
Sugar (<i>gur</i>)	95·5	95	51
Other minor necessities (food articles)	121	100	62·4

The growing luxury of the people was a subject of general comment before the Banking Enquiry Committee. The demand for imported goods in this province has steadily increased in the last two decades, and so far as this demand represented a desire for better living it indicated a progressive improvement in the standard of life. A reduction of purchasing power gives a definite set-back to that progress and involves great hardships in those cases where better living has grown into a habit. Throughout 1929 and 1930 the prices of imported articles continued high in the province and the fall in 1931 has not always been commensurate with the fall of prices in the produce markets. Further the benefits of this fall have been largely neutralised by other factors to be discussed presently.¹

Of the burdens arising from the contractual and semi-contractual relations land revenue and debt charges are most important. A fall in prices appreciates such burdens while it depreciates the value of property on which they rest. Elasticity in such cases is small and uncertain, as any natural means of adjustment is lacking. The ryots in permanently settled tracts enjoy the protection of their tenancies but no protection against a contingency such as the one under discussion. The Tenancy Acts proceed on the assumption that the value of land will continue to rise and provide for enhancements of rents

¹ No statistical measurement of the fall of the prices of imported articles in this province is possible owing to the paucity of materials. The Calcutta index for wholesale prices (which apparently includes both raw materials and manufactured goods) may, as compared with the index of prices for agricultural produce, give a rough idea of the price movements. The retail prices of imported goods in the districts are however less sensitive and more persistent.

Index number of wholesale prices (Calcutta)
(1913=100)

1927	...	...	...	148
1928	...	...	...	145
1929	...	...	...	141
1930	...	...	...	116
1931	...	...	...	96

with some amount of safeguard. They make no provision for any fall in values. Any adjustments are therefore left entirely to private arrangements and they come only slowly till the point of breakdown is reached. Since the Great War, the value of land rose considerably in this province and with that money rents were also continually on the increase. The burden of money rents in Sylhet varies from 12 to 18 p.c. of the value of the gross produce and of produce rents from 30 to 50 p.c. With the fall of prices to about 60 p.c. of the normal the burden of money rents swells up to 20 to 35 p.c. of the gross agricultural income. To appreciate the situation fully it is necessary to remember that the average outturn of crop was about 85 p.c. of the normal in the last three years. Produce rents are apparently independent of money values but with a fall in the value of crops the normal remuneration of the cultivators is correspondingly reduced.

The agriculturists in Assam are, however, mostly peasant-proprietors holding their land directly under the Government. The Zamindari system of the Bengal type prevails in two districts only. In the permanently settled parts of Sylhet, about half the land is held by the cultivating owners. The land revenue in Sylhet is exceedingly light about 2½ annas per acre as against an average of Rs. 1-7-0 for the temporarily settled lands in the district. The total land revenue demand of the province for temporarily settled estates for ordinary cultivation was about rupees one crore in 1929-30. Such estates account for about 54 p.c. of the total area under ordinary cultivation in the province.¹ The normal gross value of the major crops on this area is about 18·2 crores or about 18 times the land revenue demands. In terms of gross produce the incidence is thus 6·5 p.c. on an average; but it appreciates to 10 to 12 p.c. owing to the fall in crop values. As against this should be put any remissions or postponement of land revenue demands. Complete informations

¹ See Reports on the Land Revenue Administration of Assam, 1929-30,

on this point are lacking but it appears that remissions have been small and unimportant except to the extent of two lakhs last year.

Rural indebtedness has always been a disquieting problem. The Banking Committee estimated the indebtedness of the province as 22 crores of rupees. Even though it is suggested that their estimate was rough and hasty it could not have been anything less than 20 crores of rupees. Perhaps the Committee's estimate errs the other way about, for at least an important part of their survey was carried on at a time when (after the harvest) the debts were in the process of liquidation. Anyhow, the total debt of the province was about 66 p.c. of the normal annual value of the produce or about 100 p.c. of the value of the produce in 1929. In the meantime there has possibly been some expansion both on capital and interest account whereas the repayments of old debts have proceeded slowly. It is indeed true that the traders who make advances on crops (directly or indirectly) regulate their advances according to crop values, and though negligible in the Surma Valley they normally provide more than one-third of rural finance in the other valley. Professional money-landers must have also restricted their business considerably in view of the depression, especially as most of their old investments have become "frozen." On the other hand the Co-operative societies show a steady expansion till 1930, and it was not till the last year that the crisis of confidence shattered the foundation of credit completely. Nevertheless the fact remains that the overdue of societies have assumed appalling proportions ¹ and it is a common knowledge that as regards

¹ The overdues of credit societies of all classes in the province rose to 40 p.c. in 1929-30 as against 32.8 p.c. in previous year. Subsequent figures are not available. The following statement of overdues of the agricultural societies in the Surma Valley will prove instructive :

Year.	Total No. of Societies.	Number of societies having no overdues.	Number of societies with overdues.						
			1-5%.	6-80%.	11-20%.	20-40%.	40-60%.	60-80%.	over 80%.
1929-30	65.9	89	18	23	37	88	93	56	189
1930-31	674	7.4	9	16	15	64	78	98	263

the realisation of dues the money-lenders and other private parties have fared worse still. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that the volume of indebtedness in the province in January, 1932 cannot be much less than 75 p.c. of what it was in 1929. Even at a lower figure it would be equal to the annual value of crops at the prevailing prices.

Fortunes of agriculturists are naturally dependent upon the freaks of nature.

In an area such as the most parts of the Surma Valley which is peculiarly liable to floods the people normally live on the distress margin with scanty reserve power of their own. The people in the Brahmaputra Valley are more fortunate in this respect, though of late floods, earthquakes and other natural calamities have been of frequent occurrence. To some extent such natural burdens are a part of normal economy and are to be taken as a matter of course in the ordinary scheme of life. But disastrous burdens such as the floods of 1929 are exceptional and need to be reckoned on a different basis. It is not possible to measure such burdens, as the requisite materials are lacking. Losses, they inflict, are both direct and indirect, for not only the property and the crops may be destroyed but vitality and productive capacity may be effected. Thus the floods of 1929 were followed by epidemics and though the death rate was not exceptionally high, the health of the people was below normal throughout the year. An idea of the direct losses from those floods in 1929 may be formed from the extent of relief operations which they called for. The distribution in gratuitous relief from the Government and private funds in the two districts (including the cost of rice supplied on credit in Cachar) came to about 3½ lakhs. Besides, in Sylhet test relief works were kept open for about 6 months employing over 74,000 workers. Further, the advances as agricultural loans in 1929-30 in the two districts (which were practically a part of the relief operations) rose to over 28½ lakhs. Thus the relief operations in Sylhet and Cachar involved about 33 lakhs of rupees. At a modest estimate the loss in property

and cattle would be at least 10 times this amount, *i.e.*, 3·3 crores.

It needs hardly be noted that the depression set in before the people had time to make any appreciable recovery after the floods.

In a study of this nature an attempt to correlate burdens with income is naturally called for. But the task is difficult, if only because agriculture is a mode of life, and not a business in the ordinary sense. According to the census of 1921 nearly 96 p.c. of the ordinary agricultural population of the province cultivated for themselves, and out of over 6 million persons supported by agriculture, 140,793 only were farm servants and farm labourers. Outside his fields an average cultivator has little or no employments, and so his labour (which is the main item of cost) is not subject to the usual costing process. His normal remuneration is the surplus value of the crops after the payment of rent and other dues, including a part of his debts which he incurs for the purchase of seeds, manures and other requirements. His capital consists mainly in his pair of bullocks which he provides either from his own savings or by loans. Where the holding is large and the conditions are otherwise favourable, he may find full employment for himself and his family and his surplus may be enough to keep him over debts or even to leave him a small saving. Where the holding is small or the conditions are otherwise unfavourable, a man has no sufficient employment for himself and other members of his family and he manages to get on with extreme difficulty. In this, as in other things, he goes on in his traditional way with hardly any scope or aptitude for competitive employments. Hence, any calculation of profit on scientific lines becomes largely a baffling process.

In an estimate drawn up in connection with a jute sale society at Nowgong (in or about 1927) the cost of cultivation of one bigha of jute land was put down at Rs. 70-8.¹ The

¹ Report of the Assam Provincial Banking Committee, p. 32.

normal yield was given at 6 mds. per bigha on an average. The price of jute fluctuated widely, and though it rose to even Rs. 20 on occasions, the usual fluctuations were between Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per md. At a price below Rs. 11-12 the jute would have been selling at a loss whereas at Rs. 15 the net profit would come to about 22 p.c. of the gross value. While the wages continued high till 1930 the price of jute came down, on an average, to Rs. 7-8 in 1929 and Rs. 4 in 1930. The cultivation of jute thus involved heavy losses and this is reflected in the very considerable restriction of jute cultivation in Assam even without any propaganda.

In a recent estimate, supplied to me by the Manager of the Government Experimental Farm at Karimganj, the cost of cultivation of jute per acre in the Surma Valley is put down at Rs. 61-3-0; and the yield per acre as 12 mds. The cost of production of jute would thus be about Rs. 5-2 per md. At an average price of Rs. 6 this makes a profit of Rs. 10-13 per acre (and this is less than one-sixth of the gross value).

Jute-cultivation is however a highly speculative operation. In case of paddy the cost of cultivation in the Surma Valley is estimated at Rs. 34-12 per acre, the average yield being 25 mds. of paddy per acre. At a price of Rs. 2 per md. the gross value of this paddy comes to Rs. 50 to which Rs. 7-8 is added as the value of straw (40 mds. @ 3 as. per md.). Thus the profit comes to Rs. 22-12 per acre (or about 40 p. c. of the value of the gross produce).

This estimate, however, needs to be modified in two respects. One, the average price of paddy was much below Rs. 2 per md. last year (or even at present). Rs. 1-8 would perhaps be the correct figure. Secondly, in the interior of this valley straw is still largely regarded as a non-economic goods and does not bring any money income. Allowing for these two factors we may put down the present profit of rice-cultivation at about 25 p.c. of the gross value. This was about 40 p.c. before the depression, as can be inferred from the average proportion of produce-rents to the gross outturn of produce.

In the above estimates no allowance is of course, made for debts or interests on capital invested.

To complete the picture it is necessary to refer to other elements of rural structure. It is usual in discussions of this kind to take the cultivator as the only considerable person. Yet the cultivator as cultivator is not the only figure in rural life. It is true he is numerically most important and, in Assam, provides the type of more than 75 p.c. of the population. Nevertheless there are other minorities considerable in number and not always socially negligible. At the lowest end of the scale is the landless labourers who live on hired work on the fields or in the villages. Not a few of the peasants (12·5 p.c. in 1921) again combine husbandry with hired work or some other occupations. Many have again various professional employments such as weaving, mat-making, fishing, etc. In the Surma Valley the professional traders such as the Marwaris are not so important and the traders in the villages come largely from the agricultural classes. Money-lending is also a well-diffused subsidiary profession even among the agriculturists. Prosperous peasant-proprietors have sometimes tenants under them and a part of their income comes from the rents realised. Then there is in Sylhet the important class of small rentier mirasdars whose peculiar position and social status make them the natural leader of rural life.

It is important to bear these facts in mind in order to grasp the situation fully. For the depression has not merely depressed prices but has narrowed down the field for other employments. It has, above all, created a panicky situation in which all work, employments and dealings come to a stand-still. A man goes to his field or profession not in a spirit of confidence. He prefers to wait and abide by time before taking any risk in any sort of venture. Trade and commerce naturally shrink in a period of depression and the situation is aggravated by the political discontent in the country. Wages move slowly even when the field of employment is curtailed, and though they

continued high in 1930 throughout the province, employments were irregular and uncertain. In 1931 the labour market practically collapsed and wages of unskilled labour came down even 50 p.c. below the normal of previous years. The artisans and craftsmen have been equally worse off. The only important home-industry of the province is handloom industry. Weaving is less important in the Surma Valley than in the Assam Valley where practically every housewife plies her loom mostly for articles of domestic consumption. Nevertheless it, in many cases, brings an income sufficient for paying up their land revenue or for meeting a few needs. In both the valleys there are professional weavers who depend mainly on their looms. The floods of 1929 had a serious effect on the weavers of the Surma Valley, and throughout the province the prices of yarn ruled high for the greater part of that year. From January 1930 there was a slump in the cloth-market and after a brief period of recovery the market again grew dull. Silk industry which is more profitable has also shared a similar fate.

The cumulative effect of all this has been a progressive deterioration of the rural system, and if the situation is not still so desperate, that is because the marginal elasticity of the system is considerable. The Indian peasants are notorious for their dogged fortitude, and their standard of life, though low, exhibits a marked degree of quick adaptability to changing conditions. Besides, in Assam, the rural system is still characterised by an element of self-sufficiency, not so much in evidence in other provinces. In this province, landless workers are again few in number and the people (except in the immigrant settlements) rely mainly upon food crops raised from their own lands. Nevertheless the tales of distress are growing in volume. Money is everywhere in demand but appears to have become scarce. The ryots cannot pay their rents, the debtor cannot pay their debts. The money-lenders have practically closed their business while the Co-operative Societies, faced with heavy over-dues and frozen investments, find it hard to carry on.

Land is going on a-begging for sale at half or even one-third its former value. Labourers wander in search of employments while the artisans and the craftsmen drag it on in extreme penury. Hence the elements of disruption are gathering strength and unless the situation materially improves this year we have a dangerous crisis ahead. Organised attempts to resist money-lenders and land-owners are already reported from certain quarters. Desperation begets a spirit of defiance and loosens the normal ties that uphold the fabric of society.

It is evident that even with the brightest prospects of trade revival, the process of normal adjustment must necessarily be slow and painful. In the meantime the whole rural structure needs a support and a balance for which organised guidance and assistance are essential. The public and the Government are not callous but a machinery competent to evolve a co-ordinated economic programme is lacking. Isolated attempts to meet specific difficulties prove largely infructuous and what is required is a more comprehensive policy for which the need has been urged in various quarters for the last two years. Assam is rich in raw materials and her virgin soil is capable of yielding a rich variety of crops, if exploited in the right manner. Agriculture in this province still follows the primitive lines, and would admit of considerable improvements in various ways. The distribution of population is at present largely uneven and this can be removed by well-planned programme of internal migration. For their surplus food crops the people of the province have a market near at hand in the tea-gardens and also in the neighbouring jute districts of Bengal. Again, when exchange economy fails a scheme of what may be called a living economy naturally claims attention. Such an economy consists in making the people self-supporting in matters of primary necessities of life—such as food, clothing and housing. In a province where land is fairly abundant and cheap, where the building materials can be gathered from the neighbouring forests and where large sections of the people are traditionally attached to the loom, a

re-organisation of the rural economy on self-sufficient lines need not be difficult. This would again give an impetus to the rural industries and provide additional employment for the people. In any scheme of rural reconstruction, however, the problem of rural indebtedness must receive special attention. For unless the pressure of debts is minimised and facilities for cheap credit are widened no scheme of reconstruction can save the poorer classes from ruin.

DINESCHANDRA DUTTA

NIGHT ON THE HOOGLY

The moon is weaving a network of light
With the night-blackened leaves of the trees,
The cricket cheerfully chirrup a song,
Stolen by an enamoured breeze
A murmuring river, shimmering lies
Where touched by that fairy the Moon
With her wand, for this river had been sullen and brown
When the Day's King had seen it at noon.
The fisherman's song or is it a psalm ?
With the calmness its harmony keeps
The soulful sad tune lulls the cricket's gay song,
And rocks the sampans asleep.
Up above in the sky, the stars are all out
Some twinkling, some grave, looking down
On this calm scene, in the midst of which
Peace is born to the River of Brown.

R. J. N. MAHER

PYTHAGORAS THE VEGETARIAN

Ever since Western scholars have occupied themselves with India's time-honoured culture, they have noted again and again that all the utterances of her spirituality are characterized by a prominently *religious attitude*, extant even in her attainments in the historical and scientific disciplines.

This religious attitude too is responsible for the depth of her admirable *philosophical speculation*. It accounts, moreover, for the subtlety and rigour of the postulates of her various *ethical systems*, and explains the important part which those postulates once played, and partly still play, in her cultural life.

One of the most conspicuous of those postulates is the *prohibition of animal diet*. The Mahabharata, the Smritis, and numerous other Sanskrit works, down to the earliest of the Samkhya scriptures, bear testimony to the fact that vegetarianism was once enjoined by Hinduistic ethics, where it still survives as an indispensable postulate amongst most of the modern Brahmin clans.

Asoka's edicts eloquently speak of the practical influence this postulate exercised on the daily life of the great Buddhist ruler and his zealous subjects.

The strictly vegetarian mode of life of nearly the whole population of present Gujrat, Kathiavad, Cutch, and Rajputana tells its tale of the lovely influence of Shvetambar Jainism, which has been counting vegetarianism amongst its chief restrictions since time immemorial.

Yet, if the present historical theories are correct, vegetarianism was not confined to India, even at the time of Mahavira Svami and Lord Buddha. The far-off *Occident* also could boast of a powerful preacher of vegetarianism in those remote days, although it must be admitted that his practical influence did not

outlive his fame. This preacher of vegetarianism was none else but the *Greek philosopher Pythagoras*. History supposes him to have been born about 590 B.C. on the island of Samos in the Ionian Sea, to have undertaken vast travels all over the Old World, and finally to have settled down at Crotona, in South Italy, where King Numa Pompilius became his admirer and disciple.

An account of Pythagoras and his teachings is given in the "*Metamorphoses*" of the Latin poet *Ovid*, who died A.D. 18 in exile, somewhere on the shores of the Black Sea, far off from the refined civilization of his beloved Rome.

Ovid's art is famous for its elegance, its gracefulness and gaiety. Some of his works, such as the "*Ars Amandi*" (the Latin "*Kama-Sastra*"), are even frivolous, if not lascivious, and made his own by no means prudish contemporaries feel scandalized.

These stanzas of the "*Metamorphoses*" however which contain Ovid's account of Pythagoras, seem to reveal quite a new and a serious face of the dallying poet. They are permeated by a wonderfully sincere tone of sympathy with the "*Samian Sage*," and of partisanship with his doctrine of self-denying compassion. They make the reader feel as if he were listening not to the notorious author of the "*Ars Amant*," but to a most rigorous moral preacher, who does not lack a dose of pastoral pathos either.

Fascinating as Ovid's account of Pythagoras may thus be from the literary standpoint, it is not without interest for the historian too, to whose knowledge it may be said to add some new details.

These considerations may justify the full account being rendered here in literal translation. It has the form of a *sermon delivered by Pythagoras before King Numa Pompilius*, and runs as follows (*Metamorphoses*, Liber XV, stanzas 6-178) :

"At that place (*viz* , Crotona), there lived a man, who was a Samian by birth. His hatred of tyranny had prompted him to leave Samos and its ruler, and to live in voluntary exile.

“ By spiritual means, he approached the gods, remote though they be in their celestial spheres, and whatsoever nature withholds from the human eye, he perceived with the mental one. After he had fathomed all things by reason and attentive scrutiny, he would give out the essence. Before assemblies of silently listening men, whom his words struck with wonder, he would proclaim his teachings, speaking of the origin of the universe, the causes of things, and what their nature was, what God was, where the snows came from, how lightning was caused, whether Jupiter or the winds were thundering from the shaking clouds, how earthquakes came about, by what laws the stars were moving, and whatsoever lies hidden from human knowledge.

“ He too was the first to argue against animal food being placed on the table, and to pronounce words as the following, which, reasonable though they be, yet did not find believers :

‘ Beware, oh mortals,’ he exclaimed, ‘ of defiling your bodies with sinful food ! There are cereals, there are fruits, bending the branches down by their weight, and luxurious grapes on the vines. There are sweet vegetables and herbs which the flame can render palatable and mellow. Nor are you denied milk, nor honey, fragrant of the aroma of the thyma flower. The bountiful earth offers you an abundance of pure food, and provides for meals obtainable without slaughter and bloodshed.

‘ It is the beasts that appease their hunger with flesh, and yet not all of them. For the horses and sheep and cattle live on grass. Armenia’s tigers and fierce lions, however, and wolves and bears, and others whose nature is wild and brutish, they do delight in bloody meals. Oh how atrocious is it to think how entrails are buried in entrails, how one greedy body grows fat on another creature’s body, which it has devoured, and how one animal lives on the death of another !

‘ It appears that of all the wealth that benign Earth, the best of mothers, provides, nothing pleases thee unless thou canst inflict dreary wounds with cruel teeth, and imitate the Cyclops and their jaws. Nor dost thou seem able to appease the cravings

of thy greedy and degenerate stomach, unless thou killest another creature !

‘ But in that remote age which we are accustomed to call the Golden one everybody was content with the fruit of trees, and with such vegetables as the soil produces. Nobody would pollute his lips by the touch of animal blood. At that time, birds moved safely in the air, fearlessly did the hare gambol in the midst of the meadow, nor did the fish fall a victim to the angler’s hook, in his easy confidence. In short there was no persecution, no fear of being tricked into ruin, and all the creatures were at peace.

‘ But since some unfortunate originator, whosoever he was, began to begrudge the lions their meals, and allowed animal food to enter his body, the way to atrocity has been open. It is possible that first of all it was the blood of ravenous beasts only that stained and heated the killing knife. There, man ought to have stopped. For in their case, we may well exculpate ourselves by asserting with self-complacence that we had to put to death those brutes, because they had attempted our lives. But admitted that they had been put to death justly, nothing can justify our eating them.

‘ Further crime has arisen therefrom. The boar is believed to have been the first victim deserving death, because with his protruding snout, he uprooted the seeds and spoilt the harvest of the year. Then the goat is said to have been slaughtered at the altar of the avenging Bacchus, because it had browsed the vines. Both of them were ruined by their offence. What sin however did the sheep commit, those peaceful creatures, born to protect man, that carry nectar in their full udders, and offer their wool as soft coverings, thus being more useful by their life than death? What offence did the cattle commit, those creatures without deceit and malice, creatures so innocent, so harmless, born only to suffer hardships?

‘ Ungrateful, unworthy indeed of the gift of corn is the man who has the heart to slay the cultivator of his fields, to hit with

his axe the neck of the confiding creature, from which the burden of the plough has just been removed, the same neck that has become worn by the repeated labour of turning up its owner's hard soil, and of securing his harvest!

'Nor is it enough that such crimes were committed! But people even made the gods responsible for their atrocities, and believe the divine power to rejoice in the murder of the toiling bullock.

'The sacrificial animal, void of the least blemish, distinguished by beautiful shape (for it is dangerous to be found pleasing), and adorned with fillets and gold, is placed before the altar. Unsuspecting, it hears the incantations, and sees its forehead between the horns marked with the same corn it once helped to cultivate! And then the death-blow stretches it to the ground, and its blood stains the knife which it perchance beheld reflected in the clear water of the sacrificial basin!

'Then they tear the entrails from the still living body to examine them, and pretend thus to find out the will of the gods.

'And of such flesh (I wonder whence comes such a greed for impure food in man!) you dare to make a meal, oh human race!

'Oh I implore you, don't do it! Listen to my warning! Be bold and realize that whenever you gratify the appetite of your palate, by tasting the flesh of cattle, you feast on your own field-labourers!

'And now, since a god inspires my lips, I will duly obey the inspiring deity, and throw open my Delphi. Yea throw open heaven itself, and disclose the oracles of the sublime mind. Great truths will I sing, which the intelligence of our forefathers never fathomed, and which have long remained hidden. For it is a joy to move high up amongst the stars, it is a joy to travel beyond the clouds, leaving far behind the earth and our dull abodes, to stand on the shoulders of mighty Atlas, to watch from far away the human race, as they wander far and wide,

dévoid of all reason, and a joy it is thus to admonish them, the trembling ones, in their fear of death, and to unroll the book Fate :

‘ Oh race terrified by the shape of cold death, why do you fear Styx, why fear vain shadows and empty words, the creations of poets and the dangers of an unreal world ?

‘ Do not believe that our bodies could possibly be exposed to any further hardships, after once the flame of the funeral pyre or the decay of old age has consumed them ! The souls however can never die, but leaving their former habitations, they live on in new abodes, which they enter to dwell there.

‘ So I was, at the time of the Trojan War, Euphorbus, the son of Panthous (for I do remember), whose breast was pierced by the heavy spear of the younger son of Atreus. Only recently, I recognised the shield which I had once borne on my left arm, in a temple of Juno at Argos, the city of Abas.

‘ All things change, there is no death anywhere. The spirit comes from here and goes thither, starts from there and comes hither, and occupies whatever abode it chooses. From wild beasts it passes into human bodies, and our own spirit passes into wild beasts. It can never perish, but just as soft wax can be modelled into new designs, just as it does not remain in its former state, nor keeps one and the same shape, and yet remains one and the same itself, just so do I teach the soul to remain always the same, wandering into various forms.

‘ Therefore, lest piety be vanquished by gluttonous greed, I warn you as a seer, refrain from expelling kindred souls by sinful murder ! Do not allow blood to be fed on blood !

‘ Since I am sailing thus on a vast ocean, having given all my sails to the winds, let me continue :

‘ In all the world, there is nothing that lasts. All things are floating, and every shape is formed so that it must change for ever and ever.’ ”

In the following stanzas (179-452), the inconsistency of all shapes and conditions is dwelt upon and exemplified, such as the alternation of day and night, the seasons, weather, geological phenomena, diseases and their cures, spontaneous generation, historical happenings, etc., etc.

Finally, Ovid makes the philosopher conclude his long lecture with these words (stanzas 453-478) :

“ But I must not digress too far, my steeds forgetting, as it were, to hasten towards the goal ! To make it short, the sky itself with all that exists under it, the earth with all that is upon it, all things keep changing their shapes.

“ So do we too, part of the universe as we are, since we consist not of body exclusively, but also of agile souls, and we can choose as our abodes the bodies of wild beasts, or we can enter the bodies of tame cattle.

“ So we ought to leave safe and unmolested those bodies, since they may possibly be serving as abodes to the souls of our parents or brothers or of people linked to us by whatsoever bonds, or of other human creatures ! Careful ought we to be not to load our stomachs with Thyestean meals.

“ To what sin does the impious man give himself up who cuts the throat of the calf, coldly shutting his ear to its woeful wailing, or the man who is capable of butchering the kid, in spite of its bleating, which so closely resembles the weeping of little human children ? Or the man who can feast on the fowl that he once used to feed with his own hand ! All of them are, as it were, on the way to the murder of human beings. For insignificant is the step from the former deed to the full crime, and subtle the transition from one to the other.

“ Therefore, let the bullock go on ploughing till he will die of old age ! Let the sheep supply you with a means of protection from the cold north wind and its terrors ! Let the goat, returning from the pastures, offer her udder to your hands to be milked ! Have done with nets and foot-snares, with nooses and with huntsman's tricks ! Leave off deceiving the bird with

lime rods, desist from scaring the hart into ruin with stringed feathers, and give up concealing crooked hooks in deceiving baits !

“ If you insist upon killing creatures that harm you, well confine yourself to killing them ! Beware of letting your lips touch animal diet ! Pure and gentle be the food you partake of ! ”

This account of Ovid's with its clearly pronounced postulate of vegetarianism raises the question as to the origin of the Pythagorean teachings with greater force than any other of the traditions concerning the “ Samian Sage,” scanty and uncertain as they are.

The Jaina Religion, which proclaims strict vegetarianism as one of its chief ethical postulates even now-a-days, had been spread in India, centuries before Pythagoras, in the shape of the teachings of Parshvanatha, the 23rd Jina, and his predecessors, and during Pythagoras's life-time, Varddhamana, the 28th Jina, was teaching and preaching there. So was Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, whose ethics then likewise enjoined the protection of animal life in the form of a more or less strict vegetarianism. The Samkhya doctrine too, which is full of rules commanding it, existed at that time.

It is a historical fact that Pythagoras did visit the East, and it is known that wherever he travelled, he was guided by the wish to study the wisdom of all those countries. So he was an adept in the mysteries of Ancient Egypt, and tradition says that the doctrines and practices of the Jews and even of the Druids were no less familiar to him than the highest of the Orphic secrets.

Thus, historically speaking, it is quite possible that Pythagoras's postulate of vegetarianism may go back to the Jaina, the Buddhist, or the Samkhya ethical ideal, forming another of the numerous rivulets and rivers that streamed forth from the rich source of Indian Wisdom.

The probability of this supposition is raised to a certainty, if one realises that Pythagoras bases his postulate of vegetarianism

on the doctrine of metempsychosis ("Punar-janma") which is indeed purest Indian philosophy. It need not be added that the instances of Pythagoras remembering his former births ("Jati-smara") are of the very same type as those of the Jatakas and Jaina legends.

It will only have to be ascertained from which of the three ancient Indian traditions Pythagoras derived his wisdom—from Samkhya Philosophy, Jaina Philosophy, or Buddhist Philosophy, all three of which can raise their claim with equal right.

Perhaps the question will never be decided.

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE

ON A FOND LOOK

I rose to go with half-reluctant feet
From that old house I knew and loved so well,
With aching heart, though yet I could not tell
Wherefore my soul did long her eyes to meet;
When, turning round with anguish, to repeat
The painful words of good-bye or farewell,
My eye did rove all quick and sudden fell
On her young face still shining with love's sweet.
She gave me one fond look that told me clear
Her heart was mine. I left the house alone
Soul-filled but thirsting still and sad. O Love,
Thou mayst not give me more : thy night is near.
But e'en when life is o'er, her pleasures flown,
That look shall still be mine, all joys above.

GOBI

THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE INDIAN (NATIVE) STATES

Of the many grave problems that have confronted the delegates at the last two 'R.T.C.'s in the task of drafting a constitution for India the two that overshadowed others and loomed rather large in the deliberations are those of the position of the Native States and of the minorities in the future constitution of India. In this paper we propose to discuss the problem of the native states in relation to the future constitution of India. It is needless to point out that it is simply impossible to discuss the problem in all its bearings in a short article like this. What can be done is simply to jot down the outlines of the picture. The first thing that we should enquire is what is exactly the nature of the problem. We shall try to state it in the most simple form and in plain English. We must of course make some assumptions which may for all practical purposes be taken for granted. In the first place the structure of the Indian government which was so long on a unitary basis is going to be replaced by one of a federal type. Secondly, both in the units of the federation (*i.e.* provinces and the 'States' if they come in) and the federal government there would be complete responsibility of the executive government to legislatures elected on a wide democratic franchise with such safeguards as are required in the interest of stability of the constitution in the transitional stage and as are not opposed to the best interests of the country. As a corollary to the second proposition it follows that the control of Whitehall over the internal administration of India totally disappears; our external affairs although subject to some limitations for some time to come it will be exercised at least. Of course the position of the crown as the apex of the constitutional system remains intact with this difference that many of the powers that were exercised through British ministers will in

future be exercised through His Majesty's Indian ministers. All this applies to 'British India' as distinguished from 'Indian India' or the native states, which covers two-fifths of the area of India excluding Burma and one-fifth of its total population. The question is where would they stand? They cannot possibly maintain the *status quo*; apart from other considerations their geographical position hopelessly mixing them up with British Indian territories and dovetailing them into the Indian provinces militates against their retaining the '*status quo*' while the other parts of India enjoy responsible government. The point needs a little elaboration. At present the responsibility of internal administration in varying degrees rests with the princes; the paramount power, that is, the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council or in plain English, the Political Department of the Government of India headed by the Viceroy does not *as a rule* intervene in the internal administration of the States. I lay special emphasis on the phrase "*as a rule*" which will be explained presently. As regards defence and external affairs the responsibility rests on the paramount power or the Viceroy and the Political Department controlled by the Home Government. The Crown stands as the nexus between the 'British India' and the 'Indian India.' The machinery through which it operates is the present irresponsible Government of India acting as the agent of the Crown. We have now come to the crux of the problem—which is how to fit them into the new environment created by the introduction of responsibility in the Government of India. If the native rulers contend that their relation with the Crown is personal, that the duties and obligations imposed by the treaties were with the Crown and not with the Government of India irrespective of the change in its constitution, and therefore the matters in respect of which they come into contact with the Government of British India must be handled by some personal representative of the Crown as is, actually the attitude of a section of the princes—then the status

of the new government of India loses much of its significance; or if they contend that their relationship with the Crown can be transformed into the new government of India, in other words that they can be made to become members of the federation only with their own consent and on their own terms, that also raises a serious obstacle to the formation of a federation. We are not going to examine—for we do not presume to be competent to do it—the legal aspect of such claims put forward by the princes. What we are concerned with here, is whether the princes have anything really to gain by standing aloof from the All-India federation that is to come, by taking a position like that described before, assuming that it is tenable at all. At the time of the opening of the first Round Table Conference the prospects of the princes agreeing to the idea of an All-India Federation with the provinces of British India and the States as component units were anything but bright and it looked as if the R.T.C. would founder on the two rocks of the problem of communal settlement and that of the states. Happily, however, all the fears and suspicions were set at rest by the unexpected attitude of the princes who in the very early stages of the deliberations readily took up the idea of an All-India Federation. The details of the federal scheme unit that would be acceptable to them were not discussed. It cannot of course be expected that they would forego all the privileges and concessions they at present enjoy and enter into the federation on the same basis as the provinces. But these questions were left to be threshed out later. All the same the principle was almost unanimously accepted by the leading princes. Later on however a section of the princes headed by the Maharajah of Patiala backed out of the position accepted at the Conference and put forward an alternative scheme for adjustment of their relations with the future government of India ; but still greater weight attaches to the volume of opinion among the princes that stick to the idea of federation. We may therefore take it that the main body of the princes will

willingly come into the federation that will be set up when the new constitution is completed. Now it is pertinent to ask, are those princes who are agreeable to the idea of federation—and be it noted, by the way, under certain well-defined conditions which will be pointed out presently—going to be losers in any way? Or to put the same thing in a different way is wisdom and judgment on the side of those rulers who are prepared to enter the proposed Indian federation or of those who are holding out against it? To answer the question it is necessary to compare the present position of the states with that with which they would exchange it under the proposed federation. It is very difficult to give an accurate picture of the relationship in which the states stand with the 'so-called 'paramount power' which practically means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council who are responsible ultimately to the British Parliament. The conception of paramountcy is a very vague one—it is an historical growth and something organic in its nature and therefore dynamic. As the authors of the Butler Report point out "The relationship of the paramount power with the states is not merely a contractual relationship, resting on treaties made more than a century ago. It is a *living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact.*"¹ Its vagueness is to a great extent explained by the fact of immense diversity prevailing as between states not only in size, population, wealth, etc., but also in their political status. As pointed out in the same report—"Of the total number of states forty only have treaties with the Paramount Power; a larger number have some form of engagement or Sanad; the remainder have been recognised in different ways." In respect of area and population also they present a similar variety. Naturally therefore the relationship between say, the crown, for brevity, and the native states

¹ Report of the Indian States Committee, 1928-29, p. 23.

cannot be compressed in a single uniform formula. Then from its very nature the conception does not lend itself to a rigid and formal definition, paramountcy will vanish as soon as it is brought within a fixed category of political relationship. Thus Sir William Lee-Warner in his work after setting forth the attempts made by different publicists to bring it under a recognised political category, none of which in his opinion was satisfactory, concludes "There is no question that there is a paramount power in the British Crown, but *perhaps its extent is wisely left undefined*. There is a subordination in the native states, but perhaps it is *better understood and not explained*."¹ The last sentence requires to be noted particularly.

The conclusion of the Butler Report on this point also deserves careful notice. They observe "what then is the correct view of the relationship between the states and the Paramount Power? It is generally agreed that *the states are sui generis, that there is no parallel to their position in history, that they are governed by a body of convention and usage not quite like anything in the world*. They fall outside both international and ordinary municipal law, but they are governed by rules which form a very special part of the constitutional law of the empire."²

The basis of the relationship is partly on treaties, engagements and Sanads where they exist and partly or we may say mainly on usage and sufferance and also political practice as established by the decisions of the Government of India in particular cases. To the question what are the duties and obligations which the states of India owe for the right of protection and partnership which they have received, Sir W. Lee-Warner answers "the *nexus* of rights and duties, which unites the British Government and the native principalities, does not admit of reduction to a formal statement of account. Their rights as well as their duties have expanded, and will continue to expand, as the circumstances which surround the union vary

¹ W. Lee-Warner, *The Native States of India*. Preface, p. xi.

² Butler Report, p. 25.

in the course of years. There are no recognised laws of political growth, and since the affairs of India are being more and more brought under the direct control of Parliament, no one can foresee what changes in the Indian organisation will be required to maintain the union of states under the protection and political control of His Majesty with the central authority whose supremacy they recognise."¹

Although the obligations of the native states rest on various factors—sources mentioned above—yet it is very difficult to make out a comprehensive list of such obligations. The authors of the joint report have tried to sum up in very general terms what paramountcy connotes in the following words:—"The states are guaranteed security from without; the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other states, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the state's relations to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power; they share the obligation for the common defence; and they are under a general responsibility to the good government and welfare of their territories."² They further observe: The independence of the states in matters of internal administration carries with it the counter-obligation of non-interference in British Indian affairs. * * * On the other hand, we believe, there is no desire to cross the frontier. Rulers and politicians alike recognise that they are best employed in attending to their own progress. The obligation of mutual abstention must be always borne in mind in estimating the future position of the Native States in a changing Indian Empire."³

Although the position has been summed up above in very general terms it must not be taken as presenting a cut-and-dried

¹ Lee-Warner, *Native States of India*, Ch. VII, p. 190.

² Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Ch. X, para. 297.

³ *Ibid*, para. 299.

formula. It, of course, furnishes the key-note to the understanding of the nature of the relationship subsisting between the native states and the paramount power but at the same time leaving room for adequate elasticity in the conception of paramountcy. The nexus of rights and duties which binds together the British Government in India and the native states is based on a number of factors, *e.g.*, royal prerogatives, law of nature, treaties and sanads, usage and sufferance—of which the last is perhaps the most important channel of such rights and duties. It is this factor also that has made the relationship so elastic in character. As Lee Warner aptly points out “usage performs a double function. It amends and adapts to circumstances duties that are embodied in treaties of ancient date, and it supplies numerous omissions from the category of duties so recorded.”¹

The effects of this factors were also pointed out by the Government of India in a pronouncement in the year 1877 in the following words :

“The paramount supremacy of the British Government is a thing of gradual growth; it has been established partly by conquest; partly by treaty; partly by usage; and for a proper understanding of the relations of the British Government to the native states, regard must be had to the incidents of this *de facto* supremacy, as well as to treaties and charters in which reciprocal rights and obligations have been recorded and the circumstances under which those documents were originally framed. In the life of states as well as of individuals, documentary claims may be set aside by overt acts ; and a uniform and long-continued course of practice acquired by the party against whom it tells, whether that party be the British Government or the native state, must be held to exhibit the relations which in fact subsist between them.”²

¹ Lee-Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

² Butler-Report, para. 41.

It is thus clear that the idea of paramountcy is like a will-o'-the-wisp eluding one's grasp as soon as one wants to catch it. We can at least try to understand it by reference to concrete activities of the paramount power under certain heads, say, external affairs, relations between states themselves, production both from external aggression as well as insurrection within their borders, intervention in case of disputed succession, for administration during minority, in case of gross misrule or disaffection to the crown, or for the suppression of inhuman practices, for the adjustment of matters affecting the interests of India as a whole. It must be noted that it is for the paramount power itself to decide whether and when necessity for intervention has arisen and also to what extent it may be exercised. Well may we understand the attitude of the authors of the Butler Report when they say, "we have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of paramountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. *Paramountcy must remain paramount* ; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the states."¹

Now it is pertinent to enquire where does this term "paramount power" stand for. In theory of course it means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India. But in actual practice it means the Political Department of the Government of India. Formally of course decisions are taken in the name of the Governor General in Council but as the Governor General himself holds the portfolio of the Political Department his advisers in these matters is the Political Secretary who has no seat in the Governor General's cabinet. Leaving aside the

¹ Butler Report, para. 57.

theoretical position the fact of the case is that Political Department handles the relations between the paramount power and the native princes. The only remedy available to a prince dissatisfied with a decision of the Political Department in a particular matter is an appeal to the Secretary of State. But that is a step of the last resort which is very rarely taken, if from no other consideration at least not to displease the Political Department with which they have to come in daily contact. The mass of case-law based on usage and sufferance to which attention has already been drawn making up 'political practice', regulating the relations between British India and the States, which has been superimposed upon treaties and other agreements is mainly the creation of the Political Department. In as much as there are no strict limits within which the exercise paramountcy must be confined the states are under the virtual tyranny of the Political Departments. Even the authors of the Montague Chelmsford Report acknowledge in a way the unfairness of the position. Thus they observe "we cannot disregard the fact that the general clause which occurs in many of the treaties to the effect that the chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the past precluded, and does not even now preclude, 'interference with the administration by Government *through the agency of its representatives at the native courts.*'"

* * * The princes, viewing the application of (this) case-law to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect. They fear that usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual states."¹ It is this sense that things were not all right that prompted them to recommend a thorough re-examination of the existing position with a view to simplification, standardization and codification of the existing practice and also to suggest a number of devices such as the establishment of a council of princes with a Standing Committee and

¹ M. C. Report, paras., 303-304.

also for the institution of Courts of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration when occasion demanded. Some of the recommendations have been given effect to. But is there any definite improvement in the position; are the princes satisfied with their lot? If it had been open to the princes to make a candid confession, the reply would certainly be in the negative. The cause of their dissatisfaction arises not so much from the curtailment of the extent of their freedom as from the prevailing uncertainty as to the rights they are supposed to enjoy. The princes do not know where they stand. This is the main burden of their grievance. The conception of paramountcy as propounded by successive authorities and last of all by the Butler Committee can be made to shield any iniquity perpetrated against them.

Now we are in a position to compute the loss or gain resulting from their entry into the proposed federation. That depends very much of course on the terms on which they enter. Let us put the case at its worst. Supposing that they agree to enter into the federation as envisaged by the authors of the Nehru Report—they recommend that the Dominion Government of India should simply step into the shoes of the present Government of India, but that would not in any way impair the rights and obligations arising from the treaties with the Crown. Because, as they point out, “the plain fact ought not to be overlooked that the Government of India as a Dominion will be as much the King’s government, as the present Government of India is, and that there is no constitutional objection to the Dominion Government of India stepping into the shoes of the present Government of India.

If there are personal ties of allegiance or devotion which bind the Indian princes to the throne, person or dynasty of the King, they cannot, and ought not, to suffer in strength by a change or modification in the composition of the King’s government in India, when India attains Dominion status. There will always be plenty of room for the discharge of those duties to the Crown and for the exercise, on the part of the

Crown, of those prerogatives which may be inseparable from the personal relation that might have subsisted between the Crown and the Indian States.' To this end, there would be express provision in the constitution making all the treaties that remain in force at the time of the making of the constitution binding on the Dominion Government of India, which shall be enjoined to exercise the same rights in relation to and discharge the same obligations towards the Indian states as the present Government exercises and discharges. Further to give them assurance of perfectly fair play in cases of dispute arising out of the treaties, engagements, etc., it is provided that the Governor-General in Council with the consent of the state concerned would refer the matter to the Supreme Court which would be so constituted as to inspire confidence in the minds of all.

In regard to matters of a non-justifiable character differences between the Dominion Government and the Native States would be composed by the method of conference and consultation rather than by the fiat of a paramount power. So far as their internal administration is concerned they would have perfect autonomy, subject of course to such a modification of the system of government and administration as is called for by the new order of things, which would of course be settled by discussion and conference and with their consent. They would be called upon to sacrifice some powers and privileges for the sake of stability and strength of the federal government but in lieu of that they would secure a position defined by the constitution and would thus be released from the sense of insecurity and uncertainty arising from 'paramountcy' that hangs like a halter round their necks. At the same time the personal dignity and honours of the princes as also the personal relationship that subsists between them and the Crown would not suffer in any way. So if one compares the position of the princes in the present Indian polity with that in a

federation as conceived by the Congress school one is forced to the conclusion that the princes become definitely gainers by the change. If they refuse to enter into the federation only two motives can be attributed to such a move. Either they fight shy of dealing with a federal government which would be run mainly by Crown agents instead of white agents and responsible to an Indian electorate instead of an English one, or they want to seize this opportunity for strengthening their position by shrewd bargaining without at the same time making any sacrifice for the interests of the nation at large ; in other words they want to secure their position by a clear definition of their rights and have a determining voice by their votes in the federal legislature in the affairs of India (minus the states) to boot, but would not allow the federal government to exercise any jurisdiction within their territories except within a very limited range. If this be their attitude, we are afraid, they have been playing into the hands of sinister parties who want to turn them into an Indian Ulster blocking the path of progress of India to Dominion Status indefinitely. Happily, however, most of the influential princes have given up this attitude and taken a more reasonable view of things. So far as we can gather from the proceedings of the first Round Table Conference they have definitely accepted the plan of federation on condition however that responsibility is conceded at the centre and provinces are given autonomy. That is perfectly reasonable and intelligible. They cannot be expected to federate with the present Government which is subordinate to Whitehall. Thus other units of federation must be brought up to a level with them in some respects.

The outlines of the picture of federation envisaged in the report of the federal structure sub-committee which was the outcome of the joint deliberations of the representatives of British India as well as of the native states may be jotted down as follows. The component elements of the federation are to be, on the one side, the federating provinces of British India, on the other, such Indian states or groups of states as are willing

to enter the federation. The federation will be a new state, as it were, deriving its powers partly from those powers which are surrendered to it by the native states and partly by way of transfer to it of certain powers of the existing Government of India consisting of both the central and provincial governments. The Legislature is to be bicameral consisting of a lower chamber composed of representatives of British India and the native states by direct election on a population basis and of an upper chamber composed of representatives of the various provincial governments and the native states, the method of selection to be fixed by the units. There will be one Legislature and Executive machinery for the Federation as a whole although the control exercised by the Legislature in relation to different classes of subjects will vary. There will be three distinct classes of subjects, *e.g.*, (a) the Crown subjects such as defence, external relations (including relations with native states in the field which falls beyond the federal list), (b) central subjects which concern British India only to the exclusion of the native states, and (c) federal subjects which are common to India as a whole. In respect to the central subjects the representatives of the native states will participate in the discussion but will not influence the decision. These are only the outlines of the picture; the details are to be filled in, be it noted, by conference and negotiations; nothing is to be gulped down their throats. Their entry even is to be voluntary, prompted by a sense of their own convenience rather than compulsion, although the door would always be open and there will be a standing invitation. Further it would be open to add to the list of the federal subjects by a transfer from the central subjects, of course with the consent of the states, as they realise the benefits of a common control and a common machinery for the regulation of matters affecting British India and the states and it may not be altogether an idle dream to envisage a time when the two lists would become identified and there would be a full-fledged federal government with the states and the autonomous provinces as the component units

linked together by the same tie. In fact that is the goal which every person or body not excluding the authors of the Montford Report or even the Simon Commission, that has given serious thoughts to problem of future constitution of India, has visualised, although the process of advance towards it has been differently conceived by different people.

Assuming that the federal plan as outlined above is adopted and comes into force the princes—we mean, those who are still vacillating—ought to have no hesitation in entering it. In the first place, their treaty rights with the Crown and the consequent honours and dignities, of which they are so very jealous, remain unimpaired. Secondly, in matters in respect of which they come into contact with British India they are freed from the tyranny of the Political Department of India, which they so frequently resent. Thirdly, in cases of dispute they can feel secure that they will have a square deal. Fourthly, while practically enjoying autonomy within their borders they will have a voice in the shaping of the policy of the federal government. Lastly, they will earn the sympathy and good feeling of not only their own subjects but also of the people of British India for putting forward a helping hand in the solution of the Indian problem instead of blocking the way to the realisation of 'Swaraj' or national self-government.

One point more should be emphasised in this connection. The princes cannot keep away, even if they would, from the currents of events in British India. Because after all India is a geographical and economic unit although historically she might have been created into two Indian forces have been at work for more than a century drawing them closer and closer and it would be the height of lack of prudence and foresight to think that the people in the states would remain unaffected by the march of events beyond their borders. We entirely agree with what has been observed by the authors of the Nehru Report which runs as follows :—

“ We think it would be very poor statesmanship and shortsighted policy to ignore those obvious historical, religious,

sociological and economic affinities which exists between the people of British India and the people of these states. Nor do we think that it is possible to erect artificial geographical barriers between the two. Ideas and opinions travel from one part of India to another much more rapidly than was the case 60 or 70 years ago, and it would be absurd to deal with the problem of Indian states on the assumption that the dynamic forces now in operation in British India can for a very long period of time be expected to spend themselves on the borders of British India.

In dealing with the problem, therefore, we would, much rather base our conclusions upon the community of interests than upon differences of form. This community of interest would clearly point to joint action by the parties concerned as the most natural course to adopt with a view to mutual protection and advancement."¹

It may be expected that a pressure would come from their own people sooner and later, and signs of a stirring among their peoples are visible on all sides to fall in line with their brethren in the other parts of India—a pressure which would be all but irresistible. And if they have to change their method of administration is it not better that they should take time by the forelock and take up the offer of federation put forward by their brethren in British India by which they stand definitely to gain and nothing to lose? Time alone can show how the princes approach the problem.

AKSHAYKUMAR GHOSAL

¹ Nehru Report, pp. 71-72.

TO GOD

O God ! of all the things nothing is mine
What good gift shall I place before thy shrine ?
What heavy scent the sweet champak buds shed
Or perfumed breeze of childish days, long dead.
What dream of my love have I denied to thee
Of wounded heart and soul in high degree.
Or sweetest songs of those sad years and sighs
Laughter and desires of unfulfilled eyes.
What grief my heart leaps and weeps of this strife
Some unborn golden view of the new life.
O God ! tell me no more, why should I sing ?
My heart—have I not given thee my king ?

V. H. PANDIT

SUGGESTION IN WAKING LIFE

The term "suggestion" is mainly associated with the phenomenon of hypnotism. Hypnotic suggestions certainly have irresistible power over the mind of the hypnotised, and many possess great therapeutic value, as eminent psychiatrists would have us believe. But suggestion is operative in full waking life, as much as in hypnosis. This is what makes it an important factor in social life.

"Suggestion," says Prof. McDougall, "is the imparting of a proposition in such a manner that it is accepted with conviction, independently of any logical ground for such conviction. * * * In the case of belief established by suggestion, the energy at work is that of the submissive instinct; and it is evoked by the person (or persons) from whom the suggestion comes in virtue of some quality or supposed quality, that renders him imposing to the person whom he influences * * *."

Hypnosis is a sleep induced by an operator in whom the subject has confidence and on whom his submissive tendency remains fixated during the spell. The active conative energy of the submissive instinct serves as an open channel for the communication of ideas from the operator to the subject. What operates during the spell is "a single focus of nervous activity in a sleeping brain, from which other parts of the brain, though relatively dissociated, may be brought into play, at the will of the operator." (McDougall.) It is as if a portion of the total, sleeping, normal personality were sliced out, split off and kept exclusively under control by the hypnotiser. The split off personality, at the beck and call of the operator, controls the whole brain for the time being. The normal personality remains relatively

asleep, all the while, unless roused by a challenge to some strong and fixed moral sentiment in the hypnotised subject.

Now to suggestion in waking life. Men in society commonly live in relations of dominance and submission. People of the dominating instinct are respected, admired and obeyed by people possessing the submissive instinct. Suggestions proceed from the former and stimulate the instinctive dispositions of the latter, who usually carry these out, without question or criticism. A spirit of criticism which rouses tendencies opposing those awakened by the suggestion renders it inoperative.

It may be asserted without fear of criticism that all men are open to suggestion. Freud associates this universal suggestibility with the presence of 'libido' or the sexual instinct in all men. He maintains that a man's responsiveness to suggestion is due to the fixation of libido on a person who is supposed to possess superior powers and prestige. Without entering into a detailed criticism of Freud's theory, we may say that libido is not the prime factor in human relations. But the outstanding merit of Freud is that he seeks the explanation of the potency of suggestion deep in the instinctive bases of mind, in the conative tendencies that sustain and energise all our strivings and activities. Instincts inherited from the unknown ancestors and strengthened by a steady process of biological selection form the deep sea of man's mental being of which the waking consciousness is but the rippling surface.

Suggestion usually proceeds from a person possessing or supposed to possess superior power and is accepted by one having the submissive instinct. But the reverse is not always untrue. Othello, the man of dominating instinct, may fall a prey to the suggestion of the weak but crafty Iago and enact the most heart-rending tragedy in the realm of conjugal love. The essential energy which carries the suggestion into effect comes from within the subject and is not imparted by the operator who only releases it or sets it in motion. It is common knowledge how suggestions whispered from behind the curtain

storm the conative energy of the most dominant among us and produce the most marvellous results! In cases like these it is the permanent emotional attitude towards an individual that conduces to suggestibility. What suggestion does is to switch the battery of sensory-motor energy on to one of the mines of instincts formidably arrayed in the unconscious depths of mind, and to effect an explosion of far-reaching consequence.

In childhood, when the nerves are plastic and conceptual images and ideas are not yet distinctly formed, suggestions from a teacher or a parent who stands in a position of superiority sink down to the unconscious plane of the mind and act with irresistible power. The future of the child is made or marred according as the suggestions are healthy or otherwise. Good parents or teachers are those who throw out healthy suggestions to evoke the noblest instincts and thereby lead children unconsciously towards the attainment of the noblest ideal in life. Adults in a dependent country are like grown-up babies whose submissive tendency degenerates into "slave mentality" in consequence of suggestions of 'inferiority,' 'unfitness,' etc., proceeding from a group of people uncritically assumed to possess superior powers. Such unhealthy, baneful suggestions breed a morbid self-distrust which can be counteracted only by re-assuring suggestions of the opposite nature. "Fire them up with praise," says Mazzini, speaking of the poor-spirited young men of enslaved Italy, "and hurl them against the Austrians."

Ideomotor suggestions are communicated verbally. What is called 'auto-suggestion' is the repetition of a suggested formula by the subject in the absence of the operator. We find reference to an apt instance of auto-suggestion in a speech of Vivekananda. An English youth, says the Swami, comes into perfect self-confidence as a heritage. This unfailing self-confidence makes him invincible in any enterprise in any part of the world. The Swami attributes this to the awakening of the 'Brahman' within him as a result of his self-confidence. We may say that the innate, fathomless store of unconscious energy

to which every man is a legatee is stirred into activity in him by auto-suggestion. Many eminent modern psychologists believe in the efficacy of auto-suggestion in physical and mental disorders. The truth is daily coming home to the western mind that the influence of the unconscious can be brought to bear on the conscious being. To the Indian mind it is an old truth in the garb of modern scientific language.

KSHITISCHANDRA BAGCHI

Reviews

Text, Type and Style: *A Compendium of Atlantic Usage.* By George B. Ives. The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.

This is a very useful book for all who have to see manuscripts through the press. When the Atlantic Monthly Press was started, the management had to think out its own standard in spelling, spacing, proof-reading, etc., and then it wanted to publish the results and proclaim them to the world for its edification. Though this sounds stilted, there was perfect sincerity in the mind of the writer and as a result of that we have here a practical and handy guide on the topics treated in the book. The chapter on *special words and phrases* is specially interesting; the examples cited in the volume are from the best writers in the English language; and the general impression is that the writer has something pertinent to say on everything, however minute,—in connection with the preparing of copies; his experience leads him to expose corners which we might have missed through inadvertence. We can safely recommend the book even for adoption for class-teaching, and many graduates and under-graduates will be benefited by a perusal.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Śatanarī—Karunānidhān Bandyopādhyāy, Calcutta, Bagchi and Sons, 203/2, Cornwallis Street.

It is a charming string of Bengali verses, full of rhythm and melody. The pieces are set in four groups according to the spirit they breathe. We have themes of fancy and of reality which have fascinated the poet and brought his powers to play, not in the insensate manner of the present-day poetasters whose number is legion, but through an attitude of mind that lives detached from morbidity and is serene in its perceptions. Whether in the pleasant abstraction of a dream, or in the thrill of old memories and associations, whether ruminating on sportive Nature or in the adoration of humanity, whether he lives in the past or mingles with the present or peeps into the future, the poet comes out with a spontaneity that directly appeals to the heart.

Men love not to commune with sad experiences, because they are bitter, but the genial touch of Mr. Banerjee soothes the oppressed mind and makes the vision lovely. Surfeit of intellectualism offends the Muse, as most poets have known to their cost. It does not warm ; it sings, it maddens. It is, however, fortunate that in Mr. Banerjee's poems emotion and intellect have their due degrees of appeal and do not ride roughshod over each other. There is no superlative fantasy, no tendency to lapse perforce into mysticism, none of those aggressive feats of phraseology that characterise most attempts of modern Bengal. The poet's style is full of directness and moves the heart to sympathy with his vision, and we can speak of his performance in his own words :—

সরল গানের কথাগুলি লঘু
বাণের মতন বিধে,
চোখের জলের বঁধি ভেঙ্গে দেয়
ভাবগুলি সাদা সিন্দে ।

SILENDRANATH MITRA

Ourselfes

RESULT OF THE B.COM. EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1932, was 145 of whom 9 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 136.

The number of candidates who passed the examination was 69 of whom 4 passed in the First Division.

The percentage of passes is 50·75.

RESULT OF THE B.A. EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B.A. Examination, 1932, was 2,818 of whom 121 were absent and 8 were transferred to other Centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 2,689 of whom 7 were expelled, 1,642¹ were successful and 1,040 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,346 were placed on the Pass List and 286 on the Honours List. Of the candidates on the Honours List 23 were placed in the First Class and 263 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 142 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in two subjects only is 10.

The percentage of passes is 61·2.

¹ The cases of candidates recommended by the Board have not been included in the report.

RESULT OF THE B.Sc. EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B.Sc. Examination, 1932, was 726 of whom 32 were absent and 2 were transferred to other Centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 692 of whom 3 were expelled, 439¹ were successful and 250 failed. Of the successful candidates 377 were placed on the Pass List and 62 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 7 were placed in the First Class and 52 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 151 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 63·7.

¹ The cases of candidates recommended by the Board have not been included in the report.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1932

DR. TAGORE, MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,¹

I have been asked to convey to the Poet His Excellency the Chancellor's felicitations and on behalf of the University I have very great pleasure in welcoming our septuagenarian Poet-Philosopher amongst us this afternoon.

Had I the power of getting every wish of mine fulfilled I could not have desired a fitter ceremony than this with which to close my term of office as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. To-day we have gathered together to receive and accord welcome to a distinguished son of Bengal who is acknowledged by the world as one of the greatest men of letters of our day. The peculiar interest in this academic reception to the Laureate of Asia by the University of Calcutta, which is to-day an institution for the fostering and development of Culture and the Advancement of Learning in a truer sense than a decade or so ago, is heightened by the fact that the Poet has returned to us safe from a venturesome journey to Persia in the 71st year of his life.

¹ Address delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the academic reception given to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at the Senate House on 6th August 1932.

Of the few persons who have made the culture of modern India understood and appreciated by the world at large, Rabindranath is perhaps the most brilliant and outstanding exponent. He has helped considerably to dispel the darkness of ignorance about our country and our culture, and we cannot adequately express our admiration and feelings of indebtedness to him. India in the imagination of the West was a country disunited with by castes and creeds, the home of strange religious rituals and practices. Her culture was considered as a thing of the past. Therefore the translation of Rabindranath's *Gitanjali* evoked admiration mingled with surprise in his readers outside India.

The ideas about India and her civilization began to change when the West awoke to the consciousness that India was still an intellectual and spiritual force in the world, radiant with beauty and pulsating with life.

On the occasion of the seventieth birthday of the Poet, some of the greatest minds of Europe and Asia united to pay their tribute of honour and reverence to him, and thus Rabindranath has been instrumental in making the East and West meet on a platform of equality.

I am proud to feel that while politicians are struggling for Dominion Status or independence for India, the genius of Rabindranath has won recognition from the nations of the world and set the seal of India's intellectual fitness for freedom.

We are grateful to him, not only because he has achieved through his poetry such a splendid victory for India, but also because of the greater cause of humanity which he has served. He has realised in his soul the unity of man and the harmony of nature. The ideal which he has set up is freedom of the mind and spirit, and universal peace and goodwill by true understanding between the peoples of the East and those of the world at large.

He has founded a University at Bolpur in Bengal which is a striking piece of original work. He has dissociated himself

from the beaten track of academic education. He has not founded a denominational institution for the benefit of any one class or section of people, but has set up a seat of learning available to all at *Santi-niketan*—‘the Abode of Peace’ placed amidst nature’s own surroundings. Its atmosphere of freedom and simplicity is a stimulating factor in the discipline of the mind and body. The Poet has realised, in a way that few people have, that a liberal education alone can bridge the gulf of narrow denominational bias and prejudice.

Rabindranath’s poetry is marked by a singular freedom from conventionality. His songs speak with a touching sincerity and with the naturalness of his relationship with the Unseen. His passionate love of nature and his mystic sensitiveness are supreme and reminiscent of the poetry of the mystic Bards of Persia.

We could not have a more distinguished representative of India for the high mission he has fulfilled, again in our times renovating the age-old intellectual relationship between the two most brilliant countries of Western Asia. Our ties with Persia are of long date and have been continuous from the most ancient times, through the middle ages, till our day. The mutual action and reaction of the two countries in the realms of thought, art and literature are now being brought to light by contemporary scholarship. Persia has also been during centuries the spiritual home, the source, the fountain head and inspiration of what is best and finest in the culture and thought of the Muslim world. Al-Farabi and Avicenna in the domain of Science and Philosophy, the founders of the four chief schools of mysticism that have captured the imagination of Islam—Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilany, Hazrat Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, Hazrat Shaikh Mu’inuddin Chisty and Hazrat Shaikh Bahauddin Naqshbandy—have all their origin in the great land of Iran. India has been the true interpreter of Persia throughout the ages. For it was by the blending of the thought and culture of Persia with that of Hindusthan that the exquisite

flowers of Persian art and literature bloomed and enriched with their fragrance the Courts of the Pathan and the Mogul Rulers of Delhi and gave to the world an Amir Khusrau, an Abul Fazl and a Faizi. There was a time when every educated Hindu in our part of the Asiatic Continent was steeped in Persian culture like the great Raja Rammohan Ray and it is remarkable that the part played by the non-Moslem communities in India, specially the Hindus, in the enrichment of Persian literature in this country has not been sufficiently appraised. In our distinguished guest we see the scion of a house that has had a long contact with Persian culture and in his genius I find the perfect synthesis of the ideals of the two most important communities of India. Not only the Mussalmans of Bengal who speak Bengali as their mother tongue, but also the Mussalmans of India who speak other languages, see in the Poet an embodiment of the refinements of Islamic Culture even as the Hindus claim him as an incarnation of their own. The synthesis to which I have referred makes him India's fittest ambassador in presenting once again the unity of Asiatic civilisation inspired with common or at least analogous ideals.

During the term of my Vice-Chancellorship I have been extraordinarily lucky. I have got through many important projects, but none which to my mind has such far-reaching consequences as the proposal for the introduction of the vernacular as the medium of instruction during the first stages of education. Fate has reserved for me the supreme joy to see that the foundations have been laid during my term of office for the realisation of the dream of my distinguished predecessors. What can be better than that the inauguration of this epoch-making change should be presided over by Bengal's greatest son in the Realm of Letters. His is the first name in the Roll of Doctors of Literature of our University and now he has honoured me by accepting the offer of the University to be its Professor of Bengali Language and Literature. Though the

post of a Professor of the Calcutta University is a much-coveted office of distinction and eminence, in the case of Rabindranath Tagore the lines of the Persian poet are truly applicable :

نه ز منصب شود بزرگي مرد * بلکه منصب شود ز مرد بلند

“ It is not the office which has exalted his position. It is the office which has been exalted by his acceptance ”

I thank him for the promise that, amidst his multifarious activities, the Poet would be able to find time for the instruction of our young men, to inspire them, to unravel before their eyes their heritage of a literature of which he has been the most brilliant exponent and creator.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is said that two Kings of India sought to persuade Hafiz to visit their courts. In response to the invitation of the Bahmani King of the Deccan, the Persian Poet came up to the sea-board, but the sight of the roaring waves sent him back to his native town of Shiraz. To Sultan Ghiyasuddin who, during the golden age of Muslim Rule in Bengal, had invited the immortal bard of Persia to his Court, Hafiz sent an exquisite lyric (*ghazal*) in which occur the following couplets—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند * زین قند فارسي که نه بگاله میرد

“All the Parrots of Hindusthan will become sugar-breakers, sugar-peckers, because of this Persian sugar-candy which goeth to Bangala.”

When Riza Shah Pahlawi repaid the debt long overdue and returned the compliment by an invitation to the great Poet-Philosopher of Bengal, Tagore did better than Hafiz. The waves of the Persian Gulf are as terrifying and the Indian Ocean is as boisterous as ever. Our Poet had wished to visit the Persian King last year, but as in the case of his precursor Hafiz, the roaring seas stood in the way. He, however, solved the difficulty by soaring on the wings of his poetic genius and flying over the dark waters below, in the Chariot of the Aeroplane

like a Seer of Ancient India. He paid back in person Hafiz's debt. Now it is the parrots of Persia who will peck at the exquisite poetry of Bengal and in the Rose Gardens of Shiraz, the famous Bulbul will be eating its heart away in strains which are familiar to our ears :

شوریده دل شونده همه بابلان فارس * زین عطر ناب گل که ز بنگاله میرد

“All the Bulbuls of Persia will be loud-hearted intoxicated with this pure Essence of Rose which goeth from Bangala.

SIR HASSAN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,¹

It not only gladdens my heart but makes me feel at home when Sir Hassan gives special emphasis in his address to the generous reception that was offered to me in Persia. What is significant about it is the fact that the welcome came from the people of that great country and we all know that honour from the people really means love. Honour is cautiously critical while love is intuitive, and the ordinary man in all those parts of the world which are not too sophisticated have an instinctive feeling of attachment to a poet, a child-like faith in his mission. It was enough that I came to these people in Iran as one of those who could be smilingly excused for being nothing better than a singer and the simple hearts of my hosts were touched with an unthinking admiration which had the savour of the feeling of a common brotherhood.

I have no doubt that they realised that I was among them and not above them, and I almost feel glad that they hardly knew my work, that I was not to them the subject of thesis for doctorate of either idolatrous or iconoclastic character. In my delightfully natural contact with them I never for once was nervously made aware of any particular merit of mine of a special kind and limitation and was never compelled to act a part that was expected of me. I thank you, Sir Hassan, for evoking in my mind on this occasion that atmosphere of spontaneous acceptance heartily human which fell to my lot in the land of your own forefathers whose hospitality you carry further on in this hall in the kind words that you speak of me echoing the very music that rang into my ears in the garden of Hafiz. It may amuse you to know that I was once asked by a man of high position in Persia if in my pedigree

there was anywhere any touch of Iran and I confessed that it was in my heart. And this fact must have been made fully evident to my Persian friends which enabled me to join my hands to theirs in fellowship without any obvious credentials of intellectual or social value on my part. I wish I could claim the same easy communion of hearts in this hall also and be relieved of a responsibility of any solemn position to be held in a frigid altitude.

It is no secret that I am not accustomed to be welcomed into the circle of the erudite. And therefore when any fortunate surprise of this nature comes in my way I feel proud in an exaggerated measure while at the same time I timidly shrink from it. I am afraid of being held responsible some day for any overpayment in my favour, for I know that people never forgive those whom, by their own mistake, or possibly at their lucid moments, they have offered more than what they at a later date imagine to be their due. It is undoubtedly a great good fortune to be able to win recognition from one's fellow-beings specially at such a high source of honour as a University rightfully can claim to be. But it always means a great strain for a person of my abilities and character to justify and to maintain it for any length of time, to feel perfectly natural in such an atmosphere of scholarship. I was born, as a poet, with an inclination which prevented me from the pursuit of purposeful endeavour, while allowing me to enjoy the indulgence of my providence in leading a life of mental vagabondage. The gathering of knowledge and adding to its store, the labelling of facts in accurate terminology was not given to me, and never having achieved even the lowest average of academic respectability I had missed my right to claim the comradeship of the learned. We all know that there are persons in our country who are piously loud in their extolment of poverty as the sign of spiritual aristocracy, the exalted order of the ragged. I hope that God takes pity upon them, for in most of their cases poverty has not been a choice but a

necessity. In a similar situation I also crave your forgiveness if in my natural desire to defend myself against opprobrium of my fellow beings I try to pretend to be proud of my academic pauperism. Any psycho-analyst will tell you that this is merely a perverse form of humility and that deep in my mind I stand almost in an absurd awe before those whose names, unlike mine, rightfully carry the dignity of University distinction. But at the same time I am sincere in my thankfulness to my star which gifted me with a resourcefulness when I was young and helped me to avoid schoolmasters. I am sure that my truancy guided me to a compensation conferring upon my mind the freedom of dwelling in Youth's eternity where 70th birthday looks foolish in its venerable anachronism. For I strayed away from the highroad of scholastic discipline into a green expanse of inconsequential leisure where my experience found their source in perennial forms of beauty and human relationship, where my thoughts floated on the endless stream of continuous beginnings, the beginning in the bud, the beginning in the flower, in the seed, in the sprouting life.

The wonder of to-day and the expectation of to-morrow flowed in surprises of happiness, revealing to my mind the mysticism of simple truth, the miracles which are in the delights of every-day life.

The true happiness is an instinct, it has an unreasoning faith in the present and trust in the future which is the realm of endless growth. It is akin to the feeling of a child for its mother, undoubtedly positive and yet indefinite, and this is how I felt this world neglecting the technique and tradition of learning, seeking an intensity of direct realisation. Mine is a nomadic mind, it is never at home in the land of settled knowledge, comfortably classified, it is more conscious of its growth than its gains. This may be one of the reasons why, as I have been told and observed, I cause persistent irritation in a certain type of academic minds in my own country, not in those which create, which meditate, which have a youthful

in their adventure of exploration, but in those which repeatedly deal with orthodox facts within a walled-up intellectual enclosure.

But this fluid inconclusiveness of my mind which has its impulse to move into the depth of all things, brings me into a close contact of kinship with students who are nearer to life and who before their spirit is crushed under education grindstone have their natural craving for the inspiration of light and not for the underlined parsimony of torn out passages. They have loved me, the young, the adventurous, they have accepted me as the fellow traveller in the path of their aspiration. If in spite of my misfit any connection have been established between me and our University, I feel that I stand here on the side of the students, to tell them who are young that the strenuous course of their study, the pride of their acquisition must never harden all that is delicate and living in their nature, their power of faith, of simple joy, the sensitiveness to the subtle touches of existence. It is fortunate to be able to acquire knowledge but it is a rare privilege to be able to accept life in its varied significance with unabated sympathy and interest, untouched by cynicism and coarse pride of cleverness. Let them keep fresh the natural purity inherent in their vigour which is like the life sap of young deodars of Himalayas that spontaneously cleanses away all intrusions of decay by its own triumphant urge of growth.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SPECIAL CONVOCATION ADDRESS¹

MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION,

This is a special Convocation convened for the purpose of conferring Degrees on students who are going abroad for further studies. This function was inaugurated by one of my predecessors to enable students to join British and European Universities by about the beginning of October when the sessions begin.

“In the quest of knowledge leave your homes and go beyond the great walls of China,” was the command of the Great Teacher of Arabia and there can be no doubt that the field of your vision would be widened and the store of your knowledge enriched by your travels and studies abroad. You are going to continue your education in diverse directions :—Law, Medicine, Engineering, Commerce, Industries, etc. The Western countries are certainly far in advance of us in these matters and there is much to learn from them of special technical value. It will be up to you to assimilate all that the West has to teach, and then on coming back, to impart your knowledge to your own students, so that your successors may not have the necessity of going abroad.

I know foreign degrees have now a peculiar attraction and value but I am looking forward to the day when our swadeshi products will carry the same, if not a higher value, in the academic world, and instead of our students having to direct their steps westwards in quest of degrees, streams of students would be coming into India not only to become expert Orientalists, Arabists, Sanskritists or only because of Indology, but also for special instructions in the domains of Science and Technology.

¹ Address delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the Special Convocation held at the Senate House, on 6th August 1932.

I would like to advise you not only to make the best use of the opportunities for higher studies offered in foreign Universities but to try and learn by extra-academic contacts those special lines of work and thought in which Western people are so well organised and advanced. I would also advise you strongly to take part in the corporate life of the Universities. One of the main objects of your education is to achieve success in life and you will never attain that success, unless you learn the great lessons of self-help in organising things for yourselves, and above all of the care and improvement of your health. Take advantage of every holiday for breaking the monotony of dry academic work and for going out on excursions to other countries. In your contacts with men and things, I would advise you not to be over-sensitive. Let not inferiority complex overpower you. Develop a manlier outlook and be happy. Do not look for insults when none is meant. Do not be unnecessarily aggressive and do not mistake rudeness for independence.

I envy you your good fortune. You are extraordinarily lucky that you have been admitted this evening to your degrees in the presence of one of India's greatest sons, who more than any other has advanced the name and fame of your country in the world, dispelling the mists of ignorance and prejudice.

Do not forget that as foreign students you have got a sacred duty towards your Motherland and towards those who are now responsible and have been responsible for your education. Let not this high ideal ever leave your minds. Your conduct, your words, your points of view should be such as will bring credit to you and to your people and your country.

May your journey be auspicious. May you return safe and sound, full of credit and full of glory.

SLEEP AND CONSCIOUSNESS

The experience of sleep is common to all normal human beings, and we seem to understand quite well what is meant by it. If I am asked in the course of the day whether I slept last night, I can confidently return an answer either in the affirmative or in the negative, without at all being puzzled by the question. This shows that we have a clear understanding of sleep and have no doubt about our experience of it.

But it is also believed that when we fall deep asleep, we become quite unconscious so that the continuity of our consciousness may be said to be broken every day by sleep. The problem therefore arises as to how we have any knowledge of sleep if we become totally unconscious in it. Nobody seems to doubt that we are quite unconscious while we are fast asleep. But if we are unconscious when we are asleep, how do we know afterwards that we slept at all?

This problem is very important for certain schools of Indian philosophy which believe that the self and consciousness are never separated from each other. Since the self does not lose its being in sleep it should not, according to them, be divorced from its consciousness even in sleep. How can this theory be reconciled with the common belief that the self loses its consciousness in sleep?

It will be seen that we are taking sleep in the sense of dreamless sleep in which there is apparently no consciousness of any object. It is evidently impossible to discuss about sleep while we are sleeping ; but after having had the experience of sound sleep, we can discuss about its content and character. It seems also clear that so long as we are perceiving, thinking of, or, in any other way, knowing, any object, we are not really

sleeping. If we had the consciousness of objects even in sleep, our experience of sleep would not, in any essential character, be different from our experience of the waking life. Even those who maintain that there is consciousness in sleep do not hold that the consciousness of sleep is of the same determinate objective kind as the consciousness of the waking life. They too deny determinate knowledge of objects in sleep. But for them to deny determinate objective consciousness is not to deny consciousness as such. They say that there is a consciousness which is not objective or determinate and such a consciousness is not denied when it is said that there is no consciousness of objects in sleep.

In any case when we speak of our past experience of sleep and say 'I slept soundly and did not know anything,' our assertion is generally taken as a true statement of facts. But what exactly is the nature of the knowledge conveyed by the proposition 'I did not know anything'? That it does convey some knowledge of the person who makes the statement is quite evident; otherwise the statement would be meaningless. When I assert that I did not know anything, I mean to communicate my knowledge of the fact that I did not know anything. The above statement not only asserts the absence of knowledge in the past (*i.e.*, in sleep), but also implies the present knowledge of the past absence of knowledge on the part of the man who makes the statement. Unless I *know* that I did not know, I can have no justification for saying that I did not know anything. This knowledge is about the absence of knowledge in sleep. If there is consciousness in sleep, it must be deducible from, or at least be consistent with, this knowledge. In fact those who believe in the presence of consciousness in sleep try to deduce it from our present knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep, although it appears rather paradoxical.

Now, what is the character of this knowledge? The first question to be decided about it is whether it is valid knowledge. If it is no valid knowledge, no reliable conclusion can be derived

from it. We have however to take it as valid, because, it is not contradicted or corrected by any subsequent knowledge. Our knowledge of a stick, half immersed in water, as bent is false, because it is corrected by the subsequent knowledge that it is straight. But my present knowledge that I did not know anything in sleep is never corrected by any knowledge that I did know something in sleep. When this knowledge is not contradicted by any experience and is not known to be invalid, the conclusion, correctly drawn from it cannot legitimately be challenged.

The next question is about the nature of this knowledge. Is it perception, memory or inference? That it is not perception can readily be seen. Perception always refers to a present fact; but this knowledge is about a past fact (*i.e.*, absence of knowledge in sleep). Moreover, when this knowledge is present, the absence of knowledge in the self is not possible and cannot be perceived.

Those who suppose that there is consciousness in sleep accept the view that the present knowledge of the past absence of knowledge is a case of memory. Once you grant that your present knowledge is a case of memory, you cannot but also grant that there was a corresponding past knowledge (of the nature of perception) of which the present knowledge is a reproduction. If, when I know that I did not know anything, I only remember that I did not know anything, it must be granted that I had, in the past, some direct knowledge of the form 'I do not know anything.' We can remember only what we have experienced. There is no memory of that which has not been experienced. So if our knowledge of the past absence of knowledge is a case of memory, there must be then in the past (*i.e.* in sleep) a knowledge of the absence of knowledge. Unless we grant this knowledge, there can be no subsequent memory of the form 'I did not know anything.' But we have already seen the difficulty of accepting any direct knowledge of the absence of knowledge. If there is knowledge, how can there be absence of knowledge also? There would be no difficulty if

knowledge belonged to one person and the absence of it to another. Here one and the same person is supposed to have the knowledge of the absence of knowledge in himself. To get out of this difficulty one has to suppose that 'the absence of knowledge' is not to be taken quite literally, and that it does not mean mere lack of knowledge but a state of 'positive ignorance.' What we have in sleep, according to this theory, is a positive experience of ignorance which is interpreted afterwards negatively in terms of ignorance of all particular objects. A state of positive ignorance is indeterminately known at the time of sleep and is remembered afterwards when we say 'I did not know anything.' The idea of positive ignorance is a difficult one, and the Vedantists, who are the main supporters of the theory of positive ignorance, have to make use of many technical devices in order to reconcile their theory with the common belief that nothing is known in sleep.

But their conclusion is based on the supposition that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge is a case of memory, and this supposition cannot be taken as true unless the alternative hypothesis that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge is only an inference is conclusively proved to be false.

This hypothesis too is not without its own difficulties. It is said that if we knew anything in sleep, we should remember it afterwards, and since we do not remember anything, we infer that there was no knowledge of anything in sleep. In other words lack of memory is made a ground for our inferring lack of knowledge. But memory is not so invariably related with knowledge that from the absence of memory we should infer the absence of knowledge. Many experiences in life are absolutely forgotten. From the fact that I cannot remember a particular experience it cannot follow that I never had that experience. It is true that unless we have previously known a thing we cannot remember it. But it will not be right to say conversely that I did not know a thing simply because I cannot remember it now.

There is another very peculiar difficulty in inferring the absence of knowledge from any ground whatever. We can infer one fact from another only when we have seen the two facts together and have observed an invariable relation between them. But the absence of knowledge can never be seen, and so it cannot be ascertained to be universally related with any other fact. Since we cannot establish a universal relation between the absence of knowledge and any other fact by means of direct knowledge, it seems impossible for us to draw an inference about the absence of knowledge from any fact.

It may be said that we can infer the absence of knowledge from the absence of the conditions of knowledge. When the conditions of knowledge are not fulfilled, knowledge, which results from such conditions, cannot be there. But there is a difficulty. How do we know that the conditions of knowledge are not present in sleep? We cannot ascertain it by direct observation, simply because if we were to do so, there would be no sleep at all. We can only infer the absence of the conditions of knowledge from the assumed fact that there is no knowledge in sleep. If this is so, then it is a mere *petitio principii* to say that the absence of knowledge in sleep is inferred from the absence of the conditions of knowledge.

It cannot be denied that there is much force in these criticisms of the hypothesis that 'I did not know anything in sleep' is an inference. But we cannot say that they are quite conclusive. It may not be right to infer the absence of knowledge from the absence of memory; but the inferential character of our knowledge will not be affected by the fact that the inference is not correctly drawn. A villager, who has seen only learned people putting on glasses, may infer that a particular individual is learned because he wears glasses. The inference is certainly wrong, because there is no connexion between learning and the wearing of glasses. But this does not mean that the knowledge of the villager is not inferential or that his knowledge is not true. An inference may not be

well ground but the resulting knowledge may still be right. In the above instance the particular individual in question may really be learned, so that the knowledge that he is learned will not be false although it may not be arrived at by a valid process.

Moreover, although from want of memory we cannot generally infer want of knowledge, it seems that in certain cases absence of memory may be more or less a sure ground for supposing that there was corresponding absence of relevant knowledge. If I meet a stranger and cannot remember to have seen him during the past few hours, I feel certain that I really did not see him during those hours. If we are to suppose that we knew a fact even when we cannot remember it, there must be some positive ground to assure us that we really did know it. When we do not remember to have had a particular experience within a restricted period of time, not long past, and when there is no positive ground to tell us even generally that we were likely to have the experience, we may conclude that we really had not that experience. The period of sleep may not be long past, but although we try hard we cannot recall any experience out of that period, and we have no positive ground for supposing that we have any consciousness in sleep. In these circumstances, I think, lack of memory together with the absence of any evidence to the contrary may constitute a valid ground for inferring absence of knowledge in sleep.

Absence of knowledge may be inferred from the fact that the conditions of knowledge are not present in sleep. We may ascertain the conditions of knowledge by experiments with other persons and we may further ascertain that these conditions are not fulfilled when people fall asleep. Applying the results of these observations to our own case, we can suppose that when we fall asleep the conditions of knowledge are not fulfilled and there is consequently no knowledge. Of course we cannot directly find out the absence of the conditions of knowledge in our own case, just as we cannot see our own brain-processes. I cannot myself see my brain within the skull nor can I see my own death. Still

I can draw inferences about the presence of the brain within my skull as well as about my own death.

We may at least take our knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep as a hypothesis. When we cannot remember anything out of our sleep-life, we are perfectly justified in framing a hypothesis that there is no consciousness in sleep, although we may not draw a valid inference to that effect. But when this hypothesis is never contradicted by any experience in life, it gets with us the status of sure knowledge.

Thus we see that it is not conclusively proved that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep is not an inference. It can at least stand as an uncontradicted hypothesis. When this is so, it is not safe to conclude that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep is a case of memory and to draw further deductions from this conclusion. When it is not proved that I am only remembering a past experience when I say 'I did not know anything in sleep,' it cannot be supposed that there must be some direct knowledge present in sleep in order to explain this experience.

Besides there are some positive difficulties in treating the knowledge conveyed by the statement 'I did not know anything in sleep' as a case of memory. In every case of memory we not only remember the fact known in the past but can also recall the past experience in which the fact was known. If it were true that when I say I did not know anything I only remember that I did not know anything, I should be able to recall the experience in which I had the consciousness of not knowing anything. But no such experience can be recalled. In sleep we never have the positive knowledge that we are not knowing anything.

It is rightly recognised that there is an absurdity in the conception of 'the knowing of not knowing anything,' and so it is supposed that we have in sleep a consciousness of ignorance which is conceived as a positive entity, and that this consciousness of ignorance is afterwards remembered as no knowledge of all particular objects. But if the original experience is positive

in character, having a positive object, why should it give rise to a negative memory ?

We thus see that the Vedantic argument that the presence of consciousness in sleep is proved by the fact of subsequent memory is not very convincing, because we are not bound to regard the subsequent knowledge as a case of memory.

But although the Vedantist's argument may not prove his case, there is an important point in his contention. We commonly believe in sleep as a fact of daily experience. We seem to understand what is meant by sleep. But we can know sleep only in our experience of it. It cannot be known in its true character by external observation. If sleep has any real meaning for us, it appears it should be drawn from our own direct experience of it. This presupposes that we should have some consciousness of sleep, however dim and indefinite, when we are actually sleeping. This is what is probably meant by the Vedanta when it speaks of an indeterminate knowledge of positive ignorance in sleep. The term 'positive ignorance' in this connexion may only mean the undiscriminated 'dark' state of sleep in which there is no determinate knowledge of any particular objects. This explanation of the matter makes it possible for us to derive our understanding of sleep from direct personal experience. But if this is true, then it should not be supposed, as is commonly done, that there occurs a break or gap in our consciousness in sleep.

If, however, we believe that there is a state of sound sleep in which there is no consciousness at all, then we should admit that we have no direct knowledge of a such a state. All our knowledge of such a state is confined to its after-effects only. We cannot know this state when we are in it, because we are then quite unconscious. We cannot know it afterwards, because it is not present then. Indeed it is impossible for us to know how it 'feels' to be unconscious

THE FUNCTION OF THE COLLEGE IN THE LIFE OF THE CITY

Education, in a broad sense, is the training of individuals so that they can think and act for themselves intelligently. The exercise of this function has made education a significant factor in the life of every age; but the peculiar complexion of our own times has enhanced this significance and broadened its meaning. For the task of education has never before been so important and so difficult of accomplishment. An economically disordered society is crying for courageous and creative leadership; a cynical generation, for a newer outlook and a better faith. Never before have the opportunities for furthering the public welfare been so numerous, or the need for them more pressing. The City College,¹ because of its origin and ideals, must embrace these opportunities, must make itself a militant and constructive force in the life of the City.

The individual, as a member of the body politic, lives constantly in complex relations with his fellows. Upon the nature of his adjustment to these relationships depends the color of his citizenship. It is the primary function of the City College to prepare the way for a sound and efficient adjustment. The principles embodied in the report of the first Executive Committee for the government of the Academy, indicate how solidly the College is founded on this progressive idea. The report reads in part, "...the education imparted should be so organized that the course of studies to be pursued would tend to educate the pupils practically and particularly qualify them to apply their learning to advance and perfect the operations of the various trades and occupations in which they may engage..." Clearly,

¹ The College of the City of New York, U. S. A., having an enrolment of 40,000 pupils and enjoying an annual grant of 90 lakhs of rupees out of the funds of the city. Over eighty per cent. of the students are Hebrews and tuition is almost free.

we have here provision both for a professional and liberal training. Since its foundation in 1847, the College has remained true to this twofold ideal; nor has it ever altered its policy of placing culture and professionalism in a co-operative rather than a competitive relationship. To this policy the College owes its avoidance of the devastating influence of an indiscriminate elective system on the one hand, and of narrow specialization on the other. It has been able to produce men who can take their places in society both as productive members of the community and as intelligent and thinking citizens. This the College has done adequately and well. But we are now living in an extraordinary age, an age which has witnessed the rise of an economy and culture peculiar only to itself. As a civic institution, the City College should reflect in its curriculum, its methods, and its ideals the effect of the new needs which these changes in our culture and economy have provoked. The age demands that we make our twofold ideal, an idea of far greater significance than ever before.

To begin with, then, the College should fit its students for social and political service, and not merely provide them with sterile culture. It must direct their minds toward the comprehension and control of a civilization born of science and the machine. It must develop leaders who will grapple with such evils as recurrent unemployment, fatigue and monotony of work, over-centralization, and financial instability. They will idealize neither the worker nor the machine, these men; but, taking them as they find them, they will work for the spiritual liberation of the first, and the proper subordination of the second. If the College shape such men, Lazarus shall have his champion, and Dives shall have his guide.

Furthermore, there is need of social research in relation to local needs and institutions. Social science educational centres might be established in each of the boroughs, along the lines of development initiated by the social science departments at the University of Chicago, at George Washington University, and at

other urban institutions. The venture combines educational and civic values. The scientific approach to regional problems provides a valuable approach to the study of larger public problems, while social research provides an instrument of significant progress.

Another service the College might render, is the establishment of a special bureau for the study of the educational needs of community organisations. Competent leaders would be recommended, programs drawn up, and educational courses established.

No less numerous and needful are the opportunities for political service. Surely one of the really important duties of the citizen is his work of guiding the destinies of his community. Let the younger generation be taught how this duty may best be discharged, and wiser government will be assured. The public school system indeed, owes its origin to the realization that the good citizen must be able to perform his political duties intelligently. But the changes in industrial and political methods in our day indicate that the citizen, in addition to mere intelligence must have also a sense of trusteeship; and the training of this sense of trusteeship is both a more important and more difficult thing than the development of mere political intelligence. The City College should seek therefore, not merely to develop certain lines of knowledge, but certain essential qualities of character and habits of action as well. Never before were the virtues of courage, discipline and loftiness of purpose more necessary to the citizen of the City. There is urgent need that the City College make one of its chief functions the forming of disinterested public opinion. Such an object may be consummated only by developing broader and better personalities. And in such personalities, the sophomoric flippancy and cynicism of our generation, like its indiscriminate pursuit of gain and its flouting of the law, will give place to a constructive leadership, an unselfishness, and a belief in our possibilities born of a high regard for the ideal of public service.

I have pointed out in the foregoing certain functions of the City College. It is proper now to indicate how they may be exercised to best advantage, how the College must adapt itself to the new needs of the community.

In the first place, we must be less pre-occupied with exercise in details and more with the teaching of ideas. The creature of routine, and routine alone, while not a positive detriment to the public welfare, is not an asset to his community. He who knows only the names of things without comprehending their meaning, cannot effect that creative transformation which makes for progress. Then too, we are concerned too much with the teaching of facts and not enough with the ability to reason with them. More specifically, whereas citizens are required to meet many and varied demands for which they need help, we offer what is virtually a uniform and standardized training; whereas all citizens faced constantly changing environment, and consequently constantly changing demands. We do not give assistance for meeting these changed demands; whereas occupations are constantly changing in their demands and opportunities, we make no provision for these changes; whereas civic demands are constantly changing and new civic demands are constantly arising, our curriculum remains virtually unaltered.

This is in no sense an indictment. It demonstrates merely that, while the College has accomplished much, more remains to be done. When the College was founded in 1847, her students came from a city of 450,000 people; to-day they come from a city of 7,000,000. With this increase in numbers has come an increase both in influence and responsibility. And though this growth has been much too rapid for the College to keep pace with, the responsibility has been assumed and the influence of the College has never wavered or grown less beneficial.

It remains to be seen how the City College has been enabled to perform its functions so consistently and well. The relation of the College to New York life has, of course, always been thorough and vital. As an exponent of real equality of

opportunity in education, the College has offered its services gratuitously since its establishment, to all who would take advantage of them. It provided then, as it does now, such a system of education as gives every citizen an opportunity of acquiring knowledge and fitting himself for places of trust. So democratic an institution cannot but make for popularization of learning in its community, nor can the citizenry fail to benefit from the breadth of view and the leadership of its college-bred members.

The effective scholarship of the College is borne out by the later careers of its graduates, but the City College has always been more concerned with economic and social efficiency than with individual success. It appears to be guided indeed, by the belief that "There is an instinctive sense that the highest end of government is the culture of men, that if men can be educated their institutions will share their improvement, and the moral sentiment will write the law of the land."

ARTHUR NEWMAN

TWILIGHT

Twilight
Is a princess
Who walks across the hills
Turning on the stars to light
The ampitheater of night.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

DAWN

Dawn is
A little girl
Who runs over the hills
Bringing an armload of flaming
Sun-beams.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

THE ORGANISATION OF SOVIET POWER ¹*The Decay of Tsardom.*

Like all great events in history, the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, was not a sudden cataclysm. It had a fairly long history behind it and for purposes of analysis, attention might be concentrated on three different aspects: the weakening of the power of the Tsars, the development of Marxism and Leninism, and the rise of the Soviet idea.

The autocracy of the Romanov dynasty in Russia had seemed so secure and well-established to the ordinary observer that its overthrow within a week in March, 1917, came as a great surprise. A careful study of Russian history in the nineteenth century however reveals factors and tendencies which go far towards explaining the spectacular events of 1917. It may safely be asserted that the beginnings of the decline of the Tsarist power may be traced back to the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855). From this period onwards, we notice a succession of checks to the expansion of the Russian empire as well as a steady growth of internal opposition to the absolutism of the Tsars.

From Peter the Great to the middle of the nineteenth century, the prestige of Russia as a Great Power had gone on increasing. Even Napoleon had failed to bring her under his domination and Russian resistance largely contributed to his downfall. The rude shock of the Crimean War (1853-1856) ushered in a period in which however this glory was a thing of the past. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, in spite of military successes, marked diplomatic defeat and a definite check to the march towards Constantinople. Russia was still expanding

¹ Popular Lecture under the auspices of the University of Dacca delivered on the 8th January, 1932.

in Central and Northern Asia but her way came to be barred by the British Empire in India and by Japan, and a humiliating defeat was inflicted by the latter in the war of 1904-1905. Finally came the crowning disaster of the Great War in 1914. It is instructive to note that after each of these rebuffs, the domestic opposition gathered fresh strength in Russia.

A permanent opposition to Tsarist autocracy dates also from the reign of Nicholas I. "Westernisation" under Peter the Great and Catherine was a hobby of the rulers imposed from above but the European campaigns of Alexander I exposed his soldiers and officers in a body to Western influence and awakened independent thought in Russia. It was no accident that the first political movement for a constitution—the Decabrist rising—took place in 1825. The policy of repression adopted by Nicholas stopped political agitation for the time being but failed to prevent the growing habit of thinking on Western lines among the educated circles. The triumph of the school of Westerners in the field of philosophy and literature was an indication of coming changes in the political sphere.

After the Crimean War and in response to the wishes of the educated classes, Alexander II (1855-1881) emancipated the serfs in 1861 and inaugurated local self-government and minor reforms. But the concessions of the Tsar Liberator were overdue and inadequate. The serfs, for example, got their legal liberty no doubt, but they obtained only half the land of the country and had to bear the burden of compensating the landlords for the same for years to come, in addition to heavy taxation for State purposes. Emancipation therefore was coupled with economic distress caused by small holdings and financial obligations. Similarly there was no idea of following up local self-government with a constitution at the centre. The disappointment and disillusionment of the radicals were therefore quite natural.

From 1861, extremist agitation made its appearance in Russia. There was a feeling of revolt against authority and

tradition among young intellectuals which crystalised into the school of Nihilism, a first picture of which is attempted by Turgenev in his *Fathers and Children*. A students' movement also originated which was inspired by Herzen's famous slogan "To the People." The followers of this creed—of attempting to rouse the masses by going back to the villages and sharing the life of the people—were styled the Narodniki—"the men of the people."

Some of the Narodniks trod the path of violence and for twenty years after 1866, a grim struggle was waged between individual terrorists and the Tsarist government. Alexander II was murdered in 1881 and his son and successor Alexander III (1881-1894) launched the policy of bitterest persecution. His system was continued by Nicholas II (1894-1917) in the first part of his reign. Not only the terrorists but also the peaceful propagandists, as well as the dissident sects and minority communities like the Jews and the Poles came within the scope of this oppression. The Narodniks were more or less crushed—their agitation amongst the masses failed likewise to create a strong movement, for the peasants were traditionally indifferent to anything except the land question and religion. But the sweeping tide of the Industrial Revolution in Russia had already led to the emergence of a new opposition—the Socialists.

The most numerous of the Socialist groups was the Social Revolutionary Party or the S.R.S. They continued the Narodnik tradition of concentrating on the peasants, and relied partly on the old methods of individual terrorism and loose decentralised organisation. Opposed to them were the Social Democrats led by Plekhanov, who were inspired by Marx and who discarded individual terrorism in favour of organising the town workers for a Socialist revolution. The Social Democrats broke up into two sections in 1903 on the question of organisation and tactics, the Bolsheviks or the majority, following Lenin, and the Mensheviks or the minority.

The next landmark is the fateful year, 1905, when the crisis caused by the Russo-Japanese War was utilised for a widespread agitation for reform in which all classes participated. This is sometimes called the First Russian Revolution. After a successful General Strike, representative government was promised by the Tsar. The extremists who refused to put their trust in this promise were crushed by force once again.

But the concessions of 1905, besides being purely political, were not far-reaching and did not last long. A national assembly—the Duma—was set up but by 1907, the electoral qualifications were so modified by the government that its representative character was seriously modified. After a brief respite, opposition on all sides revived from 1912. The disasters of the Great War stiffened the demand for reform while the Tsar, entirely in the hands of the Empress and her advisor, the monk Rasputin, refused any fresh concessions. The result was a wave of national resentment which finally overwhelmed the House of Romanov in the Second Russian Revolution (March, 1917).

The Provisional Government which assumed power on the abdication of Nicholas II soon became a coalition between the liberal parties and the moderate socialists. There was no unity of purpose and no strong man at the helm. Nothing was done towards any arrangement with the Soviets or workers' councils springing up everywhere or with the national independence movements within the Empire. The land-hunger of the peasants remained unappeased and, to crown all, there was no respite from the War for the weary people. The Bolsheviks under the astute leadership of Lenin, now returned from exile, gave focus to the widespread discontent by raising the slogans of—"All Power to the Soviets," self-determination for the dependent nationalities, the land for the peasants and immediate peace. In November, 1917, they effected the third revolution and seized power for themselves.

Marx, Engels and Lenin.

I have traced the outline of the history of the downfall of Tsardom in Russia—the steps which led to the breakdown of the old order. It is necessary now to consider the main ideas of the Bolsheviks who found themselves in power by the end of 1917. The name Bolshevik of course is accidental and was officially changed in 1918 to that of the Communist Party of Russia. Communism was the term adopted by Karl Marx for his doctrines in 1847, and was used by him as a synonym of Socialism. Bolshevism is therefore simply Marxism of the present day and the teachings of Marx and his lifelong colleague Friedrich Engels, as expounded by Lenin form the scriptures of the Bolshevik movement.

Stripped of their intricacies, the cardinal doctrines of Marx may be said to be four in number.

In the first place, there is the celebrated philosophy of the materialistic conception of history which insists that "the material conditions of life, taken as a whole, primarily determine the changes in human thought."¹ Marx maintained that the system of production in a given society is all-important and shapes law, religion, political conditions and social thought. Ideas and institutions are but the reflections of economic organisation of a society and are bound to change along with its development.

Secondly, we have the analysis of modern production and the economic doctrine of the Surplus Value. Developing the labour theory of value of the classical economists, Marx treats labour-power as a commodity sold for wages and declares that this labour-power "produces values above the cost of tools, raw-materials and its own costs."² This surplus is now appropriated

¹ Laaski, *Communism* (58).

² Laaski, *Communism* (98).

by the capitalists though no value can be created without labour and capital itself is obtained by labour.

From an analysis of society is derived the third dogma—the irreconcilable nature of class conflict. Society in the historic period has always been made of different classes with divergent interests which it is not possible to reconcile with each other. Class-conflict—open or veiled—is always present in a society so long as there is a division into classes. One class dominates usually over others and the so-called national or common interests represent the interests of that class alone. The whole apparatus of the State is simply the organ of maintaining the rule of the dominant class, and this is true not only of the old slave-holding or feudal estates but also of a capitalist democracy. Whatever the form of government, the State is the engine of the economically dominant class.

The fourth characteristic idea of Marx is his theory of the evolution of class-society. The domination of a class cannot be perpetual for it raises forces in antagonism. Capitalism, for example, is disturbed with frictions which must lead to the breakdown of the machine. It will be replaced then by socialism—just as feudalism was supplanted by capitalism. The coming of socialism is inevitable, being in the nature of things and a necessary product of capitalism itself. But socialism means abolition of classes and hence this end of class-conflict will stabilise human society on a permanent basis with a total absence of conflict, friction or contradiction.

These ideas of Marx were generally accepted by the European Socialist Parties in different countries. But gradually they lost their edge in the days of the Second International (1889-1914) and other essential teachings of Marxism, specially relating to the method of bringing about the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, were more or less forgotten. They were revived by Lenin who drew attention to the lesser known works of Marx and Engels and reinterpreted the more famous texts. The addition of these revived doctrines constitutes the difference between

Bolshevism and an old-fashioned Marxist party like the German Social Democrats.

Lenin in his turn laid the greatest emphasis on four of such doctrines.

Firstly, he declared that Capitalism was bound to break down in the immediate future on account of its inherent contradictions. There were three conflicts which were sure to distract capitalist society—the class-war within each country, the rivalry between imperialist powers, and the struggle between the imperialist countries and the colonial and the backward peoples. Imperialism of the twentieth century was the last gasp of Capitalism. Stalin defines Leninism, we might remember, as “the Marxism of the epoch of Imperialism.”¹

The second mark of Leninism is the belief that the transition from Capitalism to Socialism can only be effected by a violent revolution. Individual terrorism was definitely rejected by the Bolsheviks but they deny the possibility of a peaceful establishment of Socialism, even through a democracy. In a capitalist democracy, it is contended, the masses of the people are taught to accept the established social order as permanent, under the influence of the Press, organised religion and education, all of which are completely controlled by the middle classes. The workers also have no voice in what concerns them most—the regulation of their working life. Only a minority of class-conscious workers can realise the true position and in the face of capitalist propaganda, they cannot win a majority. Force must be used to break the power of the capitalist class though of course a revolution can only be successful when the time is ripe. Lenin was equally opposed to heedless “insurrectionism” associated with the French revolutionary Blanqui and to the idea of peaceful “gradualism” of the moderate Socialists.

Thirdly, it is maintained by the Leninists that after the revolution, there must be established the dictatorship of the

¹ Stalin, *Leninism* (13).

proletariat for the epoch of transition into Socialism. Democracy or full individual freedom in this stage would only result in a counter-revolution. The State after the Revolution must be a proletarian state keeping down by brute force the remnants of the capitalist classes. On this point especially, Kautsky and the older Marxists differed from Lenin but there cannot be any doubt that the authority of Marx and Engels is on the side of the latter. The system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is described by Lenin and Stalin to mean the domination of the alliance (the "smychka") between the proletariat and the peasant with the former leading the way. This dictatorship is expressed through the institutions of trade unions, soviets, co-operatives, youth leagues and the Communist Party—the last being the guiding force.

In the fourth place, this arrangement is temporary. With the final abolition of classes, the State will disappear, will "wither away" as Engels called it. The proletarian quasi-state and its dictatorial rule will then make room for a free democratic association of society—much as the Anarchists envisage their ideal commonwealth, without any classes or any coercive power of the State.

3

The Idea of the Soviet.

The institution of the Soviet is a very recent one. Even in the Bolshevik theory before 1917, there is very little stress laid on the Soviet. Between March and November of that year however, Lenin raised the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets." This virtual adoption of the new idea by the Bolsheviks was the consummation of two different processes—the rise of the new institution on the one hand and the necessity increasingly felt by Communist thinkers for establishing some such organ of the working classes as the Soviet.

The Soviet of course is a council elected by workers or peasants. At its inception at any rate, it had three peculiar features—it was a working class institution from which the bourgeois was excluded; the constituencies were occupational and not residential, being centred usually in the different factories and places of work mainly; and the electors could recall and replace their delegates at will instead of waiting for a general election. In troubled and critical times, the Soviets therefore were useful committees faithfully reflecting the opinion of the workers.

R. W. Postgate suggests an interesting history of this new type of organisation. The idea occurred to J. E. Smith, a follower of Robert Owen, in the heyday of the Owenite movement in England (1833-34). In the Owenite paper *The Crisis*, he suggested that the House of Commons should be replaced by a "House of Trades" with a new set of boroughs, each trade forming one. The device appears next in France at the time of the revolution of 1848 when the Provisional Government in order to get the Socialist leader Louis Blanc out of the way, entrusted him with the task of drawing up proposals for labour organisation, with no intention of course of really carrying out his ideas. Blanc formed an assembly for this purpose, which represented the Paris workers, industry by industry, and was called the Luxemburg Commission. It disappeared after the failure of the workers' rising in the June Days of 1848.¹

These anticipations of the Soviet were probably unknown to the Russians when the St. Petesburg Soviet was formed in 1905. It was a full-fledged representative of the new type and played a leading part in the General Strikes of that year. It had a Menshevik majority and a leading figure was Trotsky. The institution disappeared after the suppression of the extremists at the end of the year 1905 but evidently it left its memory behind. In the March Revolution of 1917, the Petrograd

¹ Postgate, *The Bolshevik Theory* (192.34).

Soviet came into life and its example was followed in almost every town and even in the countryside. The new Soviets rapidly increased in power and exercised much pressure on the government. The Bolsheviks were the only party to realise their importance and openly proclaimed their championship of the new organisation.

The way to this policy had been indicated by the writings of the leaders. On the eve of 1848, Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* declared that the State after the Socialist Revolution must be "the proletariat organised as the ruling class." After the experience of 1848-51, Marx concluded in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that the task of the Socialist Revolution was "to concentrate against it (the executive power of the State) all the forces of destruction" and added that the two institutions to be first broken were the bureaucracy and the military machine (1852). The next landmark is the Paris Commune of 1871 which was thoroughly studied and analysed by Marx in his *Civil War in France*. In this booklet and in the last joint preface to the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels (1872), a further forward step is taken and it is laid down that the "working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the State and set it going for its own ends." In a letter in 1871, Marx explained that the heroism of the Paris Communards consisted in their attempt to "shatter" the existing bureaucratic and military machine. The Commune was the first attempt towards a proletarian state. The Council of the Commune, mainly a working class assembly, was "not a parliamentary, but a working corporation, legislative and executive at one and the same time." The members could be recalled at any time and the officials received about the same pay as ordinary workers, while the standing army was replaced by arming the workers. Government was cheapened by the destruction of the two most expensive institutions—the bureaucracy and the army—and at the same time was placed within the reach of the common workers. The conclusions of Marx about the

Paris Commune were restated by Engels in 1891. Lenin points out in his *State and Revolution* all this development in communist thought¹ and when the Russian workers spontaneously started their soviets, the Bolsheviks readily accepted the new institution as the fulfilment of the ideas of Marx and Engels and replaced the Tsarist organisation by the Soviet structure. In 1919, the Third International of the Communists held up the Soviet as the ideal to be striven after by the proletariat all over the world.²

4

Consolidation of Bolshevik Rule.

The first task of the Bolsheviks after the November Revolution was to consolidate their still precarious position in Russia. The first period in the post-revolutionary history of Russia covers the eight months from November, 1917, to June, 1918.³ In this as well as the later stages of the progress of the Revolution, two things are worthy of notice, the devotion of the Bolsheviks to their main idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their readiness to adopt any policy necessary for upholding their prime objective. It is only a failure to remember this which is at the bottom of all the talk about the "retreat" of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks naturally lost no time in redeeming the pledges which had brought them power. The first steps taken were not full-fledged communistic doctrinaire measures but efforts to stabilise the new government. Land was proclaimed to be State property but order was given to dispossess the landowners and to distribute their holdings among the peasants. Peasant proprietorship of course is an obstacle in the way of socialism but an alliance with the peasants was the crying need of the hour.

¹ Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (Chs. II-IV).

² Postage, *The Bolshevik Theory* (Appendix).

³ Dobb, *Russian Economic Development* (Ch. II).

The Bolsheviks proclaimed the rights of the nationalities within the empire to self-determination and this move rallied much support naturally. Not only did this step end the national clashes within Russia but it also secured sympathy in the new states which ultimately helped in the establishment of Bolshevik control over them. Lenin's policy in this direction was an excellent piece of propaganda.

The structure of the state on the basis of the soviets was however not merely a politic step—it proceeded from deep convictions. The lessons of the past and especially of the Paris commune led likewise to the creation of the workers' Red Army for the defence of the Revolution.

Conclusion of peace was of course vital for the existence of the new government because that was desired by all sections and the continuation of the struggle was impossible. Here however grave difficulties arose. The Allied Powers whom Russia abandoned at a critical moment refused to conclude a general peace and this opportunity was seized by Germany for proposing most humiliating terms to the Bolsheviks. Knowing resistance to be impracticable, Lenin ordered the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March, 1918) in the face of much opposition from his followers. His calculation was fully borne out by events for he judged that the relief from war would outweigh the unpopularity of the terms of peace.

The same policy of seeking a breathing space is revealed in the cautious handling of the economic problem. It is a mistake to suppose that the Revolution led to immediate wholesale nationalisation as was attempted by the Bolsheviks in Hungary. Foreign trade, the banks and the railways were nationalised at once but the industries were not taken over before June, 1918. In the first period after the Revolution, the Supreme Economic Council (the "Vesenha") was set up together with the different Factory Councils but the individual owners were not dispossessed at a stroke. This state of things in fact might be styled *diarchy* in industry.

The second chapter in the history of post-war Russia may be said to have lasted from June, 1918, to August, 1921. This is the critical period in the history of the Revolution when it was attacked from all sides. At home there was the Civil War caused by the "White" counter-revolutionary movement led in different areas by different personages: Yudenitch in the north, Dennikin and Wrangel in the south, Kolchak in the east. The period was ushered in moreover by a rising of the S.R.'s and towards the end food-shortage actually culminated in famine. Then the neighbouring states were unfriendly and Poland was at war with Russia in 1920. Finally the Allies irritated by Russia's desertion in the war, the Bolshevik repudiation of Tsarist debts and their revolutionary propaganda, established a blockade of Soviet Russia and backed up the White expeditions. The principal Russian ports were occupied by British, French, Japanese and American troops. Munitions of war were liberally supplied to the Whites.

Pressed on all sides, the Bolsheviks yet managed to win the war. The Red Army and the energy and the discipline of the Communist Party account largely for the victory, to which also contributed the terrible system of terrorism set up by the government and the apprehensions of the peasants that a White victory would mean the return of the 'emigre' landlords. The troops of the Allies were gradually withdrawn leaving the Bolsheviks masters of the situation.

In the critical days of the Civil War and Intervention, economic policy had undergone a change and "War Communism" reigned in Russia. Industry was nationalised and all wealth treated as the property of the State. The "free market" was abolished and the peasants were required to supply food-stuffs in return for fixed amounts of commodities. This system helped to win the war but was not much of a success otherwise. Production fell off alarmingly and grave discontent raised its head specially amongst the peasantry. Quick to perceive the danger, Lenin inaugurated the New Economic Policy to keep

intact the cardinal gain of the Revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat. N.E.P. was largely a return to the cautious policy of the first period after the Revolution—the freedom of the market was restored; requisitions were replaced by taxation; there was a return to money economy; concessions were given to foreign capitalists; the private ownership of small industries was permitted. But the State monopoly of the key industries, credit, transport and foreign trade and State control remained. Capitalism as the phrase went, was revived but encircled and jealously watched.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 marks the opening of the third stage in post-revolutionary Russian history. The compromise hailed by critics as a confession of the impracticability of the Communist programme was however designed to be temporary and indeed proved so. The latest epoch of Russian history introduced by the adoption of the Five Years Plan in 1928 rather disconcerted critics by resuming aggressively the campaign against Capitalism. It is indeed too early yet to pronounce any judgment on the Communist experiment and its feasibility in Russia.

5

*The International Organisation—Problems of Propaganda
and Foreign Contact.*

So far I have been concerned with tracing the history of the organisation of Soviet Power. It still remains to consider the different aspects of this organisation. I shall review in turn six questions and the problems connected with them.

The Bolshevik Revolution has created such an impression on the whole world that it is quite natural to turn first to the international organisation of the Communists. The *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 ended with a call to the workers of the

world to unite. Marx maintained that the interests of the workers were identical in each country and their common enemy was the master-class irrespective of national boundaries. In 1864, he organised the First International of the workers which soon came to an end on account of the absence of strong socialist movements in different countries, the withdrawal of English Trade Unionists and a furious quarrel between Marxists and the Anarchists. After the rise of organised socialist parties in many countries, a Second International was started in 1889 but it was a very loose body and meant practically a periodical congress for making great speeches. Its weakness was fully revealed when the Great War resulted in the majority of Socialists in each country rallying to the support of their respective capitalist governments. The Second International, revived after the war, could not therefore enjoy any great prestige. The Bolsheviks, who had steadily opposed the war, felt themselves justified in organising a Third International at Moscow in 1919. Only pure communist parties are admitted to this body which exists for the avowed object of bringing about a socialist revolution in all lands.

In 1919 it seemed that the hour had come for the downfall of Capitalism all the world over and a new era was proclaimed by the *New Communist Manifesto*. Communist parties, dazzled by the success of the Bolsheviks, sprang up everywhere. They are strictly controlled by the centralised Moscow International and propaganda went on apace. Since then Communism outside Russia has suffered a serious set-back. As Stalin admitted in his Report to the Fourteenth Party Congress in Russia¹ (May, 1925) that Capitalism has been stabilised for the time being. This has damped the zeal for the Third International. Moreover, difficulties had been created by unrestricted propaganda not only in the relations between Russia and foreign states but also between communists and the

¹ Stalin, *Leninism* (354).

mass-movements of workers in other countries. On the one hand foreign governments naturally objected to the propaganda of the Third International and demanded satisfaction from the Soviet Government with the result that Russian trade was hampered. On the other hand, communists were expelled from the labour parties for their intrigues and the policy of "the united front" of the workers broke down both nationally and in the international sphere. To-day there are not only two internationals—in most countries the ordinary Socialists and the Communists are organised in different and mutually hostile parties. Again the Communists have also largely lost the sympathy of bourgeois nationalist parties in backward countries like China. Resolute persecution by the Governments has completed the discomfiture of communism outside Russia—with the possible exception of Germany where it is still a rising tide. Under the circumstances, the Third International is partly under a cloud. But it cannot be discarded and forms a vital part of the Communist organisation. Not only does theory demand a world revolution but even the realist Stalin is of opinion that, since the existence side by side of Soviet Russia and the capitalist states is not possible for an indefinite time and will lead sooner or later to foreign intervention in Russia, the Third International serves a useful purpose in weakening the enemies of the Soviet Power. Trotsky and his friends went further in maintaining that it was impossible to build up socialism in Russia without bringing about a world revolution first.

The organisation of the Comintern or the Third International is simple. There is a World Congress representing affiliated parties and meeting periodically which elects the Executive Committee which ordinarily is the supreme authority in the Communist world. This Committee functions in two smaller departments—the Praesidium and the Bureau of Organisation which are the sections of the Chairman and the Secretary respectively. The Profintern is an associated organisation of

Trade Unions all over the world which are sympathetic to Communism. (Fig. 1.)

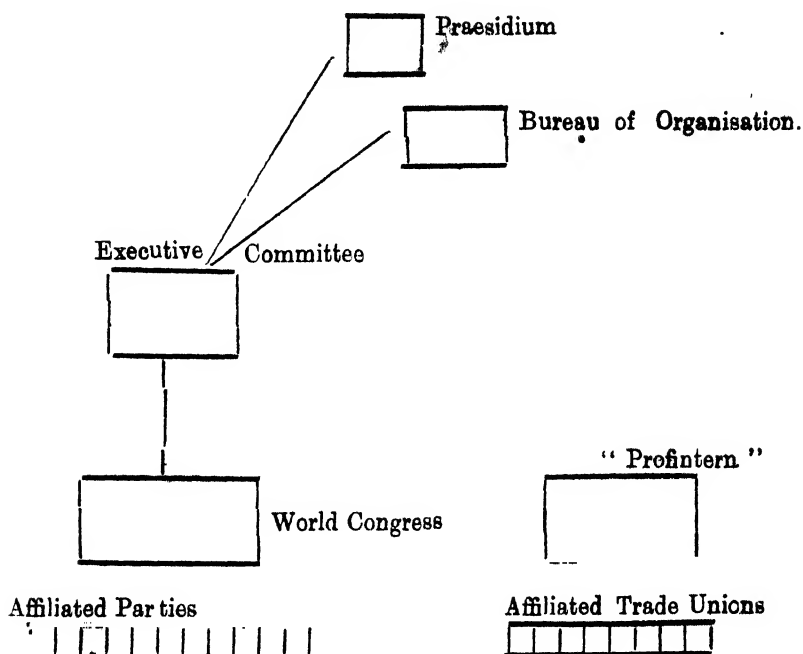


FIG. 1.

A consideration of the question of foreign contact proceeds naturally from a review of the Comintern. The Civil War in Russia after the Revolution had interrupted all relations with the outside world. Things improved after 1921. The dissemination of falsehoods about the Bolsheviks was on the decline and it was supposed abroad that N.E.P. was Bolshevism in repentance. The Russian government also became more anxious for foreign credit and trade. Russia was on friendly terms already with her Asiatic neighbours. She was the first friend of the new Turkish Republic and helped materially the Nationalist Government of China. Her relations with her European neighbours were also improving, with the exception of Poland and

Roumania with whom boundary disputes persisted. In 1921, Trade Agreements were concluded with Britain, Italy and Germany. Full recognition of the Soviet Power by England in 1924 was followed by similar action on the part of Italy, France and Japan. Germany had already recognised Russia in 1922. With occasional breaks and frequent frictions these relationships still continue. The United States resolutely refuses to recognise Soviet Russia but informal co-operation between the League of Nations and Russia is not quite unknown though the Bolsheviks continue to denounce the League as a bourgeois institution designed to protect Capitalism.

6

*The Communist Party in Russia—Problems of
Freedom and Discipline.*

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia is exercised through the Communist Party which is the motive force of the whole system. Theoretically the Party is subject to the Comintern but its prestige is great enough really to dominate the International.

Spread all over Russia there are about 50,000 "Yacheikas" or "cells" which are the units of party organisation in factories, villages, etc. They elect District Committees in villages and Ward Committees in the cities which elect in their turn the Provincial and the City Committees respectively. At the head of the Organisation stands the Party Congress—the supreme authority of the Communist Party. But really the directive power is concentrated in the hands of the Central Committee while co-ordinate to it is the Control Commission charged with the powerful mission of keeping the party-organisation pure and up to the mark. The Central Committee sets up three important smaller bodies—the working committee or the Political Bureau

(consisting of the chief leaders), the Secretariat and the Organisation Bureau. (Fig. 2.)

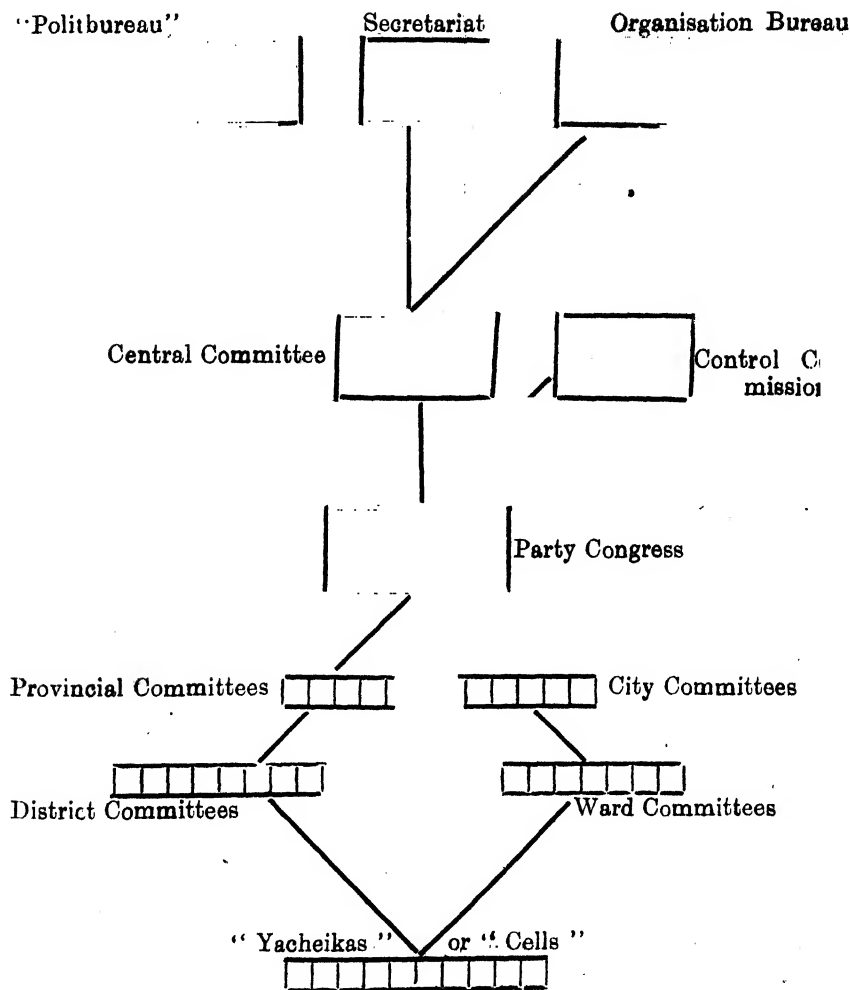


FIG. 2.

The characteristic feature of the Communist Party organisation is the stress on discipline. The decision of the Party Congress is binding on every member and disobedience may mean expulsion from the Party. Prior to the adoption of a decision by the Congress members are free to debate and discuss for a pretty long time any item of policy but from the moment of the

decision, unquestioning obedience is required. The iron discipline exerted from the centre was a vital point distinguishing Lenin's attitude from that of the Mensheviks. As every Communist is pledged to carry out the party decision and as all "key" positions in the Soviet State are held by Communists, it follows that all matters of importance are carried out in Russia in accordance with the wishes of the party. It has also to be noted that the Party is numerically small and to-day barely 1 p.c. of the population belongs to the party. As far back as 1903, Lenin had insisted on quality being taken as the basis of the party and since then the Bolsheviks have never hankered after an increase in membership. The Control Commission as a matter of fact excludes and expels persons on the slightest suspicion of weakness or backsliding and it also carried out frequent "purges" to purify the party. Readers of the Soviet novel *Cement* might recall graphic scenes of a "purge" depicted therein. It is not difficult to see why the Communist Party retains its hold in Russia. The party of course commands the strategic positions in the State and is used to energetic action and fanatical discipline. But that is not the whole explanation. The communists enjoy the prestige of success and the gratitude of the masses for the undoubted improvement in their lot which is bound to be imperilled by a restoration of old forms of government. Again the party takes very great care to keep in the closest touch with the workers and the peasants and is always mindful of the opinions expressed in soviets. Being used to "samocritika" or self-criticism, it has never hesitated to confess mistakes and change its policy in accordance with the undoubted tendencies of the mass-opinion. The adoption of N.E.P. is an instance to the point. According to the Leninist theory, of course, the party is the guiding force, the vanguard of the workers and consists of their class-conscious sections. The lead comes from the party after studying mass-opinion and even non-communist workers feel that in carrying into execution "the general line" of the party in soviets and

other institutions, they are really sharing in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Still no risk is taken by the Communists and no other organised party can have a legal existence in Russia. One can be openly either a communist or "non-party." Individual freedom in the sense of the right to express one's own opinion on vital questions is not allowed. The machinery of repression stands ready--headed by the O.G.P.U., the successor of the notorious "Cheka." The chief criticism of Karl Kautsky, the great theoretician of the Second International, against the Bolshevik system was exactly this denial of freedom to individuals. But the Red Terror is openly defended by Communists without any apologies. It is contended that the traditional bourgeois "freedoms" were always illusory for the masses; that the Bolsheviks do openly what is accomplished furtively elsewhere; that so long as classes remain distinct, oppression is inevitable as the State is simply the organisation of the domination of one class. The unfortunate sufferers can console themselves that the logic of history is against them. If it is argued that the same justification can be given for a White Terror, the communist replies that there is a vital difference. Oppression of the proletariat can only postpone revolution, never ward it off. Historically the proletariat is the rising class. Persecution of dying class like the capitalists helps the process of evolution. To the communist mind absolute or as he will call them "bourgeois" conceptions of right and wrong are foreign. "The gendarmerie of Tsarism" said Trotsky "throttled the workers who were fighting for socialism. Our extraordinary commissions shoot landlords, capitalists, and generals who are striving to restore the capitalist order. Do you grasp this distinction?—for us communists, it is quite sufficient."¹

I have mentioned the iron discipline of the Communist Party. But that has not eliminated internal dissensions though

¹ Lasaki, *Communism* (140).

party loyalty has certainly prevented disruption as yet. In spite of differences among the leaders, the history of the French revolutionaries has not been repeated in Russia. According to the theoreticians, all currents of feelings among the workers are reflected periodically inside the party.

In general it may be said that the party under the guidance first of Lenin and now of Stalin has managed to steer clear of the two extremes of reaction and hot-headedness. On the eve of the November Revolution Zinoviev and Kamenev preached caution but Lenin's boldness was justified triumphantly. After the Revolution Lenin firmly resisted however Bukharin, Radek and others when they advised rejection of German peace-terms and wholesale nationalisation and he ridiculed this left-wing communism as "an infantile disorder." After the death of Lenin in 1924, there was a great controversy between Trotsky and the "Triumvirate" consisting of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. It was partly a personal strife, for it has to be remembered that Trotsky who had joined the party only in 1917 was disliked by the "Old Bolsheviks." The Triumvirate broke up in 1925, Stalin being attacked by his two colleagues. As General Secretary of the Communist Party, Stalin was the chief personality in Russia. But in 1926, the new opposition was unexpectedly reinforced by Trotsky, and the struggle went on till the final downfall of the famous leaders: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, and Rakovsky all of whom were expelled from the party in 1927. Most of them repented and were readmitted to the party. Trotsky alone has refused to recant with the result that he was exiled in 1929. Trotskyism had two main charges against Stalin's leadership—that Stalin had deviated from the path of world-revolution by toning down the ideal (as far back as 1905, Trotsky had preached the doctrine of "permanent revolution") and that his policy at home was encouraging capitalism and was unduly favourable to the rich peasants (the "Kulaks"). This accusation of "Thermidorian reaction" as it was called on the analogy of French

history was repudiated energetically by the Communist Party as a whole. After the disgrace of the Trotskyites there was another clash in 1928 in which Stalin defeated the "Right Deviation" represented by Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykov. This last was a reactionary tendency the spirit of which is represented by Bukharin's blunt advice to the peasants—"Get Rich." The present Five Years Plan arose partly as an answer to the "Right Deviation." Successive dangers from over-caution and overzealousness have been thus defeated by the Communist Party.

7

The Constitution of Russia—Problems of Centralisation and Nationalities.

Russia is not a homogeneous country and the Bolshevik revolution saw the disruption of the Empire into various states. Bolshevik control however was established in most of these countries through the rise of native communist groups to power. In 1923, a federal constitution was adopted which created the present Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Russian S.F.S.R.

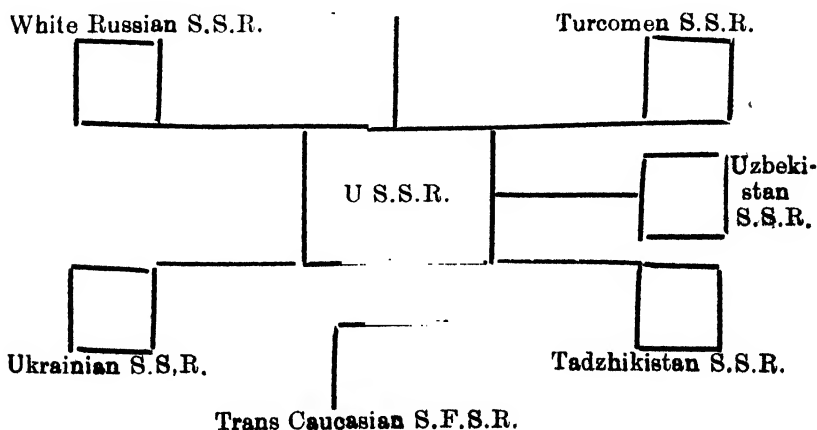


FIG. 3.

Seven Socialist Soviet Republics federated together in 1923—Russia Proper, White Russia, Ukraine, Trans-Caucasia, Turcomania, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan.¹ Several of them again have autonomous republics and autonomous areas within their limits—there being 23 such in Russia Proper alone. Russia and Trans-Caucasia are themselves styled Federal Republics.

In the Union itself though the name of Russia does not occur (probably in the hope to facilitate admission of new foreign states to the association in future), there is an overwhelming predominance of Russia Proper. This is due to the advanced character of Russia no less than to the fact that in resources and population, Russia alone is much greater than the other six states taken together. According to the Constitution, moreover, there are five Departments for the whole of the Union—Foreign Affairs, War and Marine, Home and Foreign Trade, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs.² This makes for centralisation as also the fact that the Communist Party organisation embraces the whole Union.

The sovereign authority under the Constitution is the Union Congress of Soviets which elects the Central Executive Committee sitting in two chambers—the Council of Nationalities and the Council of the Union. Apparently the two parts of the “Tsik” or the Central Executive Committee are chosen on two different principles of representation—ethnic interests and population. The Central Executive Committee delegates its power to a working committee—the Praesidium—which is supreme between two sessions of the “Tsik.” A second small committee is also appointed which is the Council of Commissaries and which is a committee consisting of the ministers and the heads of the departments.

¹ See Bennis, *Europe since 1914*.

² *Soviet Union Year-Book*, 1929. (Soviet Constitution.)

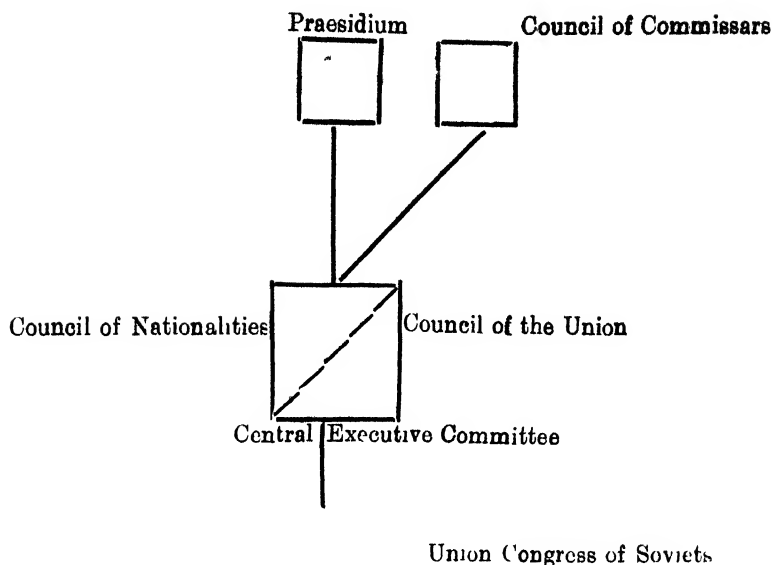


FIG. 4.

The Peoples' Commissars are the ministers of Russia and in 1929 there were ten different departments or Commissariats. No conflict arises between "the government" of the Commissars and the Communist Party because the individual posts are held by Communists who unhesitatingly obey the party.

The handling of the national problem in the U. S. S. R. is most interesting since the Union is the home of a large number of minority nationalities. In the Federal structure itself, an attempt has been made to look after their interests. The Council of Nationalities is an experiment in this direction. Cultural freedom has been allowed to the different peoples with the reservation that the culture tolerated must be proletarian culture—whatever that might mean. Bolshevisation is also proceeding in the case of these peoples, the best students being trained in Moscow in Communist ideology. The type of national autonomy established

might not prove adequate for the future but unquestionably much has been done for backward peoples in spreading literacy among them for example. Considering the variety of material handled, this is a mighty experiment indeed. With regard to self-determination it might be added, Communist theory is ready to grant it only so long as it helps the Socialist Revolution. "Whenever the fiction of self-determination," said Trotsky, "becomes, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other 'democratic principles' perverted by capitalism."¹ The Bolsheviks were therefore not inconsistent in overrunning Georgia and refusing to recognise the secession of Ukraine.

8

The Soviet Structure—Problems of Democracy and Representative Government.

The Union Congress of Soviets, the sovereign authority according to the Constitution, is elected by the soviets in a most complicated manner. According to the latest information (February, 1931)² the old divisions and territorial arrangements have been remodelled. The primary soviets which serve as units in the organisation are the Village Soviets and the Town Soviets elected mainly on an occupational basis. They elect the "Rayon" Soviet for the district. Several district soviets elect the "Oblast" or Provincial Soviet where however delegates from the Town Soviets also come directly. The Oblast Soviets in their turn elect the Soviet Congress of the different Republics and also the Union Congress. In both cases, it seems, the Town Soviets are represented again directly.

¹ Laski, *Communism*.

² *Le Mois*, I, 2 (39-47).

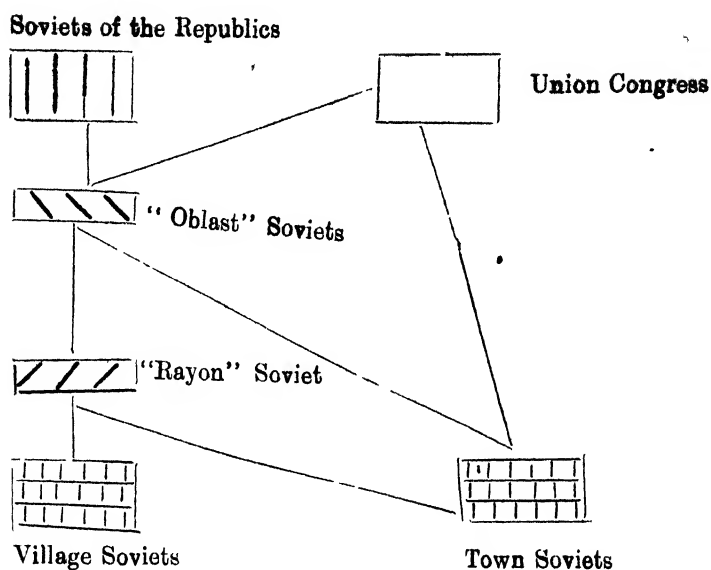


FIG. 5.

The elaborate Soviet structure is partly formal for the Communist Party rules Russia. But officially both the Union and the component republics are Soviet states and the soviets are important for two reasons. They carry out the work of administration under the direction of the party and being true mass-organisations they reflect popular will and party decisions are consequently influenced by them.

That the soviets are not fully democratic is quite clear. Whole classes are disfranchised—employers, rentiers, "nepmen," professional priests, aristocrats. But then nearly in every country there are classes excluded from the franchise and in Russia it must be remembered the workers are the privileged class. What is more important is the fact that democracy is dismissed in theory as an illusion so long as class-distinctions remain. Even among the electors, there is no equality for under the constitution itself, "weightage" is given to the town proletariat to safeguard the Revolution from the peasants. Even more serious is the absence of freedom in voting. Non-communist parties are not tolerated;

voters' registers are checked by communists ; the party carries out systematic propaganda and has a monopoly of it and there is no ballot. All these devices are defended on the ground that the Revolution is too precious to be endangered by the adoption of any middle-class principles. The establishment of democracy after the Socialist Revolution advocated by the "Reformist" Socialists is regarded by the Bolsheviki, on the authority of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as a dangerous trap.

The Soviet structure is also peculiar for the frank adoption of election by stages, at least for the countryside. This undemocratic device is justified on the ground of the vastness of the country. There is much force in the argument that small constituencies like the soviets where the electors personally know their delegates are really more easily represented than huge electoral districts with tens of thousands of scattered voters, which is the only possible arrangement in a vast country under direct election. On the other hand of course indirect election is more liable to corruption and "management." This is really a dilemma for representative government with an extended suffrage, so far as a big country is concerned.

9

*Economic Organisation—Problems of Production and
the Peasantry.*

Economically Soviet Russia has had to contend with two great difficulties, the insufficiency of production which keeps down the level of prosperity and the indifference or hostility of the peasants towards Socialism. The Revolution and the Civil War resulted in a complete breakdown in the system of production. Capital, credit, expert skill—everything was lacking. Disturbed conditions led to reduction in cultivations by the peasants and consequent food-shortage. The towns were more or less boycotted at one time by the countryside. It was a herculean task to reconstruct a system of production

in the face of these difficulties and this one achievement stamps the communist leaders as realists of the first order. By trying different policies in succession, the government built up the economy of the country and even in the days of N. E. P. the capitalist elements were kept in due check. The pre-war production has now been passed and the recent great drive towards increased output has produced a deep impression even in capitalist circles outside Russia.

If ever the Soviet power breaks, it will be on the peasant problem. The millions of Russian peasants are still dumb and future of the country is in their hands. If they are successfully "bolshevised" the permanence of the new order is assured. That is the aim of the government of course but if the masses claim a share in effective political power without achieving the preliminary condition, the situation will become most difficult for the Communist Party. One remedy lies in rapid industrialisation of Russia the idea behind the famous electrification scheme of Lenin. As yet the "smychka" or the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry persists. The party also has established a control over peasant society. In Russia, there are three grades of peasants the rich "Kulaks," the "middle peasants" and the poor peasants. The last class, of course, was looked upon always as the allies of the proletariat but at the Eighth Party Congress, Lenin also advocated a firm alliance with the most numerous section—the "middle peasants." The charge of undue favour shown to the "Kulaks" was however rebutted by the adoption of the Five Years' Plan which threatens the last group.

At the height of the Trotskyites' agitation, one question was heatedly discussed whether it was possible to build up socialism in one country alone without the support of World-Revolution. Against the opposition, Stalin maintained, on the authority of Lenin, that Russia was perfectly able to build up a socialist society by herself but the danger of successful intervention by the capitalists would remain until revolution takes place in the important countries.

I have already mentioned the four economic stages in the post-revolutionary history of Russia and the essential traits of the first three periods—those of the first eight months, “War Communism” and N. E. P. The fourth stage begins in 1928 with the “Piatilyetka” or the Five Years’ Plan. One feature of the new effort is to spread the institution of collective farms systematically and thus to weaken the capitalistic “Kulaks.” State farms are now being reinforced by joint farms of various types. A second feature is to raise the total production year by year, according to a schedule drawn up in advance. The necessary capital is saved by the workers themselves as credit is not given from abroad. This causes great hardship for the workers but apparently the burden is cheerfully borne for it is felt that the sacrifice is for the interest of the working class itself and not for the profits of others. The progress of the scheme excites tremendous interest and excitement among the Russian people.

The most striking fact about the Five Years’ Plan is the drawing up of a detailed comprehensive programme for economic uplift by the State and the resolute attempt to live up to the ideal. It is unique in the history of the world in this respect and has attracted the admiration of even hostile critics. The Plan has certainly carved out a special position in history for the Bolsheviks.

10

Cultural Organisation—Problems of Religion and Education.

The cultural achievements of Communism in Russia cannot yet be properly studied but the policy of the State deserves attention with reference to two questions—religion and education.

Lenin in his *State and Revolution* quoted with approval the dictum of Engels about “the adoption of the principle that

in relation to the State religion is simply a private matter.''¹ State support was thus withdrawn from the Churches after the Revolution. But in relation to the party, religion was not a thing of indifference. On the contrary, Marx had described religion as the dope of the people. It was incumbent on the Communists, therefore, to conduct a vigorous propaganda against religion and the party members are expected to be free from its influence. The war against religion is carried on by special organisations; religious leaders have been persecuted on the charge of counter-revolutionary activities and the younger generation is being subjected to organised attempts to wean it from religious faith. But the effect on the peasants is doubtful. Meanwhile Communism itself is becoming a religion and its votaries resemble the Puritans² in fanaticism and the Jesuits in discipline.

The achievement of the Bolsheviks which has won the most unstinted admiration from all observers is the spread of education. The fight against illiteracy has an epic grandeur and considering the vast area and huge numbers, much has been accomplished. It might be objected, it is true, that the education supplied is a biased, dogmatic class education. The Communist retort in this case is that bourgeois education is equally one-sided and that since the chief obstacle to Socialism is the existing human nature, proletarian education must have for its goal the effecting of a change in that nature. It might be added that in many branches of knowledge, the proletarian bias must be negligible and that education is a great force—whatever may be its character. The best hope for Russia lies in her educational progress—of that there can be no doubt.

¹ Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (78).

² Chamberlin, *Soviet Russia*.

11

I have refrained from judging the Bolshevik adventure in Russia except to the extent that is unavoidably involved in any selection of facts. Before passing opinions, one must be familiar with the circumstances. The canon of objectivity is now accepted by almost all students of history. What is important in this connection is to understand a set of ideas and institutions first before drawing conclusions. I have therefore tried my best to confine myself to an explanation of the facts in recent Russian history.

S. C. SARKAR

THE EARLY PHASE OF MIR QASIM'S CAREER

The early life of Mir Qasim is obscure like that of many other characters of Indian History. No chronicler thought it necessary to enquire into the details of his younger days, and he had no court historian of his own, who could have left a detailed account of his life and activities. The date and the place of his birth are unknown, and cannot be ascertained. All that can be said is that he came of an ancient and noble family of Persian extraction. His father, nominally an Imperial mansabdar, was one of the numerous jagirdars in Bengal.¹ His name was very probably Razi Khan.² Mir Qasim's grandfather was Imtiaz Khan, a distinguished poet, surnamed Khalis, who had once held the responsible office of the Diwan of Patna.³

Razi Khan appears to have been a rich man, but he did not take any active part in the politics of his time.⁴ He led a retired life in his own jagir, the exact locality of which again is unknown.⁵ It may possibly have been somewhere near Patna,

¹ *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh* (JBORS., V, p. 344).

² *Ibid.* There is a diversity of opinion in regard to this point. In the *Siyar* (Lucknow Text, p. 691), it is mentioned that Mir Qasim was a son of Sayyid Murtaza, although in Raymond's Translation of the *Siyar* (Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 374) the name given is "Seyd-Arizy-qhan." According to the *Riyazu-s Salatin* (A.S.B., Text, p. 379), Mir Qasim's father was Nawab Imtiaz Khan, but this is a mistake, as the latter is stated to have been Mir Qasim's grandfather by all other chroniclers including Kalyan Singh, and Ghulam Husain. The former, however, may be relied upon, as he expressly mentions, "that author has heard from trustworthy persons that he was a son of Mir Razi Khan"

³ *Siyar* (Lucknow Text), p. 691. *Khulasat* (JBORS., V, p. 344. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (Alld. University MS.), p. 732.

⁴ *Khulasat*, JBORS., V, p. 344.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Siyar* (Lucknow Text), p. 749. There are still three villages with a somewhat similar name near Patna, but there is none called "Lohanipur." (For this information, the writer is indebted to Mr. G. E. Owen, I.C.S., sometime District Magistrate of Patna, who very kindly offered to make a local enquiry.)

for according to Ghulam Husain, Mir Qasim's father was buried in a village called 'Lohanipur' not far from the latter city.⁶ Lohanipur was probably the principal village of his father, and it may be that he had been born and brought up here.

Mir Qasim surely received the best education of his age, as he grew up into a man of scholarly tastes. His contemporaries have borne testimony to his scholastic attainments. He was a keen student of Mathematics and Astrology. His proficiency in Mathematics enabled him subsequently to be an efficient financial administrator. He did not, however, seem to have received any military training, and this remained his greatest shortcoming.

When Mir Qasim attained his youth, he was married to Fatima Begum, daughter of Mir Jafar. It was surely his aristocratic lineage that made him eligible for the hand of Alivardi Khan's niece. It is stated by Kalyan singh that Mir Jafar married his daughter to Mir Qasim at the instance of his brother-in-law Nawab Alivardi Khan himself. The latter gave the young bride a handsome dowry, consisting of cash and jewels, besides a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to Mir Qasim from the state treasury. This allowance meant that he was henceforth to be one of the honoured courtier of the Nawab. This marriage evidently marked an epoch in the early career of Mir Qasim. He was no longer to remain one of the obscure landholders of the country. He had now acquired a definite status which exalted his position considerably. Furthermore, he had gained an entrance into the arena of court politics, and it was now for him to distinguish himself as best as he could. But for this happy marriage, Mir Qasim would have ended his days like any other petty jagirdar. It would not be any exaggeration to state that his subsequent rise was absolutely due to his marriage with Mir Jafar's daughter. It must be understood, however, that he did not immediately obtain any important post. As a matter of fact, during the regimes of Alivardi Khan, and Sirajuddaulah, he remained in obscurity.

It was only when his father-in-law became the Nawab of Bengal that Mir Qasim began to take a prominent part in the administrative affairs. The accession of Mir Jafar to the masnad of Murshidabad was the next important epoch that changed the course of his son-in-law's career. An unknown courtier now suddenly came into prominence by virtue of his close relationship with the reigning Nawab. By this time his abilities and experience had naturally ripened on account of his touch with the kaleidoscopic politics of the "Subah"; and the recent events must obviously have roused his dormant ambition. It is significant that Mir Jafar himself had not shown any marked favour or consideration to his son-in-law, and had done nothing to improve his status. In fact it appears that he positively disliked Mir Qasim.¹ It is difficult to account for this strange lack of cordiality between the two, but it may be suggested that Mir Jafar's prejudice against Mir Qasim arose out of his suspicion of the latter's ambitious intentions. Miran had also aggravated² his father's prejudice, as he looked upon his brother-in-law as a possible rival. In fact, Mir Qasim's future did not seem to be very promising. He had reckoned upon the support of Alivardi Khan alone, but after the latter's death, he was left without any well-wisher.

Mir Qasim had been an interested spectator of the revolution of 1757, that brought about the sudden elevation of his father-in-law to the masnad of Bengal. His opportunity now came. He was commissioned³ by Mr. Kafir to pursue the fugitive Nawab Sirajuddaulah who had fled for his life after the momentous rout at Plassey. Mir Qasim marched at the head of

¹ *Siyar* (Lucknow Text), p. 691.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Siyar* (Lucknow Text), p. 640.

Jamin-t-Tawarikh (Elliot, VIII), p. 428.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Elliot, VIII), p. 330.

Riyazu-s-salatin, p. 375.

a small force to join Mir Daud Ali Khan, Faujdar of Rajmahal.¹ Before his arrival at Rajmahal, however, the latter had been informed by a 'Faqir' who lived in the neighbourhood that Sirajuddaulah was at his place. The late Nawab had once maltreated this mendicant,² and the latter now wreaked his vengeance on him by betraying him to his pursuers. Both Mir Daud and Mir Qasim hurried to the residence of the 'Faqir,'³ and surrounded Sirajuddaulah and his party. The unfortunate fugitives were subjected to a cruel treatment by the captors. Not even the ladies were spared. Mir Qasim's conduct in this unpleasant affair was extremely harsh and unchivalrous. He not only insulted and abused the late Nawab, but cruelly treated the latter's faithful concubine, Lutf-un-Nissa. He coerced her by threats into surrendering to him all her valuable jewels.⁴ This example was promptly imitated by others who laid their hands upon the rest of the women. Mir Qasim thus easily came into possession of a valuable treasure that stood him in good stead later on. Ill-gotten though it was, it enabled him to recruit a small force of his own.⁵ It is needless to add that Sirajuddaulah was escorted by Mir Qasim's agents to Murshidabad where he was put to death.⁶ The successful capture of the ex-Nawab and the spoliation of the latter's women marked the commencement of Mir Qasim's unscrupulous activities.

After his accession, Mir Jafar was kind enough to bestow on his son-in-law the governorship of Rangpur.⁷ The position was

¹ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 640. Mir Qasim was not the Governor of Rajmahal, as has been stated by writers like Thornton (History of the British Empire in India, p. 55), or Beveridge (Comprehensive History of India, I, p. 487). Forrest (Life of Lord Clive, II, p. 12) has further mistaken in taking Mir Qasim for Mir Jafar's brother-in-law who too bore the same name.

² Siyar (Lucknow Text), pp. 640-1. Riyaz, p. 376.

³ Chahar Gulzar Shujai (Elliot, VIII), p. 212.

'Dan Shah Pirzadah' according to Riyaz, 'Dana Shah' in the Siyar.

⁴ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 641.

⁵ Khulasat (JBOR, V), p. 345. Chahar Gulzar Shujai (Elliot, VIII), p. 214.

⁶ For details, *vide* Siyar, Riyaz, Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr, Tarikh-i-Mansuri, etc.

⁷ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691.

certainly an arduous one ; and as Faujdar of this district, he at once became one of the principal officers of the Government. It is a pity that we know very little about his short administration of Rangpur, but it may be presumed that he must have gained here a considerable experience of the administrative problems, which was serviceable to him after his elevation to the masnad of Murshidabad. It was at Rangpur that he could acquire a first-hand knowledge of the country's administration, and so his brief apprenticeship there was of great importance to him. Being in charge of a big frontier district, and of the troops stationed therein, Mir Qasim was soon able to aspire after greater honours, but the jealousy of Miran was a serious obstacle in his way.

Nothing of interest occurred in Rangpur during Mir Qasim's governorship except the appearance of Mons. Courtin and his party who had escaped from Dacca to Rangpur after the fall of Sirajuddaulah.¹ The French party held out on the banks of the river Tista, having erected a strong mud fort. Mir Qasim received orders from the Nawab to attack them. He therefore marched against them early in 1758, and surrounded them from all sides. The small party defended themselves bravely, but it was a hopeless struggle. Mons. Courtin therefore wrote to Mr. Scrafton, the English resident at Murshidabad, offering to surrender himself and his followers prisoners of war.² Mr. Scrafton in anticipation of the Select Committee's acceptance of this offer requested the Nawab to send a 'parwanah' to Mir Qasim directing him to stop the hostilities.³ The Select Committee approved of Mr. Scrafton's action, and accepted Mons. Courtin's offer of surrender.⁴ The party surrendered early in March, 1758.⁵ This seems to have been the only occasion when Mir Qasim was called

¹ Orme's History of the Military Transactions, Vol. II, p. 285.

² Mr. Scrafton to the Select Committee, Feb. 13, 1758.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 22, 1758.

⁴ *Ibid*, Feb. 22, 1758.

⁵ *Ibid*, March, 20, 1758.

upon to take the field in his own district, and beyond surrounding the Frenchmen with the help of a large army,¹ he had nothing else to do.

When Bengal was being simultaneously attacked early in 1759 from the north-west by the Shahzadah, and from the south-west by the Marathas under Sheo Bhat, the position was indeed critical for Mir Jafar.² Once again, the services of his son-in-law were requisitioned towards the end of February.³ He was directed to proceed to Patna,⁴ but while he was encamped⁵ on the river Damodar with his troops, Kamgar Khan, one of the principal lieutenants of the Shahzadah, hurried to surprise him.⁶ That Mir Qasim was no general is evident from the fact that he had foolishly led his men to a dangerously isolated point without keeping watch on the movements of the enemy in the neighbourhood. He had, however, a narrow escape. Being informed of the approach of Kamgar Khan, he retreated precipitately to join the main army of Mir Jafar. A part of his force that happened to be in the rear was intercepted and overpowered by the enemy. It is significant that after this inglorious retreat Mir Qasim took no part in the military operations that followed. Even if he had distinguished himself it is doubtful whether he would have been entrusted with a responsible command so long as his rival, Miran, was in charge of the Nawab's affairs. It was merely on the score of his relationship with the Nawab that he held even nominal commands. His lack of an aptitude for war was the chief handicap that prevented him from gaining any distinction.

¹ In his letter to "A Messieurs du Conseil de la Royall Compagnie D'Angleterre, A Calcutta," Mons. Courtin pointedly refers to "L'armee de Cachemeli Kan, Nabab de Rang-pour" (*vide* Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 22, 1758).

² Beng. Sel. Com., Jan. 25, Feb. 10, and April 20, 1759.

³ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 25.

⁴ „ P. L. R., „ p. 6.

⁵ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 680.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 681.

It was during the hostilities between the English and the Dutch in November, 1759, that Mir Qasim was next ordered¹ by the Nawab to march on Clinsura in order to demolish its new fortifications. The task was simple, yet Mir Qasim failed to complete it with sufficient promptness and zeal. Mr. Holwell wrote, "In the apparent delays of this service, Cossim Allee Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late president... ." Mir Qasim's procrastination and inefficiency were, however, explained away by Mr. Holwell² in his elaborate minute submitted to the Select Committee. He urged that Mir Qasim's dilatory tactics had been really prompted by the Nawab himself, and that the former had been unjustly blamed by Clive.

In the beginning of 1760, the Shahzadah again invaded Bihar ; and on Clive's departure Caillaud had to take the field against him along with Miran. At this juncture, the Marathas again entered Bengal, and appeared in the vicinity of Burdwan³ to make a diversion in favour of the Shahzadah. The Nawab again deputed his son-in-law to defend the Burdwan country from the Marathas. Mir Qasim marched at the head of about 1,500 of the Nawab's troops towards the end of February.⁴ Under the instructions of the Nawab, a body of the Company's troops joined Mir Qasim.⁵ The latter reached Burdwan by the middle of March,⁶ and there he received orders from the Nawab to march⁷ at once against Sheo Bhat.

Mir Qasim was obviously not the right person for this task, as he had never shown the least talent for military operations. He was absolutely unworthy of the command now given

¹ Holwell's Memorial, Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760, Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 54-5.

Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760.

" " " Feb. 25, 1760.

Holwell to Caillaud, Feb. 24, 1760. *Vide India Tracts*, p. 27.

Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 25, 1760.

Holwell to Hastings, March 15, 1760. (*Vide India Tracts*, p. 31.)

Holwell to Hastings, March, 21, 1760. (*Vide India Tracts*, p. 31.)

to him. In spite of a sufficiently large force, he dared not make head against the invaders, but on the contrary remained hanging about Katwa. A vigorous offensive would have saved the neighbouring country from the ravages of the Marathas, but Mir Qasim failed to launch a bold attack against the enemy from his excessive timidity and nervousness. Ultimately he was ordered to retreat, when he should have advanced towards the south to drive out the Marathas from the country.¹ The result was disastrous. The country adjacent to Burdwan was ruthlessly pillaged by the invaders, and there was an enormous loss of revenue in consequence. Mr. Holwell held Mir Jafar alone to have been responsible for Mir Qasim's failure to stop the Maratha inroads.² According to him, the Nawab's own "pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders" hampered Mir Qasim, and finally obliged the latter to retreat to Murshidabad. Mr. Holwell's attempt to defend the conduct of his own 'protégé' does not carry conviction. His profound aversion to Mir Jafar blinded him to the pusillanimity and incapacity of Mir Qasim whose cause³ he had openly espoused, and whose actions he consistently sought to defend.

It appears that Mir Qasim had been more intent on securing the post of a minister than on distinguishing himself on the battle-field, but the jealousy of his brother-in-law was a bar to his progress. For obvious reasons Miran could not have tolerated the rise of his brother-in-law, hence Mir Qasim could not secure the post of Naib at Patna, which he eagerly coveted. In fact, the post held by Ramnarayan had also been sought by the Nawab's brother-in-law, Mir Qasim Ali Khan, but the latter also failed to supplant Ramnarayan in spite of the Nawab's support.⁴ Clive managed to effect a reconciliation between

¹ Holwell's Minute, Beng. Sel. Com., Aug 4, 1760.

² *Ibid.*

³ Holwell to Caillaud, May 5, 1760. (*Vide India Tracts*, p. 56.)

⁴ Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 18, 1758.

Ramnarayan and Mir Jafar, and got the former confirmed in his appointment.¹ Mir Qasim Ali Khan had intrigued against the Naib, till he was murdered in December, 1758, at the instance of Miran.² The death of his namesake had removed the principal competitor from the way of Mir Qasim, and the latter realised that the support of the English alone could neutralise Miran's opposition. In order to seek the assistance of the English, Mir Qasim actively canvassed for the support of Clive and Hastings,³ and finally succeeded in winning over Holwell when the latter became the President after Clive's departure. It is interesting to note that Clive, before he left Bengal, had expressed his approbation of Mir Qasim's pretensions to the post of Ramnarayan, and it was on the ground of his recommendation that Holwell ostensibly espoused the cause of Mir Qasim.⁴

While Mir Qasim was engaged in maturing his scheme of securing the Naibship of Patna, a most unexpected and dramatic event occurred. On the 3rd of July, Miran was accidentally killed by lightning.⁵ This completely altered the position of Mir Qasim. A thunderbolt had removed the biggest obstacle from his path, and he now became one of the most prominent persons in the Nawab's family. The Nawab had two minor illegitimate sons, and an infant grandson who too was the child of a concubine of Miran. Under the circumstances, Mir Qasim naturally came into prominence, being the husband of the only surviving legitimate daughter of the Nawab. Thus, the sudden

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., March 2, 1758.

" " " " 20, 1758.

" " " " 31, 1758.

² Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 689. Holwell's Minutes, Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760.

³ Hastings to Caillaud, Jan. 18, 1760. Caillaud to Clive, Jan. 24, 1760. (Vide Prof. Dodwell's "Dupleix and Clive," p. 195.)

⁴ Holwell's India Tracts, p. 56.

⁵ There is a difference of opinion as regards the date of Miran's death. According to Siyar (Lucknow Text, p. 689) it is "19th of Zil-qada 1173" (4th July). Ironside in his Narrative (Asiatic Annual Register, 1800) gives the date as the 2nd July. It was 3rd according to Caillaud and Hastings. Vansittart also gives this date (Narrative, I, p. 38). Vide also Beng. Sel. Com., July 28, 1760.

demise of Miran was bound to widen the scope of his ambition. The Naibship of Bihar was now a secondary consideration. Mir Qasim hoped to succeed to the posts held by the late 'Chota Nawab.' Mir Jafar was almost crushed by grief at the premature death of his eldest son. He was so much affected¹ by the bereavement that he seems to have even lost his reason temporarily. The affairs of the government fell into a state of utter confusion. The Nawab no longer attended to his duties. The troops in Bihar, who had not been paid for some time past, became mutinous, and Caillaud pacified them with great difficulty.² Matters were still more serious at Murshidabad.³ Owing to financial difficulties, there was a regular crisis in the capital. The Nawab's liabilities amounted to two crores of rupees, and the troops were clamorous for the huge arrears of their pay.⁴ The Raja of Birbhum desirous of fishing in troubled waters threatened to advance against Murshidabad, while the Marathas too ravaged the neighbourhood of Burdwan. The death of the heir-apparent at this hour intensified the general chaos. The old Nawab was powerless to handle the situation bravely. There was no one else in his family who could have done so. This was a golden opportunity for Mir Qasim who determined to exploit it to his fullest advantage. Shrewd, diplomatic, and unscrupulous as he was, he knew that his life's chance had come at last, and it was too valuable to be lost.

The confusion in the capital reached its inevitable climax, when the disorderly troops openly mutinied,⁵ and besieged

¹ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691. Khulasat (JBORS., V), p. 235, Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Ald. Univ. MS.), p. 732. Jamiu-t-Tawarikh (Elliot, VIII, p. 429). Chahar Gulzar Shujai (Elliot, VIII, p. 214).

² Beng. Sel. Com., 18th Aug., 1760.

³ Mir Qasim's own Narrative, *vide* Trans. P.L.R.; Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 38, p. 54. Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 34-41.

⁴ First Report from the Select Committee, 1773, p. 155.

⁵ Trans. P. L. R. Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 38. Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 34-41. Beng. Sel. Com., July 28, 1760. Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691. Khulasat (JBORS., V, p. 446). Riyazu-s-Salat (A.S.B. Text), p. 380. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Ald. Univ. MS.), p. 733.

the Nawab in the 'Chihil Satun' palace. They had frequently surrounded the palace in the past, but in vain. Their demands had not been satisfied, and even their vile abuses had created no effect, but when the sepoys received the intelligence of Miran's death, they became uncontrollable. On July 14, they surrounded the palace in an angry mood, insulted the principal officials, and even molested the treasurer and the other 'mutasaddis.' Such disorders continued even on the next day. On the 16th, their attitude became still more violent. They besieged the gates of the palace, and allowed no body to go inside, or come out. In the meanwhile, groups of sepoys mounted on the walls, violated the sanctity of the 'Zenana,' and threatened to kill the Nawab unless their grievances were immediately redressed. Those who dared to remonstrate with them against such conduct were freely assaulted. This state of affairs lasted for a few days. Mir Qasim had so long been a silent observer of the grim drama that was being enacted at the capital of Bengal. He now came upon the scene in the character of a saviour of the Government, and appeased the ringleaders of the insurrection by paying from his own treasury three lakhs of rupees. He also volunteered to be security for the rest of the arrears due to the sepoys. It is needless to add that Mir Qasim had not come to the aid of his father-in-law out of sheer generosity. He had agreed to save the situation upon being promised that he would be appointed to the vacant offices of Miran.¹ This at once proves his astuteness and opportunism. He had deliberately kept himself in the background during the commencement of the mutiny, and he made his entry as a peace-maker² long afterwards just to impress the people, and win over the troops in a dramatic fashion. Having saved the city and the Nawab from a dire calamity, Mir Qasim became the hero of the hour.

Mir Jafar's promise to nominate his son-in-law as his successor had not been meant to be kept, and the latter was soon

¹ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 24.

² Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 41-2.

disillusioned. The Nawab was too suspicious to have trusted Mir Qasim for long, and he thought it best to remove the latter from Murshidabad on some fair pretext. Mir Qasim was now invested with the Faujdari of Purnea, and the infant son of Miran, Mir Saidu, was named the heir-apparent with Rajballabh as his Diwan.¹ It was at the instance of Caillaud that the Nawab apparently refused to recognise Mir Qasim as his heir.² Caillaud had represented that the army 'jamadars' wanted Miran's son to succeed the Nawab,³ and Rajballabh to remain Diwan as before. Caillaud did not support the appointment of Mir Qasim as Diwan on two grounds.⁴ Firstly, he rightly argued that if Mir Qasim were raised to the Diwanship, his relationship would make him almost equal to the Nawab, and the little child might be ignored. Secondly, Clive had meant Mir Qasim to be the Naib of Patna in case Ramnarayan willingly resigned to be made the Ray Rayan, for an artful man like the latter could not long be trusted at Patna, whereas his proficiency in revenue accounts would make him an admirable Ray Rayan.

Mir Qasim's disappointment was bitter indeed. His hopes to succeed the Nawab seemed to be shattered. There were only two alternatives open to him now. Either he should be content with the Faujdari of Rangpur and Purnea, or he must have recourse to diplomacy and intrigue in order to gain his object. Mir Qasim was too ambitious to pass his days as a common Faujdar, and he was too selfish to be deterred from his purpose by moral scruples alone. He resolved to secure the masnad of Murshidabad by fair means or foul.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 18th Aug., 1760.

Beng. Sel. Com., 11th August, 1760, also, Siyar, p. 691.

² Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 41.

³ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691.

⁴ Vide Letter from Mr. Sykes, dated Cassimbazar, 8th August, 1760.

THE OUTLOOK OF PRESENT-DAY PSYCHOLOGY

A Brief Abstract.

Present-day Psychology in a hopeless confusion, due to the confusions of its fundamental conceptions. The scientific claim of modern psychology. Its implications and difficulties. Suggested remedies; four different types of Psychologies:

(1) Physiological Psychology, (2) Behaviouristic Psychology, (3) Neo-Realistic Psychology, (4) Psychology of the Unconscious.

McDougall's characterisation of these movements as representing the Apollinian and Dionysian tradition. The opposition between them explained. The scientific *vs.* the Hormic Psychology. The shortcomings of the scientific outlook. Its subordination of the psychical to the physiological unsatisfactory, consciousness cannot be entirely repudiated, not explained as a relational correlate of neutral elements.

Consciousness and Life closely knit together. Consciousness not a fact, but a value,—the meaning of the life-process. Factual Psychology not possible, the necessity of a Humanistic standpoint.

'Psychology despite the vast amount of excellent work that has been done, remains, as respects theory, in a state of confusion, because its fundamental conceptions are not clear.' With the main drift of this indictment there is general agreement, although some would even go beyond and demur to Dr. Strong's prefatory appreciation of a 'vast amount of excellent work' done in recent years. To be sure, there has been 'with the 19th century, especially with the beginning of Experimental Psychology, quite an enormous quantity of psychological writing,' an indication of sudden upheaval of enthusiasm over psychological issues, yet in spite of such widespread interests psychologists to-day are so radically, so acrimoniously divided upon the meaning, the scope and the methods of their science that present-day psychology, far from showing any line of progress, is in a hopeless confusion. Almost day after day new modes of enquiry, fresh starts are

made, not as a completion or continuation of those already in vogue, but very often in direct opposition to them, with the result that psychology has been in danger of losing its identity both in form and spirit.

The controversy has been raging over three questions : What is Psychology? What is its subject-matter? and what are the principal lines of approach to its theme?

Barring out the orthodox classical tradition, when psychology, with its pre-occupation with the soul, developed as an annexure to theology, counting upon supernatural insight and inspiration, or turned to the natural light of reason in disregard of the supernatural, and became affiliated to metaphysics, we find the opinion widely prevalent that psychology is principally a science and should be modelled upon the physical sciences. In keeping with this scientific claim its subject-matter should be so defined as to render it amenable to the methods of observation, experiment, analysis and measurement on which scientific precision and accuracy depend. Desire of scientific merit thus obliged psychology to drop the soul, and turn to consciousness itself; it was defined as the science of the facts or phenomena of consciousness, such as perceiving, judging, desiring, etc., without any reference to the soul.

Behind this definition, simple as it looked on the surface, there lurked a number of knotty issues. There is, first of all, the question of the aim of the science—whether it aims at mere description or explanation of the facts of consciousness. Turning to its subject-matter, the nature and origin of consciousness is also deeply shrouded in mystery. Psychologists, usually alive to the inexplicable character of consciousness, made no attempt to explain it. Rather they started with it as something primary and original, one of the basic principles of existence and proceeded to investigate the manner of connections among the various contents embraced by consciousness. But this procedure leaves unsettled several other questions. We do not know whether these various contents are themselves, each individually in its own way, the

primary units, the atomic centres of consciousness, so that the apparent unity of consciousness is only a resultant product brought about by the extraneous piecing together of these units, or whether consciousness is from the outset a unified totality which sends out its rays of light in all directions and thereby transmutes into psychic character even the non-psychic elements as they come on the way. These alternative viewpoints suggest a deeper problem as to whether consciousness is really fragmentary, ridden with discontinuities, or whether behind the apparent discontinuity there is an underlying thread of continuity. If consciousness be an unbroken continuous current we have to ascertain, in the first instance, whether the continuous conscious current maintains a uniform rate of intensity at every point, or whether there are ups and downs, variations in the degree of intensity. The latter supposition raises the problem of the subconscious, and its relation to the conscious presses for solution. From another direction continuity of consciousness reveals other difficulties. It fits in better with the doctrine of impersonal consciousness—the theory of consciousness as a universal flow, without any marks of distinctions of individuality. The existence of personal consciousness, each person constituting an insulated centre, shut up within his own self is found to be incompatible with the doctrine of continuity of consciousness. Either then we have to disown the reality of personal consciousness or go back to the earlier supposition of discontinuous consciousness.

But the doctrine of discontinuous consciousness leads to no better prospects. There is the initial difficulty of stating clearly the boundary lines of discontinuities. We may assume the personal form as the limiting point of discontinuity so that while there are gaps and barriers between one person and another, the inward being of each constitutes one unbroken pulse of consciousness. And if such a supposition is hard to defend in view of the obvious breaks in personal consciousness caused by sleep, swoon and other circumstances, we may sink to a more elementary level

and fix upon a series of rudimentary units, each constituting a sort of self-identical flash, not yet developed into the stage of full-fledged personality. When consciousness is resolved into such a series of detached impersonal bits, each inviolably retaining its unique status of being, we are again thrown into the awkward situation of explaining how personal form of consciousness is evolved out of such detached impersonal units. The fragmentary character of consciousness leads to other complications as well. In our usual experience existence presents itself throughout its different modes as an integral whole, so much so that from any grade of occurrence we may pass over to any other without encountering any break. Possibility of such a continuous interconnection of parts strengthens our belief in the reality of the whole. But when owing to the fragmentary character of the elements causal interconnections cannot be traced out among them it naturally begets suspicion about the intrinsic reality of such elements. This explains why we are so very distrustful of the reality of consciousness, treating it as a sort of epiphenomenon of the more abiding processes of the physical universe in whose reality we have unshaken confidence. Without pushing the matter further we easily see how difficult it is to start with any offhand definition of consciousness as the subject-matter of psychology.

Regarding the question of methods our difficulties are as perplexing as ever. The objections to the introspective operation on which we depend so much for our knowledge of the psychical are a commonplace in psychology. It is indefensible from logical considerations, while its accuracy for purposes of science is held in question. If it be interpreted as the process whereby the subject turns his awareness away from other objects upon himself, making an object of himself, we are driven to a theory of consciousness with a subject at its centre—a theory of consciousness which threatens introspection with immediate ruin owing to the alleged impossibility of a subject becoming an object at the same time. On the other hand if consciousness be viewed as

a succession of self-luminous states introspection as a distinct operation becomes wholly unnecessary.

The advocates of scientific psychology distressed at the bewildering confusions gathering round this new science of consciousness with its reliance upon the time-honoured method of introspection are now moving forward with heroic measures of reform.

In the forefront we place those who think that the hope of psychology ever becoming a science lies in its keeping in close touch with neurology. Next we have to reckon with those who seek to explain the conscious by reference to the unconscious. From this we pass on to a group of thinkers who begin by disavowing consciousness as a reality and then proceed to reintroduce it as a sort of functional or relational correlate of elements, neither psychical nor physical in their original make-up. And lastly we have the complete repudiation of consciousness in the cult of Behaviourism which illustrates the culmination of the movement that started with the aim of explaining consciousness and finally ended by explaining it away altogether.

McDougall in a recent article on 'The Present Chaos in Psychology' thinks of these movements as representing roughly two different lines of tendencies. Borrowing Nietzsche's terminology he calls one of them as Apollinian and the other as Dionysian; of the four different types referred to above, three, *viz.*, Physiological Psychology, Neo-Realistic Psychologies and Behaviouristic Psychologies represent the Apollinian whilst the remaining one, *viz.*, the Psychologies of the Unconscious with their different inflections may be taken as expressive of the Dionysian tradition.

The opposition between the two points of view really centres round the questions: whether it is possible to construct an intelligible scheme of man from the viewpoint of natural science? The Dionysian tradition grows out of the conviction that there is in man a principle which is not natural and which cannot be explained as we explain the facts of nature. The Apollinian view

on the other hand is nourished in the belief that the whole of reality including even the spiritual life of man is measurable in terms of natural scientific categories.

The real stumbling block to the construction of a wholly naturalistic science of man is the current notion in the freedom of human personality. And so the protagonists of the Apollinian tradition set themselves to the task of whittling down this power of free activity, declaring it either as wholly illusory, or treating it as consisting for the most part of feelings of bodily movements. If it be possible to dispense with the active subject from the usual account of consciousness, a way, it is believed, is found for a scientific account of consciousness. Structuralism indicated the direction of such a scheme by resolving all complex mental states into sensations, images and feelings. But the full carrying out of the scientific programme demanded more than this. It required, in conformity with the ideal of the exact sciences, that the simple elements be amenable to quantitative determination, if not in themselves, at least through their correlation with physiological changes. Psychology thus assumed a new rôle; from the psychical it shifted on to the physiological.

It is difficult to pronounce any judgment upon Physiological Psychology, for owing to the uncertainty of the relation between the psychical and the neural it is not clear whether the physiological is to supersede the psychical or whether it is to serve as a fingerpost indicating the direction of the psychical. The former supposition leads to the abolition of psychology, while the latter appears to be infected with a fallacy. We certainly do not know the neural better than the psychical. Even when we assume a knowledge of the neural it is developed on the basis of our knowledge of the psychical.

Nor does Physiology open up any prospects for the quantitative determination of the psychical. For Physiology itself, though erstwhile dominated by mechanistic tradition, is now in open rebellion against mechanism. Under the leadership of

J. S. Haldane and others modern physiology no longer accepts the model of physics, but inclines in favour of vitalism. Psychology thus gains very little in regard to its scientific claim by subordinating itself to physiology.

The root-cause of these complications, as we have seen, is attributed to the belief in the reality of consciousness. Consciousness not only vitiates psychology, but also taints the biological sciences with the cult of vitalism. Scientific psychology must therefore renounce consciousness itself. All human action, to be made perfectly intelligible, must be reducible to nothing more than a series of mechanical reactions to physical impressions. The modes of these reactions may undergo variations, nevertheless such conditioning of reflexes as take place is codifiable into a definite scheme. With this programme Behaviourism aspires to take the place of future psychologies.

The fundamental attitude of the Behaviourist is to treat man simply as a reacting piece of mechanism. Our so-called desires, beliefs, thoughts, even knowledge itself are, in his opinion, nothing but names for different groups of behaviour cycles, so that the entire man, from start to finish, is merely a bundle of reaction-habits, and as such belongs to a chapter of Physics.

There is much truth in the proposition that man is a bundle of habits and in proportion as he surrenders himself to the rule of habit does his life become efficient and perfect. From this point of view, consciousness, even if it were to exist, would be an anomaly, a hindrance rather than an aid to the smooth working of the organism. Even thinking itself, of which we are so proud, is a sort of subvocal speech, an instance of incipient movements in the tongue and throat. If it be easy to doubt the thoughts of other people, I may as well doubt my own thoughts, for the sole evidence I have of the fact of my thinking is the validity of introspection, but introspection, the Behaviourist unhesitatingly declares, is a spurious operation. By the rejection of consciousness psychology is brought in line with the natural sciences.

But can we really eliminate consciousness? Are all facts and occurrences of our life observable by the same method by which facts of physics are known? Evidently not. There are certain facts in our life that are so private for each individual that they are not directly observable, Russel thinks, by any one else save the individual himself. Such facts revealed exclusively to him in whose life-history they occur, though not intrinsically different from the ultimate constituents of the physical universe, are to be treated as the data of consciousness. It is not excusable if in the interest of a theory we shut up our eyes to these facts. There are other more cogent reasons why we cannot do away with consciousness. Man, even though he were a bundle of habits has to acquire his habit, and in the process of acquisition has to discriminate between the useful and harmful modes of reactions. The retention of the useful and the rejection of the harmful ones involves interest and attention guided by the thought of the future good. The ability to act with reference to absent things even when they are not stimulating our senses is presupposed. But such abilities are the marks of what we mean by consciousness.

Some of these difficulties are no doubt removed if man could be viewed as born with a readymade system of habits, called instincts, adapted from beforehand to meet all possible exigencies of situation. A case like this is contemplated in instinct Psychology.

But the position of Instinct Psychology is vague owing to ambiguities in the meaning of the term instinct. By instinct we might mean simply an impulse not yet stabilised, or groups of set habits inherited from ancestors not liable to further modifications. The latter supposition has been disputed in recent years. But allowing the theory to stand it would not turn down consciousness, but merely shift it backward by several steps. The former view of instinct as an impulse makes the problem of a scientific account of consciousness extremely difficult.

But the scientific outcry is not to be silenced so easily. The shortcut device of Behaviourism proves abortive. But other

ness, notably from the Neo-Realistic camp are still open. The extravagantly wild character of these theories and the subtle, sophisticated form they assume render them difficult to follow with ease. To be brief with them, I can only say that their main drift is to bring consciousness down from its traditional olympic heights to the level of the ordinary things of earthly origin. This at any rate is the broad implication of the theory of naturalistic evolution. All class distinctions and qualitative differences are thrown to the winds, even consciousness itself has to take its place as one item among many others in a democratic order of reals. The reality of consciousness is not herein disputed but its mystery as a transcendental element is blown away. In two ways this conscious existent is differentiated from other existents of the democratic universe. One is its internal structure, and the other is the manner of its relationship with other reals. When one existent enters into relationship with other existents they are marked by exteriority, but when any one of these existents enters into relationship with the conscious existent there results that peculiar type of inwardness which is illustrated in knowing. The relation of knowing to the known thus constitutes the essential feature of consciousness. One term of the relation is no doubt an 'object,' while the other term is no object; it is rather an act. Consciousness thus resolves itself into a relation of 'compresence' between an act on one side and an object on the other.

In the eye of other neo-realists this account of consciousness appeared uncritical enough, and the retention of an 'indefinable act' was an obvious indication of the lingering influence of mysticism. A purely relational theory of consciousness requires that both the terms of the relation be of the same status. The specific act whereby 'objects' are transmuted into 'contents of consciousness' must go, nor need we adhere to the notion of a unique class of conscious contents intrinsically different from 'objects.' To start with, there is a world of neutral elements, which in the language of James, is described

as a 'world of pure experience.' Consciousness is explained as a complex derivative occurrence growing out of the peculiar nature of relationship among these primitively neutral elements. The relationship is of that peculiar type which results in 'the experienced togetherness of things.' In this account emphasis is laid on two points, *viz.*, that consciousness in whatever manner generated is a unity, and that this unity is felt.

There are several questions arising out of this relational theory of consciousness. We have to ask: how do a number of things assume that order of connections among them as would change them into a unity,—a unity which is a felt unity as well. The other question is whether the 'feltness' attaches to the unity only or belongs to the contents as well. If this feltness belongs to the contents that is an argument, Rogers thinks, in favour of a kind of reality whose existence has that felt immediacy which constitutes the psychic. If this interpretation is adopted then consciousness is no longer a relation but is a form of existence.

Consciousness exists as an entity or stuff of a peculiar sort, qualitatively different from the stuff of the physical universe. But it need not necessarily appear completely unified in the form of a conscious personality. 'In other words there may be parts of personality functioning unknown to our introspective consciousness.' With this position Psychology of the Unconscious appears on the scene.

According to it consciousness has no sharply defined boundaries. It consists of different levels or strata some portion of which is organised into a personal form and may be detected by introspective operation while a great portion remains hidden beneath the layer of personal consciousness. Such dissociated psychic occurrences, deep-lying in the heart of reality, yet not owned by any definitely organised selfhood, constitute the root-springs of personal consciousness. They might have been forced out of consciousness or 'repressed' as the psycho-analyst would put it, but that only contributes to their hidden strength. The 'dynamics of the repressed unconscious' prove far stronger than

the conscious in shaping the course, [normal or abnormal, of our daily life. For long the abnormalities of our life, its conflicts and surprises were held to be an inexplicable mystery, but thanks to the efforts of Psycho-Analysis a clue to the solution of these obscurities has been found in the constant urge of the unconscious for self-expression. It is not possible here to go into the details of the elaborate inventory of terms where-with Psycho-Analysis seeks to unravel the mystery of life.

The essential thing in the psycho-analytic and other allied movements is the rejection of a factual science of Psychology. There is substituted in its place a new Hormic Psychology which links the study of the conscious with the hidden, obscure impulses of life. Out of this dark background of urgings and impulses, the original, chaotic confused cravings of the life principle, has sprung forth, through long and tedious paths, the little spark of light shining in us as reason and consciousness. It is a bad psychology, extremely abstract and artificial, that seeks to explain this crowning phase of the process without reference to the underground foundation. True psychology must avoid the narrowness of an exclusively intellectualistic formulation of conscious life. It must survey the frame-work of conscious life with due reference to the forces of life-impulse in general. With the intensification of this Dionysian point of view the idea of a naturalistic-scientific scheme of psychology has been losing ground.

What then should be the exact position of Psychology? That depends upon the attitude with which we approach the problem of life: whether we are out to explain, after the manner of Physics, the events and incidents of life disregarding the shades of qualitative differences which they represent, or whether our real interest lies in understanding and appreciating the richness of qualitative progression which the entire rhythm of life-movements indicate. The possibility of such a choice might lead one to expect as if a natural science of life could exist alongside of an idealistic interpretation. This is entirely wrong. As a matter of fact we have no choice left to us here.

Consciousness participates in the suppleness and superabundant vitality of the life impulse; yet the imagery of life is too imperfect to bring out the superior worth of conscious personality. For the primal impulse of life is no more than an inchoate craving and not until it rises to a point of translucence do we get a glimpse of its real significance. The measure of its reality is proportionate for its incessant striving after this goal; and every onward step towards the goal deepens the sense of value for the whole process. The beauty of self-conscious life lies in the fact that without transporting ourselves into a differently constituted world it develops in us a taste for appreciating the full measure of values for which the world stands. If conscious life is considered real it is not because it exists as a fact, but because it means an interminable scale of values in the realisation and enjoyment of which it tends to make itself real. Consciousness, in one word, is the realisation of the deepest meaning of the life-process.

Considerations like these have driven many not only to abandon the natural-scientific point of view, but to treat Psychology as the very foundation of the cultural and humanistic studies. Such a psychology has not yet been in existence, although the general frame work has already been foreshadowed by Dilthey and others. The development of a cultural school of psychology will be the work of persons whose gifts of imagination rank them with poets and whose sympathetic insight enables them to approach the problems of life and personality with broad humanitarian interests. The best preparation for such a task consists in the cultivation of the humanistic attitude—an attitude that has no affinity with the spirit of the exact sciences, but may result from the inner appreciation of the sublime creations of human spirit. From this point of view cultural psychology is to derive inspiration from the great works of art and should itself be modelled on the pattern of an artistic creation.

EVOLUTION OF CIVIL SERVICE IN THE MODERN STATE

Introductory.

A well-organised civil service has come to be an almost indispensable adjunct and a permanent feature of the modern state. If we study the history of such ancient states as Greece, Rome, Egypt we find a nucleus of such a service, however crude and rudimentary in form in every case, but at the same time we must note that the conception of civil service has undergone a thorough change during the succeeding centuries. Initially there was nothing like a permanent civil service as we find in all modern states. Some of the duties of the civil service were discharged by popular assemblies, some by an executive body, some through untrained amateurs holding office for a fixed term and some like the fiscal administration were farmed out to private agencies. This was the situation, for instance, in ancient Rome. It has been said "at Rome, as at Athens there was in republican times no permanent civil service worthy of the name."¹ The administrators were mostly untrained amateurs "holding office for the most part for a year at a time, grouped in Committees so as to prevent the growth of individual power, and forbidden in most cases to hold the same office more than once." They were mostly chosen by election and not by lot. Sometimes even the services of the slaves were requisitioned for carrying out the work pertaining to their office. It has been remarked in the course of the article referred to above "if we consider ourselves to be over-administered, Rome considered even as a municipality must be regarded as having been very much under-administered." It has further been

¹ Vide an article "Civil Service in Ancient Times," *Journal of the Publican Administration*, Vol V, 1927.

suggested that this weakness of the administrative system was one of the many causes that led to the decay of the Roman republican constitution. To Emperor Augustus belongs the credit of reorganising the administration and of creating a real civil service. Most of the principles he adopted in this work, *e.g.*, the abandonment of unpaid service and short tenure of office, the making of civil service into a profession, etc., we find at work in the governmental machinery in modern states. The task begun by Augustus was carried further by subsequent emperors till there was a swing in the pendulum to the other extreme and Rome eventually came "to be oppressed by the burden of the fourth-century bureaucracy" "and so Rome, which began by being under-administered, ended up by being grievously over-administered and owed its destruction very largely to that fact. Of the two states, the latter was undoubtedly the worse." Our purpose in citing the case of Rome is simply to illustrate how silently a change in the conception as to the proper place of civil service in the scheme of government came about even in comparatively early times. There is no wonder, therefore, that in the dynamic world of the present day, when ideas and ideals are in a welter of change, the conception of the functions and position of the civil service should have undergone a revolutionary change and can hardly be said to have come to be settled once for all. So we find no uniformity in the practices as to classification of services, recruitment, promotions, emoluments and other conditions of service in general or in the system of organisation. All these have grown up in accordance with the peculiar history and local circumstances of each country. To understand, therefore, the present position of the civil service in any country in its true perspective it is necessary to preface the discourse by an historical study of the course of its evolution. It would be useful to compare in this connection the course of its evolution in some other countries and its present position there.

In England.

The permanent Civil Service of England is held up to-day as the model by publicists of all countries. The government in England to-day is carried on by a happy co-operation and collaboration between the political and non-political elements, the lay chief and the expert subordinates. Thus have Englishmen solved the two-fold problem of combining efficiency in administration with responsiveness to popular opinion. They have reaped the benefits of a well-trained bureaucracy, avoiding at the same time its inherent vices. But it would be idle to think that Englishmen hit upon this solution by a *priori* method. Like every other English institution,—social, political or economic—it is the outcome of a long process of evolution, almost cosmic in character rather than consciously directed to some preconceived end. There have been many faults to be remedied, many defects, to be encountered in the process, but whenever a defect showed itself a remedy has been forthcoming. It is by the process of halting and cautious adjustment that the present system of Civil Service has grown up. It is very closely associated with cabinet government and the different phases of its development have kept pace with the development of the cabinet system. In feudal England there was no such thing as the public service, the whole structure of society and state resting on a system of personal relationship based on land tenure. The conception of a public service or an administration is an incident of the national state and may be traced to Tudor times after the decay of Feudalism. The public service now depended on an unlimited power of patronage of the king or his immediate followers. It was the “king’s government” in a literal sense; and king’s government was to be carried on in a way and by persons as the king thought best. There did not arise as yet the question of the rights of the subjects to a share in the government, not to speak of ultimate responsibility of the government

to the people. But ultimately the question arose whether England was to be governed under the personal rule of the monarch or under a rule of law formulated by representatives of the people in Parliament and it was decided finally in favour of the Parliament and the people by the Revolution of 1688. Even in choosing his own immediate advisers or ministers the king was to consult the wishes of the Parliament. It was thought that the problem of government was solved once for all by obliging the king to rule through Parliament but in the eighteenth century it was found that the solution was not so easy. The king had a very potent weapon in his hand, *viz.*, the power of patronage and he managed to get a docile Parliament always ready to do his bidding by a free and unscrupulous use of this weapon. The Parliament was filled with "place-hunters" and "king's friends" to echo their master's voice. Thus the long-cherished dreams of the patriots who suffered immense persecution and spilled their blood in the cause of liberty were completely frustrated by the cleverness of thoroughly unscrupulous and astute monarchs. The problem thereafter was how to purge the Parliament of place-hunters and to make it representative of the nation. The method at once simple and efficacious that suggested itself to the popular leaders was to broad-base the electorate on a wide franchise so as to make the constituencies too unwieldy to be bought up by king's friends. But still the problem manifested itself in another form. This was due to the emergence of a new factor, *viz.*, the growth of the party system which made its first appearance after the Revolution of 1688 but was given a fresh impetus by the movement for the extension of the franchise. Political power and along with it the power of patronage passed from the king to the party leaders. Spoils system thrived unabashed in England at this time with all the incidental vices. All sorts of corruption and jobbery were rampant and the morale of the public service was at a low ebb. Things went on in this way till public opinion was aroused to the gravity of the situation and there was a demand

to cleanse the public service of the filth and garbage attendant on an unlimited exercise of patronage. The year 1859 marks a new epoch in the history of civil service in England; from this year dates the present system of recruitment for the public services by competitive examinations conducted through an impartial and independent commission called the Civil Service Commission. Here at least England is indebted to India for taking a leaf out of the Indian administrative system. The competitive system of recruitment of the civil service was originally recommended for India by the Committee appointed by Parliament and presided over by Lord Macaulay. This was adopted readymade for the solution of the British problem. It was accepted at first on an experimental basis but later on confirmed and consolidated by an order in council in 1870. With some minor modifications this still constitutes the basis of the structure and organisation of the Civil Service in England. This was a step of immense constitutional importance. As the public servants were freed from their dependence on party leaders they were assured of a certain security of tenure which enabled them to devote themselves fearlessly and honestly to their work and acquire an aptitude in their respective spheres unattainable by people haunted by the fear of losing their job at any moment with a reverse in the fortunes of their patrons. Moreover the services being thus thrown open to all sections of the community, commandeered all the available resource of talents in the community and no longer remained the close preserve of what Mr. F. G. Heath has designated "the governing families" (referring to friends and relatives of the ministry for the time being in office) in a chapter under the title of "the old monopoly" of his book "The British Civil Service—Home, Colonial, Indian and Diplomatic." Thus was the problem of reconciling administrative efficiency with responsiveness to public opinion, of reaping the benefits of a well-trained bureaucracy while avoiding its vices—solved in England. The administration of England to-day is split up into two parts—one part in collaboration

with the Parliament evolving the lines of policy and directing and supervising the other part in their faithful execution—each specialising in its own sphere, co-operating with the other in securing a common end but at the same time, each is, to a great extent, independent of the other. Both the parts are to-day directly or indirectly the servants of the people. The trend of evolution of the civil service has been aptly expressed as follows : —

“ In one way or another, therefore, bureaucracies which comprise the modern public service have shifted their allegiance from monarchs, first to politicians and then to the State, for the common weal. In varying degrees the sense of responsibility to the considered opinion of the people as organised in the State has penetrated into and given power to the civil service itself, perhaps nowhere more fully than in Great Britain.’¹

Let us briefly survey in this connection the evolution of the Civil Service in U.S.A. and Canada which is not very dissimilar from that in England.

Canada.

The trend of development of civil service in Canada and U.S.A. has been more or less on the same lines. It has been one of slow transition from a “spoils system” to a “merit system.” The dominion of Canada started with a civil service statute of 1857 of the Province of Canada, passed before the federation which embodied a system of qualifying examinations but partook more of the character of “spoils system” than a “merit system.” The First Civil Service Act of the Federation passed in 1868 did not introduce any material changes. It replaced the board of examiners of twelve deputy-heads of departments by a Civil Service Board of fourteen deputy-heads. From time

¹ L. D. White, *The Civil Service in the Modern State*, Introduction, pp. xiii.

to time new Civil Service Acts were passed with a view to mitigating the evils of the system till in 1908 a new Act was passed on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Civil Services appointed to make an exhaustive enquiry into the problem. The Act embodied three important provisions—(1) it established a Civil Service Commission, (2) it placed almost all appointments on a merit basis except only those of deputy heads and technical experts, (3) reclassified the services. The spoils system which had been rampant so long was put an end to, once for all, by the Act. The war and the deficiencies of the Act of 1908 precipitated another re-organisation Act of 1918-19, which forms the basis of the present Civil Service organisation in Canada. The Civil Service has been all but thoroughly purged of the evils of patronage.

Another feature of the Civil Service in Canada which deserves mention is the growth of civil service associations. Various organisations of Civil Servants have been formed for the purpose of representing the needs of individual services to the government, bettering the conditions of service and improving its morale. There is a tendency also for the particularistic associations to merge into a federal one.

U.S.A.

In U.S.A., the spoils system thrived for about a century unabashed and perhaps would have flourished for many more years but for the gruesome assassination of President Garfield at the hands of some disgruntled office-seeker which at once opened the eyes of the public to the vicious character of the system. The fathers of the constitution left the power of appointing to all important federal offices to the President subject to the advice and consent of the Senate. To leave the power in the hands of the Chief Magistrate of the nation who would presumably be the chosen man or the man acceptable to the generality of the people and at the same

time to provide a guarantee against the abuse of this authority by a despotically disposed executive head by associating with him the house of elders in the exercise of this very important duty was in their view the best conceivable plan of recruiting the public services. The fathers of the constitution did not favour, nor did they anticipate the growth of party system which to them smacked of the spirit of faction. Hence they could not foresee the development of spoils system or the vicious system of distribution of patronage to the supporters of the party organisation irrespective of considerations of merit and efficiency. But once parties were formed, they eventually became the motive force of American politics and this power of the President who owed his appointment to the nomination of the more dominant party was naturally laid under contribution to consolidate the position of the party in the country by buying up the influential sections of the population. The *bona fide* requirements of the service or the efficiency of national administration were completely lost sight of. In course of time, however, the system brought on its own nemesis. The attention of all right-thinking men was drawn to the inherent weakness of the system and its deplorable effects on the calibre of the Civil Services. So far back as 1853 legislation was passed purporting to improve the Civil Service of the federal government by instituting a system of examination for recruitment, but some time later the law became for all practical purposes a dead letter. In 1871 the Congress authorised the President to prescribe rules and regulations for admission to the civil service and to appoint suitable persons to ascertain the fitness of candidates in respect to age, health, character, etc. President Grant appointed a Civil Service Commission but it became defunct as the Congress refused the necessary appropriations. Then following on the tragedy referred to above was passed the Pendleton Act of 1883 which forms the basis of the present system of recruitment and organisation of the Civil Service. It has introduced the principle

of merit in place of that of favour as governing recruitment in respect of the majority of federal offices. A Civil Service Commission of three persons appointed by the President has been instituted to frame the necessary rules and regulations.

*The Latest Phase of the Problem of Civil Service—Socialism
and Syndicalism.*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the people had rightly or wrongly great distrust for the government; they were too jealous of the encroachment by the government on their rights and liberties beyond what they thought to be the "indispensable minimum." The onus of proof as to this indispensability lay on the government in every particular case to be judged on its merits. This was mainly due to the autocratic powers of the monarchs or Emperors in the middle ages which created a confusion in men's minds as to the line of demarcation between state and government. With the advent of democracy as an active force in the eighteenth century this misconception was removed, the relation between state and government as that of principal and agent was understood but still the distrust of government, and a jealousy of extending its sphere died hard. It was kept alive particularly by the interested propaganda of the philosophy of "laissez faire" preached by the bourgeoisie and capitalistic classes who found it a very handy doctrine for fully utilising the benefits of the industrial revolution by an unmitigated exploitation of the proletariat. But the forces of democracy proved too strong for them. With the enfranchisement of the masses there came a swing in the pendulum. There was a demand for public control and regulation of all activities that had a bearing on social welfare. As the ultimate voice was the voice of the people there was no fear of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy was simply to be a tool in the hands of the people for executing the people's will by implementing the policies formulated by their trusted representatives. The

bureaucracy was to be simply a machine or automaton having no initiative of its own, energised and motivated by the will of the people communicated through the government. The place of the government and the administrative hierarchy, or call it bureaucracy, in the state thus assigned, there was now nothing to be feared from an extension of the sphere of the state. New fields of human affairs were brought within the ambit of the state. This socialistic tendency owed its origin as much to the progress of democracy as to the bankruptcy of the philosophy of laissez faire. Laissez faire was tried and failed as a solvent of the manifold social problems and complexities that came into being in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. But state control or state management ultimately resolved itself into control, regulation or management by the administrative officials or bureaucracy and the problem arose how to give adequate powers to the bureaucracy to discharge its functions efficiently without at the same time inviting it to trample on the cherished rights and liberties of the people. A strict vigilance was to be kept that the community might not fly from the frying pan into the fire, might not invite the tyranny of the administrative officials in its attempt to escape from the tyranny of the wealthier and stronger section. All possible safeguards were devised by means of checks and balances so that the bureaucracy might *as far as practicable* be made dependent on the legislature or the executive made directly or indirectly responsible to the people so that there might not be left much elbow room to the Executive to exercise its own discretion in wielding the powers assigned to it. But with the expansion of governmental functions it was found increasingly difficult not to leave some discretionary authority in the administrative departments. Considerations of expediency forced a departure from the principle of regarding the administration as mere machine and vesting a large amount of quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial authority in the administrative departments in their respective jurisdictions. In England and U. S. A. extensive rule-making powers have been conferred on

particular departments by the legislature thus converting them into subordinate law-making bodies and in some cases they have been given the authority to determine the rights of property and person of individuals arising out of these rules with or without a right of appeal to the ordinary courts. This has been specially the case in connection with the administration of social welfare legislation such as factory acts, old age pension acts, immigration acts, etc. The administrative departments instead of remaining the inert part of the government are becoming the government itself, instead of simply executing the principles and policies laid down by the representatives of the people—are themselves creating to a great extent the principles which they are to administer. They are thus becoming the custodians of the rights and liberties of the people. A note of warning has already been sounded in England against the situation by the Lord Chief Justice Lord Hewart, in his work "The New Despotism." In drawing the attention of the British public to this growing autocracy of the departments and its dangerous implications, he has only voiced the feelings of a large section of thoughtful persons. How far his fears are justified or his picture is a correct representation of the situation it is very difficult to say, but the fact remains that there has been a perceptible departure from the orthodox Anglo-Saxon ideal of "rule of law" both in England and U. S. A. But this is the inevitable consequence of the changed conception of the functions of the state. Increasing functions of the state mean increasing pressure on the administration; now if the administration is to work at a high pressure and at the same time smoothly and expeditiously then some latitude must be left to it even if it be at the cost of a small departure from the strict principle of rule of law and consequent risk to individual liberty. This is the price to be paid for efficient administration of the affairs of individuals. But this latitude given to the administration must not go beyond what is unavoidable under the circumstances and the great problem is where to draw the line and say, "thus

far and no farther.' The point itself must be a moving one in the dynamic world of the present day. It is sure to shift its position with the constant flux and change in men's ideas and ideals and with the growing complexities of the social structure. So far we have dealt only with the question how a changed conception of the functions of state has reacted on the position of the public services, but of late another force not quite unconnected with 'the one we have just discussed has come into play which is calculated to seriously affect the prevailing conceptions as to the position of the public service in modern political systems. It would be difficult to understand the problem of the public service without touching on this latest phase of its development. We mean the growth of a group-consciousness among the members of the public services and the infiltration of the syndicalist philosophy among them.

This is a movement parallel with that of trade unionism and is attributed to cognate causes. Large-scale operation of industries and concentration of a huge labour force in the factories brought about organisation of labourers for the amelioration of their economic condition and social and political status. Similarly the need of large-scale operation for the discharge of the growing functions of the state under a socialistic philosophy led to specialisation among state officials and organisation into groups which worked under similar conditions and had the same problems to face and similar needs and grievances to meet. The motivation to such organisation was in both cases originally economic but with the lapse of time and with the growth of an *esprit de corps* among them they demanded some voice in the administration of the services for which they were regarded so long only as tools and instruments. They repudiated this mechanical conception of the public service and demanded some share in the self-government along with all other sections of the community. They were not satisfied simply with the ordinary civic rights some of which, for instance, the right to franchise or to contest elections, they were denied on grounds

of administrative expediency but they went a step further and demanded a voice in the shaping of the policy which they were called upon to execute and also in deciding questions appertaining to the conditions of their employments and any disputes arising therefrom. Thus the French writer Leroy states the case :

“Free, officials will be responsible; responsible, they will be active, will reflect upon their work, to the profit of the public service.

Life, initiative in the public service cannot depend upon regulation by authority; of this bureaucratic red tape and hierarchical control have given us a full lesson.

The problem can be put only in the following terms : to find an organisation such that spontaneously and by inherent necessity, the services will operate with intelligence, competence, initiative and vivacity. To secure these ends, the field should be left free to liberty and technical capacity.”¹

Economic motive has been supplemented if not altogether supplanted by a sense of common good as the propelling force behind this new phase in the organisation of the public services in every country. They view themselves as organically connected with the rest of the body politic as an important member sharing alike in its prosperity and adversity and not merely a soulless machine requiring to be driven by motive power from without. In short they have been imbued with the ideals of ‘service’ for the community. The tendency has become almost universal although it has manifested itself in different forms in different countries in accordance with the nature and traditions of the service in each place. Thus in England we find the rise of Whitley Councils and the industrial court which originally established as agencies for conciliation and arbitration have been laid under contribution by the Civil Services for the higher ends

¹ Quoted in “Civil Service in Modern State” R. D. White, Introduction, pp. xvi.

of the public service. England is not solitary in this move. As Dr. R. D. White points out in the work already cited : " In Germany, in America, in Belgium, in Italy and in other countries as well as Great Britain and France, an organised Civil Service has emerged and is surveying the administrative machine of which it is a part. In one direction it seeks to develop its professional competence, through such devices as the academies in Germany, the Further Education Programme in England and the Institute of Public Administration ; in another direction it seeks to improve its economic status and security of tenure by collective bargaining with its employer."... " In France, experimentation has been less marked in the last decade ; in Germany, the works councils and civil service committees, the civil service academies and the attitude of the German Courts on the right of officials to strike deserve especial attention ; in Italy, the Fascist organisation of the civil service displays a solicitude for the attitude of its members which is repeated in Germany, and which is characteristic of a new regime. Belgium has gone far in post-war years to unify her service regulations, and also has experimented with joint councils." Another important feature of this new development which may be noted in this connection is an attempt on the part of the organised civil service to increase its efficiency and to improve the technique of administration by a systematic study and research of administrative problems carried on, on comparative lines, through books and periodicals exclusively devoted to this subject and by the application of the principle of scientific management to the organisation of the public administration. At the same time they want a share in the benefits of such improvement in efficiency through such activities. This looks like a counterpart of the movement towards rationalisation in industries in the sphere of public administration. As time passes greater and greater co-ordination in such activities on the part of the civil services will take

place which may perhaps lead to a federation of the civil services of different lands on the lines of international trade union congress. What shape this new development will take in future it is difficult and rather hazardous to surmise but it may be said without fear of contradiction that the modern state is confronted with a force of infinite potentialities for both good and evil. If directed on sound lines it will bring a new orientation in the ideals of public service, purge the bureaucracy of all its vices and shortcomings and raise its standard of morality. On the other hand, if it is diverted from healthy channels it will add thousandfold to the existing defects of the bureaucratic system and perhaps usher in an era of a new despotism to fulfil the prophecy of the pessimists who have scented danger in the new tendency and already struck a note of warning. Let us hope that the modern state will prove equal to the task of facing the new situation and after some errors and excesses incidental to any new movement a happy adjustment will come about.

There is another aspect of the problem which requires a passing notice, if we are not to be blind to some significant developments in world politics of to-day. We have so far discussed the question on the assumption that the parliamentary system of government will be the prevailing type. But a cloud no bigger than the span of a hand has gathered in the political horizon of the world to-day which is rather ominous for the future of parliamentary government. Already it has given place to dictatorship in one form or another in more than one country in Europe. A trained civil service is an indispensable appanage to parliamentary government which is a government by amateurs at the top. If parliamentary government is permanently cast aside in these countries what shape the public services will take it is difficult to say. It all depends upon the turn events take in the future. All eyes are now naturally turned on Russia which has launched upon a gigantic political experiment. Russia has almost dispensed with a trained bureaucracy and taken to administration

through different committees of the local Soviets. How far this system will prove a success no one knows but there is no doubt that it will have some reactions in even those countries which denounce Soviet system because after all it is much more economical than professional civil service elsewhere.

AKSHOYKUMAR GHOSAL

JAINA-BUDDHIST INFLUENCE IN THE GĪTĀ

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his brilliant study of the history of Vaishnavism arrived at the conclusion that the *Bhagavadgītā* is pre-Buddhistic—a conclusion that has to be substantially modified by much light that has subsequently been thrown on the date of this important work. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has fully reviewed (*Indian Philosophy*, p. 514) the various theories on the problem and regards the work to have been composed between the fifth and third centuries B.C. Like many other celebrated works in Sanskrit the Gītā also has perhaps undergone revision in the hands of various redactors acting with different motives which accounts for its many self-contradictory statements and inconsistencies, and like the others it also originally consisted of a shorter and older kernel, as the Sārādā manuscript recently discussed by Schrader shows, on which the later structure has been raised.

It is the finished form we have it now rather than the old kernel that we are concerned with here. This form represents the intertwining of several chains of thought and it will be our endeavour to show that one of them is directed towards counter-acting the influence of the Jainas and Buddhists. Let us analyse the relevant portions of the work and see what material they yield in support of our contention.

In the Second Chapter the first thirty-eight verses are designed to be a justification of fighting and killing by using arguments of philosophical reasoning and material benefit. In the Third Chapter as well as through the whole of the work, great prominence has been given to exhortation to action. Theism and the need of *bhakti* are also two leading notes of the Gītā. Now, the *ahiṃsā* cult of Jainism and Buddhism, their disparagement of engagement in worldly activities and their

atheistic character, stand in sharp contrast with these teachings of the Gītā, and we should remember that *ahimsā*, asceticism and atheism were some of the most prominent features of Mahāvīra and Buddha's message to contemporary society.

Then let us take three verses from the Third Chapter :

Na buddhibhedam janayet ajñānām karmasaṅginām
 joṣayet sarvakarmāṇi vidvān yuktaḥ samācaran. (III. 26.)
 Prakṛterguṇasammūḍhā sajjante guṇakarmasu
 tānakṛtsnavido mandān kṛtsnavin na vicālayet. (III. 29.)
 Śreyān svadharmo viguṇaḥ paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt
 svadharme nidhanaṁ śreyah paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ.
 (III. 35.)

The purport of these three verses is that ignorant people engaging in action should not be unsettled, but rather should a wise man engaging in proper action be a guide to the ignorant; people deluded into action by the *guṇas* of *prakṛti* should not be unsettled from this imperfect knowledge by those possessing perfect knowledge; and, one's own occupation, although faulty, is better than the faultless occupation of another (class). In the Eighteenth Chapter, verses 42-44 define the respective occupations of the four castes; verses 45 and 46 say that every man realises his end by engaging in his own occupation; verse 47 repeats III. 35 adding that one commits no sin by following the occupation ordained for him, and verse 48 says that as no action is without fault so one should not abandon the occupation he is born to. Now, it is to be remembered that the ascetical teachings of Mahāvīra and Buddha, if pushed to their logical end, would have the effect of unsettling society organised on the basis of caste-occupations, for Jainism and Buddhism being monastic religions devoted all their attention to and led a mass movement in favour of the fourth *āśrama*, i.e., the ascetical life, by pointing out the uselessness of engaging in worldly pursuits and contrasting the calm and peace of an ascetic's life with the sorrows and sufferings of life as men and women of the world.

In the Fifth Chapter there are two significant utterances, viz., *ihaiva tairjitaḥ svargo* (V. 19) and *śaknotīhaiva yaḥ soddhum* which stress the possibility of enjoying the "kingdom of Heaven" even while on this earth (*ihaiva*), and it is well known what great pains Mahāvīra and Buddha took to shift the aim of religion from accumulation of merit with a view to enjoying their fruits in a future life to one designed to make the perfect life possible here on this earth and now in this life.

In V. 24-26 and VI. 15 the term *nirvāṇa* which was made special use of by the Jainas and Buddhists, has been employed to designate the state of supreme bliss and by qualifying it as *Brahma-nirvāṇa* a theistic character has been imparted to it meaning it to serve as an improvement upon the use made by the heretics.

Chapter VI opens with an allusion to anti-Vedic sects and ascetics and goes on to justify action—the reason obviously being to counteract the teaching of anti-Vedic ascetical heresies which upheld inaction. This chapter also emphasise the need of self-exertion. We have to bear in mind that in opposition to Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta's doctrine of pre-ordained Destiny Mahāvīra put the greatest stress on self-exertion as the means of obtaining salvation, and Buddha also was no less keen on the need of this virtue in one aiming at spiritual and moral progress.

In Chapter IX, verses 30-32, promise of deliverance has been held out to sinners, women, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. In the earlier Vedic literature we find that no independent status was granted to women except as the *yajamāna's* wife ; the Brāhmaṇa literature, as Keith points out, adopted an attitude of extreme cynicism and contempt towards women, and the lower castes were debarred from participating in spiritual benefits. Mahāvīra on the other hand freely admitted women into his Order on absolutely equal terms with men. In spite of his previous hesitations Buddha also admitted women to discipleship and in answer to Ananda's question said that women had the same chances of *nirvāṇa* as men. That the higher moral and spiritual life was not only for the

upper castes but for all was the special message of Mahāvīra and Buddha and both of them counted a large number of Vaiśyas, Sūdras and even outcasts amongst their following.

In Chapter XVII, verses 5 and 6, extreme asceticism has been condemned and in VI. 16-17 which enjoins moderate enjoyment of the comforts of life we have an echo of Buddha's Middle Path which, as he said in the Benares Sermon, lies between the two extremes of ascetical rigour and luxurious enjoyment.

Frequently does the Gītā attempt a reconciliation of ascetic calm with worldly activity, the glorification of God to whom devotion and surrender are necessary, and the harmonising of renunciation with action. For one familiar with the religious literature of India in the sixth century B.C. it is not difficult to find in these attempts of the Gītā a synthesis of earlier Brahmanical thought and its antitheses that the Jainas and Buddhists put into vogue.

A close study of the Gītā reveals that it had for its object the establishment of God who is transcendental as well as immanent, inscrutable, personal, absolute, almighty and merciful, to whom reverence and surrender is due ; the negation of the principle of inaction ; the retention of caste-organisation and caste-duties ; opposition against all and sundry entering the life of an ascetic ; holding forth an unruffled peaceful disposition unaffected by agreeable or disagreeable environments as the chief desideratum in life ; emphasising the need of right knowledge ; extolling the ascetic's independence and freedom from attachment ; raising the value of life on earth ; admitting women and low castes to the benefits of moral and spiritual life ; praising of exertion and manly energy ; condemnation of too rigorous asceticism ; and, performance of worldly duties in a spirit of selflessness. A study again of the literature of the Jainas and Buddhists shows that many of these are echoes of Mahāvīra and Buddha's teachings and where they are not so they are attempts at synthesis, or reconciliation with or opposition to a rival force. This rival force is Jainism and Buddhism. The Gītā has been called the

“milk of the Upaniṣad-cows” or, to put it more correctly, the source of a part of the work is the doctrines of the Upaniṣads. It is very doubtful, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has recently pointed out, if the view hitherto held of the priority of the Upaniṣads over Buddha's age is correct, for it is indeed surprising that there exists no evidence in Jaina and Buddhist literature to show that Mahāvīra and Buddha were familiar with the refined pantheism of the Upaniṣads. If the Upaniṣads are post-Buddhist, as Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks they are, then the Gītā is still later. It seems to me that the Gītā is the Brahmanic reply to Jaina and Buddhist onslaught on contemporary thought. The work is based on the kernel of a devotional treatise on the cult of *bhakti* used by the sect of the Bhāgavatas, it draws material from the Upaniṣads and from an older philosophy of the Sāṅkhya school, it attempts to reconcile all conflicting views and offers in orthodox garb all that was fascinating and original in the teachings of the heretical Kṣatriya movements—all with the supreme end in view of preserving the integrity of Brahmanical society from the disruptive forces of heterodoxy which had appealed equally to the intelligentsia and the suppressed masses and threatened to undermine the stability of the social organisation of the age.

Ascetic calm and peace, freedom from attachment, etc., which are common between Buddhism and the Gītā are important no doubt in determining the relation between the two but more important are the dissimilarities. Why is the Gītā so emphatic in glorifying God? Why does it so strenuously oppose peoples' leaving their caste-occupations? Why is it nervous about the lower castes aping the higher life of the ascetic? Why does it so emphatically assert *śreyah svadharma viguṇaḥ paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt, svadharma nidhanaṁ śreyah parvdharmo bhāyāvahaḥ*? Why does it again and again revert to the condemnation of inaction and persuade each to follow his occupation actively and thereby realise the supreme end? These raise a strong presumption that there must have been present in contemporary society tendencies towards atheism, breaking up of

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE POETRY OF
RABINDRANATH

Like Keats, the Indian poet Rabindranath has often been accused of his seeming indifference to the social aspect of human nature. It has often been urged, even by searching scholars, that his poetry revels simply in an exuberant play of fancy and is altogether out of touch with the vital issues that affect the vast multitude of his countrymen. Brought up in an atmosphere of luxury and extravagance, he has either studiously kept himself aloof from the burning problems of his day or has failed to descry from his empyrian height the dismal scenes of endless suffering that is sucking the life-blood of hungry millions. While, however, Keats has been pronounced guilty of an exceptional treatment of Nature, *viz.*, of interpreting natural phenomena so far as they appeal to man through his sense-organs only without reference to the spirit that transcends them, Rabindranath has been universally acclaimed as the high-priest of that mystic poetry which sees, in the heart of creation, the presence of an all-pervading principle which is God Himself. Like Keats, like Shelley, like every other great poet, Rabindranath has his adherents and adversaries also; while some extol him to the skies, others are loth to concede to him the right to be called even a poet. Seldom has a poet been more misunderstood before; seldom again has contemporary critical opinion oscillated between such opposite extremes. These, indeed, are the dangers of being great and Rabindranath cannot possibly escape them if his title to greatness is not unfounded.

Rabindranath has often been called the Shelley of Bengal. But is it due to any internal affinity in their conception of poetry? Perhaps not. Shelley, we know, was a social and political rebel, a red-hot radical who had not the slightest faith

in the established order of things and who wished, therefore, to build, like Plato, an ideal Republic over the debris of old. His militant attitude was dead set against any half-way compromise. But what is Rabindranath? He emphatically repudiates no doubt the sham conventions and hoary superstitions that sit ill upon the present age and shackle our advancement at every step, but, on the other hand, he cherishes the profoundest regard for our ancient rites and institutions and is perfectly persuaded that the degeneration of India is due to our ignorance of this age-long tradition and indiscriminate importation of exotic elements in its stead. Herein lies the fundamental distinction between Shelley and Rabindranath. While the English poet is athirst for wholesale transformation, whether in state, society or religion, the Indian bard possesses an equable temperament and a tolerant wisdom and candidly professes that the salvation of his motherland will result not from any racial aloofness or indiscreet rejection of what already exists but from a cultural co-ordination of notions, both of the East and the West. And this belief has clearly mirrored itself in all his utterances. This spirit of co-ordination, be it said, this idea of moulding divergent elements into a synthetic whole, has been the guiding principle of the Aryan civilization throughout its onflow for scores of centuries and Rabindranath in holding a kindred opinion has but seized upon the salvage out of the wreck of this leviathan. In his essay entitled 'ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস' or *The History of India* and also in that famous lyric in *Song-offerings* this idea has been transfigured with the glowing insight of an inspired prophet.¹

(১) গীতাঞ্জলি :—

হে মোর চিত্ত পুণ্যতীর্থে এস হে ধীরে
 এই ভারতের মহামানবের সাগর তীরে ।
 হেথায় দাঁড়ানে দুবাহু বাড়ানে নমি নর-দেবতারে
 উদার হৃদে পরমানন্দে বন্দন করি তাঁরে ।

From the extracts quoted in the footnote, it will be patent even to a casual observer that the charge of aristocratic aloofness so often laid at his door is not the least called for. Like every other great soul, he has viewed the heat and dust of our daily strife with unbounded sympathy and has devoted much of his time and energy to ferreting out the cause of this dire calamity, suggesting practical solutions wherever possible. What does it matter if, being a rich man himself, he has not had the opportunity to partake of the bitters of life himself? It is not necessary for a poet to be a philanthropist as well. It is idle to enquire whether a poet who has touched the inmost chord of the

ধ্যান-গভীর এই বে ভূধর,
 নদীজপমালা ধৃত প্রাস্তর,
 হেথায় নিত্য হের পবিত্র ধরিত্রীরে ।
 হেথায় আর্য্য, হেথা অনার্য্য, হেথায় দ্রাবিড় চীন,
 শক-ছনদল পাঠান যোগল এক দেহে হোলো লীন ।
 পশ্চিমে আজ খুলিয়াছে দ্বার,
 সেথা হ'তে সবে আনে উপহার,
 দিবে আর নিবে, মিলাবে মিলিবে, যাবে না ফিরে,
 এই ভারতের মহামানবের সাগর-তীরে ॥

(২) ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস —

ভারতবর্ষের প্রধান সার্থকতা কি, একথার স্পষ্ট উত্তর যদি কেহ জিজ্ঞাসা করেন, সে উত্তর আছে, ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস সেই উত্তরকেই সমর্থন করিবে। ভারতবর্ষের চিরদিনই একমাত্র চেষ্টা দেখিতেছি, প্রভেদের মধ্যে ঐক্য স্থাপন করা, নানা পথকে একই লক্ষ্যের অভিমুখীন করিয়া দেওয়া এবং বহর মধ্যে এককে নিঃসংশয়রূপে অন্তরতরঙ্গপে উপলব্ধি করা,—বাহিরে যে সকল পার্থক্য প্রতীয়মান হয়, তাহাকে নষ্ট না করিয়া তাহার ভিতরকার নিগূঢ় যোগকে অধিকার করা। * * * ভারতবর্ষ অসঙ্খ্যে অস্ত্রের মধ্যে প্রবেশ করিয়াছে এবং অনায়াসে অস্ত্রের সামগ্রী নিজের করিয়া লইয়াছে। ভারত, পুলিন্দ, শবর, ব্যাধ প্রভৃতিদের নিকট হইতেও বীজংস সামগ্রী গ্রহণ করিয়া তাহার মধ্যে নিজের জীব বিস্তার করিয়াছে—তাহার মধ্য দিয়াও নিজের আধ্যাত্মিকতাকে অভিব্যক্ত করিয়াছে। ভারতবর্ষ কিছুই ত্যাগ করে নাই এবং গ্রহণ করিয়া সকলই আপনার করিয়াছে।

human heart and made it quiver to the tune of his '*celestial fire*,' has considered it his duty also to redound to the material well-being of his country. It is none of a poet's business to intermeddle in the actual struggle; enough if he visualises in sympathy the inconceivable emptiness to which so many of his ill-fated brethren have been dragged in consequence not only of abject physical wants but of moral and spiritual inanition as well. This spontaneous sympathy for the oppressed humanity, this overflowing kindness towards people who, for sheer ignorance, are hardly conscious of the magnitude of their misfortune, is what impinges on his poetry, informed with the suggestive sublimity of a prophecy.

It is the province of thought and emotions that mainly concerns a poet; it is his singular privilege to kindle the finer susceptibilities that lie dormant in every human heart. The success of a poet ought, therefore, to be judged not by the measure of success attained by him in the field of humane activities but by the light he has been able to throw on the mysterious regions of speculation and thought. If we glance through the vista of years, we come across such eminent names in world's literature as Plato, Aristotle, Goethe, Dante and Shakespeare, who, when judged by the tangible results obtained by them in the domain of human welfare, must rank far below the place they now occupy. As Rabindranath himself has said, "Those that are leaders of men...are stalwarts in the field of humanitarian activities, deserve indeed the homage of their countrymen.* * * But the fate of a poet is less fortunate. The poet deals with the heart of man and deems himself amply rewarded if his poetry has succeeded in eliciting applause from a few responsive souls. But strange is this human heart. It is clouded in some places and is bright and sunny in others. Since it is the inner satisfaction of his readers to which alone the poet can lay claim, it is preposterous to expect universal recognition. Those who are born with the exclusive mission of contributing to the weal of mankind may, of course, reckon upon universal

homage." The remark is contrived to bring home to us the cardinal difference between a man of action and a man of letters. While the one is directly concerned with the life of man and takes upon himself the task of satisfying the physical cravings of the suffering humanity, the poet who is the foster-child of fancy caters for their moral and intellectual appetite by his ethereal music and inspiring message. This does not mean that a poet can never be a man of action or a man of action a poet; on the other hand, instances are not rare where a beautiful blending of the two has actually taken place.

Shelley professed to have no faith in the existence of God and in his younger days at Oxford published a pamphlet on atheism. Yet in spite of all his professions, the volume of his poetry itself remains to indicate the needle-point moving in an opposite direction. None can deny that his transcendental fervour is more obvious in his poetry than his so-called atheism, and it is hardly possible to go through his immortal 'Epipsy-chidion' without noticing the deep-rooted religious conviction that permeates almost every line of it. This long poem is interwoven with splendid passages that are reminiscent of the spiritual ecstasy which the poet must have experienced at the time of its composition. In this respect, of course, can a kinship be traced between Shelley and Rabindranath? Though otherwise an ardent admirer of Shelley, Keats seems to have totally outlived the influence of his senior in so far as he had taken to a simpler and more direct way of poetic expression. As Compton Ricket has observed, "Keats had no religion save the religion of beauty—the earth was his great consoler and so passionately did he love her that no other consideration impinges on his work." Still it would be unfair if we take this remark too literally and persuade ourselves to believe that nowhere in Keats' poetry is there any suggestion of the life immortal. Take, for example, his famous 'Ode on a Grecian Urn,' which caught the fancy of Rabindranath so much and the swaying stanza-forms of which he so splendidly made use in his

non-pareil 'Urbashi'; what does the poet want to impress when he pens such lines as these :—

"She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
For ever wilt thou love and she be fair."

The permanence of an artistic creation is the theme of this poem and this the author forces upon our minds by means of his usual array of telling imageries. Human life and happiness, says Keats, may indeed be transient, yet Art may instil into them an ideal beauty which is sure to baffle the 'tyrannic claims' of time.

It will be our endeavour to confine ourselves in the present discourse to appraising the artistic value of Rabindranath's poetry, bringing to bear upon it the extraneous influences that played so prominent a part in the evolution of his mind. Rabindranath's verses are essentially optimistic. Even in the midst of the deepest despair he does not for a moment lose faith in the potential goodness of things. There may be occasional failure in our endeavours, there may be temporary inertia "benighting mind's internal heaven" and dooming it to dull sloth and avarice, but out of all this chaos and confusion will surely evolve a brighter future pregnant with infinite possibilities. An under-current of deep-seated conviction lends to his poetry a peculiar strength such as is seldom discerned in the works of other poets. He does not believe in negative virtues and criticises the life of renunciation as circumventing the basic principles of mundane existence.

গীতাঞ্জলি :—

বিশ্বসাধে ষোগে বেধায় বিহারে
সেইখানে ষোগ ভোমার সাধে আশারো ।
নয়ক বনে নয় বিজনে, নয়ক আশায় আপন মনে,
সবার বেধায় আপন তুমি, হে প্রিয় !

ভেবেছিলাম বিজনহায়ার নাই যেখানে আনানোনা
 সন্ধ্যাবেলায় তোমার আঁশার হবে সেথায় আনানোনা ।
 অন্ধকারে একা একা সে দেখা যে স্বপ্ন দেখা,
 ডাকো তোমার হাটের মাঝে চলছে যেথায় যেচাকেনা !

Naivedya :—

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. * * * No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight."

His is not the doctrine of introspective speculation in a secluded niche away from the roar and rush of surging humanity and he never tires of preaching the gospel of energism and hope. In his courage of conviction and robust optimism he resembles Browning more than any other English poet. But if we make an historical study of the growth of his mind, we can see that the feeling of patriotism—later developed into universal love—or his spiritual fervour was not noticeable from the very inception. In his younger days we find him occupying himself with themes that appealed to his aesthetic emotion only, drawing ponderous pictures of imagination with the incessant movement of his brush. They are beautiful pictures, no doubt, but no finished art and shew too clearly the tool-mark of the craftsman. His juvenile verses may, therefore, be fitly compared to the song-effusion of a musician, untrained but possessing a naturally sweet voice or to the murmuring march of a brook which sings and dances out of the fullness of its heart. Occasionally, of course, do we meet with such literary gems as "নির্ব্বরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ" or "প্রভাত-উৎসব" but they are few and far between. The poet seems to live in an ethereal realm, fondly dallying with his fancy and dealing with "such stuff as dreams are made of." He does not care for anything more substantial. X

This mood of 'frenzy' over Rabindranath suddenly emerged from his fancy-land and breathed heartily the spirit of political unrest which was sweeping through the length and breadth of Bengal. The year 1308 B. S., the year of his assuming the editorship of "Bangadarsan" and undertaking the composition of "Naibedya" poems may, therefore, be said to have heralded the first great break in his poetical career. "This period," says Thompson, "was the time of mightiest prose (meaning perhaps his 'বিশ্বনাথ' and other articles of the time) whose periods march and burn," to which we may add—"and of magnificent poetry which took the whole people by storm." This period, again, be it said, was the period of some of the most vigorous of his utterances in poetry—utterances that can easily match with the very best in any literature. But his poetic temperament was never content with any detached view of things—the spacious world which held him in thrall for ever was constantly beckoning him away from his comparatively meagre sphere of activity—a voice from afar was greeting him into a world that has no limits. Rightly has Ajit Babu remarked, "As soon as the full tune has sounded on his lyre the strings have snapped and he has become anxious to sound new notes on new strings."

In fact, during his rather long and chequered poetic career, extending over more than half a century, Rabindranath has shifted from phase to phase and in the course of his astonishingly extensive and motley study of literature, both Indian and European, he has imbibed, though imperceptibly, the breathing spirit of one poet or another whose distinct artistic motif has left an indelible impress upon his receptive mind. In his younger years, when he was hurriedly marching through the long range of English poetry—particularly the poetry of the Romantic Revival and of the later pre-Raphaelites,—he seems to have been profoundly influenced by poets like Keats, Shelley, Wordsworth, Browning, Swinburne, to mention only a few from the whole host of other conspicuous names, who combined to infuse into his earlier poetry that subtle and peculiar

leaven. It need hardly be specified here that this was essentially his school-time when he voraciously took in whatever fancy-food he chanced upon, assimilating it to his purpose and transfiguring it into a superb verse-manifestation the like of which has seldom been discerned. This was a time when he was not sufficiently introduced to a knowledge of the Upanisads—the springhead of his inspiration in later life, being sensitive only to aesthetic impressions and surveying the world as a spectator from a safe distance, caring little for the complex skein which our earthly life represents. Again, it was just about the time when a young man's passions naturally circle round the meretricious glammers of life and refuse to lend ear to the whispering murmur of the inner man. Evidently, therefore the poetry of his primal years is tinged with an aggressively sensuous colouring and is totally divorced from higher philosophical conceits which translate his later poetry into a plane such as only seers and prophets can attain. But what seems strange in the case of Rabindranath is that the direct influence of no particular author is perceptible in him. His poetry echoes neither Keats nor Shelley nor Swinburne nor anybody else in particular, but vibrates with a harmony that is born of the united voice of all. For instance in that exquisite love-lyric of his—'Urbashi'—we sometimes come across lines that are directly reminiscent of Keats, as also stanzas that instantly remind us of the long-drawn lines of Swinburne wherein he describes Aphrodite, the ancient goddess of love, who also like Urbashi of Indian mythology, "came flushed from the full-flushed wave." Let us here quote a few lines from Swinburne to shew how striking is this similarity :—

" A perilous goddess was born;
And the waves of the sea as she came
Clove, and the foam at her feet,
Fawning, rejoiced to bring forth
A fleshly blossom, a flame
Filling the heavens with heat
To the cold white ends of the north."

“ White rose of the white water, a silver splendour, a flame
 Bent down us that besought her and earth grew sweet with her name.
 For thine came weeping, a slave among slaves, and rejected but she
 Came flushed from the full-flushed wave and imperial her foot on
 the sea
 And the wonderful waters knew her, the wind and the viewless ways
 And the roses grew rosier and bluer the sea-blue stream of the bays.”

উর্কশী :—

আদিম বসন্ত প্রাতে উঠেছিলে মস্থিত সাগরে
 ডান হাতে সুধাপাত্র বিষভাণ্ড লয়ে বাম করে,
 তরঙ্গিত মহাসিন্ধু মত্তশাস্ত্র ভূজঙ্গের মত
 পড়েছিল পদপ্রান্তে উচ্ছ্বসিত ফণা লক্ষ শত
 করি অবনত;
 কুন্দ শুভ্র, নগ্নকান্তি, স্নেহে বনিতা
 তুমি অনিন্দিতা!

Nor can we miss the resemblance of the sound-effect produced by the two. Indeed, the affinity is too great to be the result of a mere accident. Then again the influence of Shelley reveals itself not the less in some of the shorter lyrical pieces. If we read Rabindranath's *Barshasesh* or *The End of the Year* and Shelley's 'Ode to West Wind,' one after the other, we cannot but be convinced that the Indian poet must have drunk deep of the spirit and vigour of the famous English ode, both in points of idea and metre. Both the poems, artistically superb as they are, have an intellectual and human interest underlying them. They both proclaim the advent of a phenomenal spirit that will purge the earth of its old, worthless and decomposed materials and make its dynamic power felt in every sphere of human activity. The rising autumnal storm carrying with it its freight of dead leaves—"this beneficent destroyer" that scatters the black, scarlet and yellow leaves far and wide, may fitly compare with ঈশানের পুঞ্জমেঘ or the clustering clouds of the north-east in 'Barshasesh' or 'The End of the Year' which brings in its

train a mighty gust of wind and ruthlessly blows away withered leaves, thereby ushering in an era redolent of nothing but the freshness and impetuosity of youth. We call upon our readers to compare the following extracts from Shelley and Rabindranath :—

“ O wild West Wind, thou breath of autumn’s being,
Thou from whose unseen presence the leaves dead
Are driven, like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing,
Yellow and black and pale and hectic red,
Pestilence-stricken multitude.”

বর্ষশেষ :—

গাও গান প্রাণভরা ঝড়ের মতন উর্দ্ধবেগে
অনন্ত আকাশে ।
উড়ে যাক্, দূরে যাক্, বিবর্ণ, বিলীর্ণ, জীর্ণ পাতা
বিপুল নিঃশ্বাসে ।

Then again, Shelley’s cult of love is just parallel to Rabindranath’s *Jivan-Devata* creed. Just as love with Shelley is nothing but a transcendental force kindling all things into beauty, so is Rabindranath’s ‘Jivan-Devata’ an indefinable force which moves to inspiration the poet’s soul, shaping and beautifying it throughout its career. It is something latent in his very being which makes the hushed voice of his heart articulate and quiver to the tune of its irresistible spell. The poet explains Jivan-Devata in the following stanzas of ‘Antarjami’ :—

নূতন ছন্দ অন্ধের প্রায়, ভরা আনন্দে ছুটে চলে যায়
নূতন বেদনা উঠে বেজে তায় নূতন রাগিণী ভরে ।
যে কথা ভাবিনি বলি সেই কথা, যে ব্যথা বুঝি না জাগে সেই ব্যথা,
জানিনা এসেছি কাহার বারতা কারে শুনাবার তরে !
কে কেমন বোঝে অর্থ তাহার, কেহ এক বলে কেহ বলে আর
আমারে শুধায় বুধা বারবার দেখে তুমি হাস বুঝি
কে গো কোথা তুমি রয়েছ গোপনে আমি বুধা মরি খুঁজি !

Compare with it the following lines from Shelley's 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' :—

“ The awful shadow of some unseen power—
 Spirit of Beauty, that dost consecrate
 With thine own hue all thou dost shine upon
 Of human thought or form,—where art thou gone?
 Why dost thou pass away and leave our state,
 This dim vast, vale of tears vacant and desolate?”

To try, therefore, to bring out the points of resemblance as well as difference in these poets will, it is hoped, amply repay the pains taken.

“ Shelley,” says Stopford Brooke, “ lived in two worlds, thought in two worlds and in both of these did work which was at once varied and distinct. One was the world of mankind and its hopes, the other was the world of his own heart.” He passed from poetry written for the sake of mankind to poetry written obviously for the expression of his inner self—from didactic pieces designed to regenerate the depressed humanity, to verses which evolved spontaneously out of the fulness of his heart. Similarly Rabindranath has also passed from phase to phase during his long spell of poetic enterprise. His poetry has waxed eloquently patriotic at times and at others, has either submerged into an expression of the supreme joy of tranquility as in Gitanjali-poems or has overflowed with the vociferous effusion of baser passions such as we meet with in his earlier lyrical pieces of ‘*Manasi*.’ This point has been elaborately treated of elsewhere in this essay, so we need hardly dilate on it at this stage. Instances might be multiplied. I would ask my readers to carefully go through the whole body of Rabindranath’s verse and I am sure they will perceive in his poetry all the principal traits of the Romantic as well as the pre-Raphaelite school—viz., (1) their spiritual, intellectual and sensuous treatment of Nature (as represented by Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats respectively), (2) their intellectual curiosity and application of scientific truths to

literature (as in Tennyson), (3) their deep-seated animus against the conventions and prejudices of every description (as in Shelley or Swinburne) though in the case of the latter it does not consist in the rejection of anything simply on the score of its antiquity, (4) and lastly their instinct for the elemental simplicities of life. It is not that Rabindranath blindly aped the English bards but that he unified the principles that appealed to him in his own way ; he culled the choicest blossoms from the bowers of his favourite poets and wove them into an incomparable wreath with the string of his own imagination.

The instinct for the primal simplicities referred to above, is one of the principal characteristics of the Romantic Revival and as such requires some attention. In Europe, it was Rousseau who pioneered the movement and he it was who emphasised the socialistic ideal, the dignity of man as man. Again, the idea of love as the moulding factor in human life which we so often find in Shelley has its genesis in the cult of transcendent love, of which, again, Rousseau is the chief exponent. The complexities of civilisation, the morbid mechanical life of the modern cities palled upon the fine sensibilities of these poets and they professed the doctrine of 'Return to Nature' as the only means of reclaiming this growing tendency of the times and rescuing the elemental verities of life. The same spirit of discontent towards the conventional life of the present age finds a unique expression in several of Rabindranath's minor poems, specially in his well-known lyric entitled 'বধূ,' in which the doleful tale of a simple and unsophisticated rural girl, transplanted to the stifling environment of a congested city, is described with a telling pathos. Says the girl :—

হায়রে রাজধানী পাৰাগকায়া !
 বিরাট মুঠিতলে চাপিছে দৃঢ়বলে
 ব্যাকুল বালিকারে নাহিক মায়া !
 কোথা সে খোলা মাঠ, উদার পথঘাট
 পাখীর গান কই ? বনের ছায়া ?

কে বেন চারিদিকে দাঁড়িয়ে আছে ;
 খুলিতে নারি মন শুনিবে পাছে ।
 হেথায় বৃথা কাঁদা, দেয়ালে পেয়ে বাধা
 কাঁদন ফিরে আসে আপন কাছে !

কোথায় আছ তুমি কোথায় যাগো !
 ' কেমনে ভুলে তুই আছিলি হাঁ গো !

The idea contained in the above extract may very aptly be likened to the following lines of Wordsworth :—

“ 'Tis a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
 A mountain ascending, a vision of trees ;
 Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
 And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.

Green pasture she views in the midst of the dale.
 Down which she so often has tripped with her pail;
 And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's,
 The one only dwelling on earth that she loves.”

The Reverie of Poor Susan.

The same idea, again, finds the most apposite expression in Wordsworth's “Lines written in early Spring” as also in his sonnet beginning with “The world is too much with us ;” where the poet feels sorely obsessed by and bemoans man's colossal indifference to Nature.

This passionate yearning for the open air and the freedom of the fields, it may be pointed out, is no less characteristic of Keats who, in his sonnet entitled “To One who has been long in City pent.” expresses with remarkable fidelity the feeling of felicity in escape from the sordid atmosphere of bricks and mortar, chimneys and smoke.

This is no poetic pose or fleeting caprice, as some might be inclined to suppose, but the genuine conviction of one who, having grown sick of the unusually inflated life of a city, preferred to pass his quiet days at Bolpur in the very bosom of Nature.

In this connexion, attention may be drawn to Rabindranath's invective against the irreconcilable social life of Bengal wherein there is a queer commingling of subtle sentiments and conventional custom—life which is content merely to imagine and almost never really to achieve—(*vide* poems in '*Kautuk*'), is much in the same strain as that of Shelley himself who levels his caustic sarcasm against the factitious city-life of the English people in his famous poem "Peter Bell the Third."

Instances from these two works quoted at random are enough to shew that, so far as the pungency of the invective and flippancy of the style are concerned, the two poets are very much alike :—

Peter Bell the Third, Part the Third :—

" Hell is a city very much like London—

A populous and a smoky city ;
There are all sorts of people undone,
There is a little or no fun done,
Small justice shewn and still less pity.

* * * * *

Taxes too on wine and bread,
And meat and beer and tea and cheese,
From which these patriots fine are fed.

* * * * *

Statesmen damn themselves to be
Cursed ; and lawyers damn their souls
To the auction of a fee ;
Churchmen damn themselves to see
God's sweet love in burning coals.

কোটুক : উন্নতিলাক্ষণ :—

লোকটি কে ইনি যেন চিনি চিনি,
বাঙালী মুখের ছন্দ,
ধরণে ধারণে অতি অকারণে
ইংরাজি তরো গন্ধ !

কালিয়া বরণ অঙ্গে পরণ
 কালো হাট, কালো কুর্তি,
 যদি নিজ দেশী কাছে আসে ঘেঁসি'
 কিছু যেন কড়া মূর্তি ।
 ধূতিপরা দেহ দেখা দিলে কেহ
 অতিশয় লাগে লজ্জা,
 'বাংলা আলাপে রোষে সস্তাপে
 জলে ওঠে হাড় মজ্জা !
 ইহারা কি শেষ ছাড়িবেন দেশ
 এঁরা কি ভারত ঘেঁটো ?
 এঁদের কি তবে দলে দলে সবে
 বিজাতি হ'বার চেষ্টা ?
 (উত্তর) এঁরা সবে বীর এঁরা স্বদেশীর
 প্রতিনিধি বলে' গণ্য ;
 কোট পরা কায় সঁপেছেন হায়
 শুধু স্বজাতির জন্ত !
 অমুরাগভরে ঘুচাবার তরে
 বঙ্গভূমির দুঃখ
 এ সভা মহতী ; এর সভাপতি,
 সভ্যরা দেশ মুখ্য !

Indeed, Rabindranath never tires of vindicating his rightful indignation at our predilection for this unnatural and overwrought life ; and the conflict of Science and Art, of Machine and Nature, has invariably been the theme of his later symbolic plays. It would be idle to suppose, however, that for this hankering after the primal simplicities of life and consequent abhorrence for the exuberant exultation in the achievements of Science, he was, in any way, indebted to the European masters. On the contrary, he inherited this noble idea from the time-honoured legacy our Indian apostles have bequeathed to the posterity of all ages. From this fondness for simplicity emanates the new attitude

towards Nature—Nature serving not as a background to human feelings and emotions but as a vital but tranquillising force which responds to the varying moods of man.¹

The element of mysticism had its origin in the unstinted admiration for medieval life in the case of Romantic poets, and its effect on natural phenomena was of course responsible for the difference in the treatment of Nature-poetry. Tagore, in his early youth, was assuredly an ardent admirer of Keats and Swinburne and he never hesitated to give utterance to his sensuous sentiment towards Nature in such poems as 'Bijayini' 'Manas-sundari' (to quote only two) which savour of a voluptuous abandonment to her (Nature's) magic. But his attitude towards Nature changes with his growing years not as a sequel to his acquaintance with Wordsworth who found 'a brooding and tranquillising thought at the heart of Nature or with Shelley who found an ardent and persuasive love' but as the result of his intensive appreciation of the Upanishads and the great Vaishnava masters who perceived even in the infinitesimal atoms, the spirit of an omnipresent entity which binds man and Nature together.² This transcendental way of viewing Nature is pre-eminently Indian and Rabin dranath drew upon this never-ending source much to his own advantage. The poet no longer stands out from Nature but completely identifies himself with and sinks into her life. Let me reproduce here a few significant lines from a beautiful poem in 'Balaka' named 'Chhabi' or *The Picture* and from

¹ Says Rabindranath in his essay on 'The Modern Age,' "Upon the loss of this sense of a universal personality which is religion, the reign of machine and of method has been firmly established, and man, humanly speaking, has been made a homeless tramp. * * * The prevalence of the theory which realises the power of the machine in the universe, and organises men into machines, is like the eruption of Etna, tremendous in its force, in its outburst of fire and fume, but its creeping lava covers up human shelters made by the age, and its ashes smother them."

² C. F. Blake's

"To see a world in a grain of sand
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour."

‘Prabasi’ in ‘Utsarga’ which will clearly illustrate how entirely does the poet affiliate himself with Nature.

ছবি :—

মরি মরি সে আনন্দ ধেমে যেত যদি
এই নদী
হারাত তরঙ্গ বেগ
এই মেঘ
মুছিয়া ফেলিত তার সোণার লিখন !
অন্ত মনে চলি পথে ভুলিলে কি ফুল ?
ভুলিলে কি তারা
তবুও তাহারা
প্রাণের নিঃশ্বাস বায়ু করে স্তমধুর,
ভুলে শূন্যতামাঝে ভরি দেয় স্তর !

উৎসর্গ :—

ভূগে গুলকিত যে মাটির ধরা
গুটায় আমার সামনে
সে আমায় ডাকে এমন করিয়া
কেন যে কব তা কেমনে ?
মনে হয় যেন সে ধুলির তলে,
যুগে যুগে আমি ছিহ্ন ভূগে জলে,
সে দ্বয়ার খুলি কবে কোন ছলে
বাহির হয়েছি ভ্রমণে !
যদি চিনি যদি জানিবারে পাই
ধূলায়েও মানি আপনা,
ছোট বড় হীন সবার মাঝারে
করি চিত্তের স্থাপনা ।
হই যদি মাটি, হই যদি জল,
হই যদি ভূগ হই ফুল ফল,
জীব সাথে যদি ফিরি ধরাতল
কিছুতেই নাহি ভাবনা !

বেথা বাব সেথা অসীম বীধন
 অন্তবিহীন আপনা ।
 বিশাল বিশ্বে চারিদিক হ'তে
 প্রতি কণা মোরে টানিছে ।
 আমার ছায়াই নিখিল জগৎ
 শতকোটি কর হানিছে ॥

The next poet we have to reckon with is George Macdonald (1824 -1905), one of the lesser stars of the later Victorian era, who was manifestly Celtic in his inspiration and was the author of a few delightful lyrics, Blake-like in their fresh simplicity. of a His "Where do you come from, Baby dear?" reminds us at once of Rabindranath's.

"Where have I come from, where did you pick me up?," the baby asked its mother.

For the inspiration in 'Sisu' or 'The Child,' I have a strong suspicion that Tagore is indebted to Blake who has pictured the simple inquisitiveness of childhood in his "Songs of Innocence and Experience" much in the same strain as Rabindranath. The following quotations, one from Blake and another from Rabindranath, will read almost alike :

Blake :—

"But to go to school in a summer morn,
 O, it drives all joy away ;
 Under a cruel eye outworn,
 The little ones spend the day
 In sighing and dismay."

Rabindranath :—

আজকে আমি লুকিয়েছি, মা, পৃথিবন্তর যত,—
 পড়ার কথা আজ বোলো না ! যখন বাবার মত
 বড় হ'ব, তখন আমি পড়'ব প্রথম পাঠ ;
 আজ বল, মা, কোথায় আছে তেপান্তরের মাঠ !

It may not be wide of the mark if we point out, in this connexion, that there are lines in 'হতভাগ্যের গান' which seem to be cast on the model of certain lines in Thomas *Gray's

'Hymn to Adversity.' The illustrations given below will, it is hoped, be of considerable interest to the readers :—

Hymn to Adversity :—

" Scared at thy frown terrific, fly
Self-pleasing Folly's idle brood
Wild Laughter, Noise, thoughtless Joy,
And leave us leisure to be good,
Light they disperse, and with them go
The summer friend, the flattering foe."

হতভাগ্যের গান :—

লুকোন্ তোমার ডঙ্কা শুনে

কপট সখার শূন্য হাসি ।

পালাক্ ছুটে পুচ্ছ তুলে

মিথ্যে চাটু মকা কাশি ॥

The influence of Browning, however, came as he entered upon maturity. It is marked in the psychological interest of many poems in 'Manasi.' In 'Ananta Prem' or 'Love Eternal' the mystic aspect of passion is suggested with a tenderness and subtility that is quite characteristic of Browning. In his 'Evelyn Hope,' or more particularly in 'Two in the Campagna,' the same mystic air prevails and as regards sheer sentiment there is seldom any divergence between these poems of Browning and Rabindranath's (Ananta Prem).

Two in the Campagna :—

" I wonder do you feel today
As I have felt since hand in hand
We sat down on the grass, to stray
In spirit better through the land,
This morn of Rome and May ?
For me, I touched a thought, I know
Has tantalised me many times,
(Like turns of thread the spiders throw
Mocking across our path) for rhymes
To catch and let go.
..... Only I discern.

Infinite passion and the pain
Of finite hearts that yearn.”¹

Moreover, his short dramatic dialogues of the late nineties., viz., “গান্ধারীর প্রার্থনা,” “কর্ণকুন্তী” are nothing more than an adaptation of Browning’s dramatic monologues so far as the form is concerned. It is likely also that the manner of presentation resorted to in ‘The Home and Abroad’ is the outcome of Rabindranath’s partiality for the scheme of telling the same story through different minds as evinced in Browning’s ‘The Ring and the Book’ which, as Lafcadio Hearn points out, is nothing but a gigantic collection of monologues, grouped and ordered so as to produce one great dramatic effect.

I must now bring this study to a close after saying a few words about influences other than English on one of the most famous of Tagore’s plays, I mean of course, ‘Phalguni.’ The main current of its plot and the denouement thereof, the revelry of Spring, the chasing of the old man Winter to the darksome cave of a mountain put us in mind of the episode of the ‘News of Spring’ in the “The Double Garden” of Maeterlinck and have an exact facsimile in the ‘the feast of roses and anemones, of soft air and dew, of bees and birds’ and in ‘the looking for Winter and the print of its footsteps.’ The type of people represented in the character of দাদা to whom soul’s joy is nothing short of a ridiculous excess, may be aptly compared with ‘the ragged old people too wise to enjoy unforeseen pleasures.’ Then again the romping and merry-making of youth during the carnival of Spring has too close a parallel in Maeterlinck’s ‘running round the

* অনন্ত প্রেম —

যত শুনি সেই অতীত কাহিনী
প্রাচীন প্রেমের ব্যথা,
অতি পুরাতন বিরহ-মিলন কথা
অসীম অতীতে চাহিতে চাহিতে
দেখা দেয় অবশেষে
কালের তিমির-রজনী ভেদিয়া
তোমারি মুখতি এসে।
চিরমৃত্যুময়ী ক্রবতারকার বেশে!

আমরা দুজনে ভাসিয়া এসেছি
যুগল প্রেমের প্রোভে,
অনাদি কালের হৃদয়-উৎস হ’তে।
আমরা দুজনে করিয়াছি খেলা
কেটি-প্রেমিকের মাঝে
বিরহ-বিধুর নয়ন-সলিলে
মিলন মধুর লাজে।
পুরাতন প্রেম নিত্য নূতনসাথে!

garden of its (Spring's) holidays,' the fragrant valleys, the tender hills which the frost has now brushed with its wings. Just as the central theme of 'Phalguni' is, in the author's own words, stripping Winter of its mantle of white, so also does the Belgian poet sing the song of eternal summer and impugn the frosty people who 'have the terror of Winter in their marrow.' In short, there can be little doubt that Rabindranath owes a debt of gratitude to Maeterlinck for the principal idea of his play.

The brief spell of extraneous influences over, we find the poet turning a more convinced optimist and sounding deeper and sincerer notes. This was indeed the flowering period of his poetry when he conceived a profound liking for his motherland and essayed to give expression to his patriotic views without demur or dismay. He began to enquire into the condition of his own people and was painfully awakened to the fact that much of their misery was incident to the absolute lack of nutrition, physical as well as mental. He shared in sympathy their utter helplessness and sought to deliver to their deafened ears the message of energism and hope. He completely outgrew his former mood and became, as it were, a different man altogether. His clarion voice made itself heard even in the remotest parts of Bengal and the sincerity and charm of his verse seldom ever failed to impress. I must quote here a few lines from his inimitable poem "এবার ফিরাও মোরে" lines that are instinct with electric potency, in justification of my statement above :—

* * * এই সব মৃত স্নান মুক মুখে
 দিতে হবে ভাষা ; এই সব শ্রান্ত শুক ভগ্নবৃকে
 ধনিয়া তুলিতে হবে আশা, ডাকিয়া বলিতে হ'বে—
 "মুহূর্ত্ত তুলিয়া শির একত্র দাঁড়াও দেখি সবে ;
 যার ভয়ে তুমি ভীত সে অত্যাশ ভীক তোমা চেয়ে,
 যখনি জাগিবে তুমি তখনি সে পলাইবে ধয়ে ।"

বড় হুঃখ, বড় ব্যথা সম্মুখেতে কষ্টের সংসার
 বড়ই দরিদ্র, শূণ্য, বড় ক্ষুদ্র বন্ধ অন্ধকার ।

অন্ন চাই, প্রাণ চাই, আলো চাই, চাই মুক্ত বায়ু,
 চাই বল, চাই স্বাস্থ্য, আনন্দ-উজ্জ্বল পরমায়ু,
 সাহস-বিস্তৃত বক্ষপট। এ দৈন্য মাঝারে, কবি,
 একবার নিয়ে এস স্বর্গ হ'তে বিশ্বাসের ছবি !

☞ For all practical purposes, we can classify Rabindranath's poetry into three clearly-marked stages. In the first stage, he is like Shelley or Swinburne without substance, of any kind and the value of his poetry of this period consists mainly in the elfin magic of its metre and the variety of its technique, coupled with the occasional suggestion of some beautiful, haunting thought such as we meet with in Tennyson, Rossetti or Browning. The second stage is characterised by the production of work that partakes less of the nature of the air-stuff and his poetry at this stage is more tangible and prophetic in its vein, though perhaps less fanciful in its character, than his poetry of the earlier period. The feverish frenzy of the juvenile mind reflected only the nebulous visions of a love-intoxicated dreamer and sounded but the full-throated melody of some sweet-voiced bird that has just learnt to soar. But at the second stage the poet gained considerably in experience as also in years, had more of the sweets and bitters of life and grew more original and less imitative than before. This fact alone accounts for the broader outlook on life and the thorougher grasp and more tangible treatment that are revealed in this poetry of this period. Then comes the third or the final stage when he transcends the limitations of the two earlier stages and strives to extend the offerings of his art to the most supreme of all artists—the Author of this universe. The perspective widens considerably and he views the world of things in a light never done before. All sense of distinction between animate and inanimate, great and small, vanishes at once and he feels within himself ¹ the silent approach of something

¹ "Have you not heard his silent steps?

He comes, comes, ever comes.

In sorrow after sorrow it is his steps

That press upon my heart, and it is the

golden touch of his feet that makes my joy to shine.

inscrutable and indefinable which wafts him aloft to heights never perhaps reached by any save the Vaishnava poets.

I feel it incumbent on me, before concluding this essay, to cite a few lines from his immortal 'Gitanjali' which the spiritually inclined will, I believe, fain enjoy and cherish as they will the psalms from the Vedas which embody the revelation of the absolute truth,—truth which is co-extensive with God Himself. During this period he seems to be mainly possessed by the wonderful teachings of the Upanishads and other indigenous influences; but these will form the subject of a separate discourse. Here is a poem from 'Gitanjali'—

“ He came and sat by my side but I woke not.
 What a cursed sleep it was, O miserable me.
 He came when the night was still; he had his harp on his
 hands, and my dreams became resonant with its melodies.
 Alas, why are my nights all thus lost? Ah! why do I ever miss
 his sigh! whose breath touches my sleep ?”

(Even in this poem, essentially oriental in colouring, a careful reader scarcely fails to notice the remarkable resemblance which it bears to the 'Parable of the Ten Virgins' in the New Testament. The story is fundamentally the same, it is only the treatment that imparts to it an indigenous flavour.)

I need hardly tell my readers that the object of the present thesis is not to minimise the worth of Rabindranath as a poet; he is at this date far too great a name to be in any way tarnished by aspersions hurled on him. That he is an artist of the first order, a class by himself, nay, more, a seer worthy of being reckoned among the world's very greatest, is what I devoutly believe. Mine, therefore, is nothing more than a scholastic endeavour to determine the extent of his obligations.

Reviews

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth by W. K. Jordan, Ph. D. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 21s. net, 1932) is a really valuable book. The treatment of this important subject, as attempted here, is exhaustive and thorough. The book is divided into six main chapters each having five to six subdivisions of which the headings clearly indicate the scope of the contents. The introductory chapter traces the problem of Religious Toleration prior to the Elizabethan settlement of religion and in the next two chapters, covering 157 pages, we have a careful study of the dominant groups during the reign of Elizabeth and the development of Governmental and Anglican thought with respect to religious dissent up to the year 1603.

The writer has sedulously collected together early evidences of tolerant thought between 1530 and 1558 and considered the functions of the Magistrate in the Church, the Roman Catholic problem as it stood in 1569 to 1576, the attitude of the Government to Roman Catholic nonconformity from 1576 to 1583 and the final phase of the Roman Catholic problem in 1583 to 1603. The Anglican position on the general question of dissent is carefully presented reference being made to the views of the theorists like Carleton and Sandys and to the well-known Whitgift-Cartwright controversy and a section is devoted to the classical statement of the Anglican position on the basis of the writings of Gifford and Hooker. The relation of militant Puritanism to the problem of toleration and the modification of the Governmental attitude towards toleration effected by dissent between 1583 and 1590 are also carefully considered.

The author next directs his attention to the minority groups during the reign of Elizabeth in Chapter IV (pp. 239-299) which is conveniently divided into two sections dealing respectively with Puritan thought and Separatist thought and their relation to the development of religious toleration. Under Separatist thought he studies the thoughts of Robert Browne, Robert Harrison and Henry Barrowe as well as the status of Congregational thought in the last decade of the century and the relation of Baptist thought to the main problem. The 5th Chapter deals with importance of lay thought and its contribution as the 6th Chapter does the same in regard to Roman Catholic thought and the attitude of the Roman

Catholic Church towards heresy, the Jesuit position and the thought of the non-political Catholic groups.

There are an extensive bibliography (pp. 421-477) and a valuable index.

Copious references to authoritative works, from which appropriate quotations have been intelligently embodied into the text, have been given in the foot-notes and relevant opinions of all standard writers have, when necessary, been carefully and dispassionately reviewed. The historical back ground has thus been worked out with great diligence.

We have in this volume a thorough discussion of the problem of toleration in its *three* principal aspects—(1) legal, (2) philosophical and (3) religious.

The writer has with great care attempted to elucidate the concept, meaning and significance of religious toleration in particular which is the main theme of his book. This complex problem involves the questions of heresy and of persecution and these have received adequate attention. In this connection an elaborate study of the claims of private judgment and of liberty of conscience is needful and these two topics have been carefully considered. He has done well in tracing the effect of the operation of separatist thought, specially that of the Brownists and the Baptists, and of lay thought on the gradual development of religious toleration in England. In his survey of the attitude of lay thought our author embodies the opinions of a large number of foreign writers and he does not omit a reference to the influence of Continental thought, as, for example, of the Italian Academicians. The contributions made by Sebastian Castellion, Jacobus Acontius, Zwingli, Pulci and the early Arminians who simplified dogma by their attacks on the theory of exclusive salvation are elaborately set forth and correctly valued. The writer evinces a vast amount of patient and intelligent industry in subjecting to a close analysis the writings of various authors.

Similarly the vexed question of heresy is thoroughly discussed with reference to the views of such authorities as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Jerome, Aquinas, St. Augustine, More as well as writers like Barrowe, Cartwright, Whitgift, Harrison, Fenton and Sandys.

The achievements of the humanistic tolerance effected by the Renaissance and the effect produced by the Protestant Reformation (which, by the way, occasionally counteracted the good results of the Renaissance humanism) in systematically weakening the authority of the orthodox church are admirably presented.

He carefully defines the limits of his theme as will be evident from a single quotation—"We shall, however, be little concerned with the

problem of religious liberty ; religious toleration had to be achieved before it became even an academic question. Toleration, in the historical and legal sense of the term, represents the withdrawal of external authority from the control over certain ranges of human activity, and is essentially negative. Toleration represents, on the part of the State, a definition of those areas of human conduct over which it professes control. The State reserves the definition of those areas to itself and undertakes the difficult task of fixing the boundary between the free actions of the individual and his religious group and the forbidden sphere of activities, and even opinions, which the state has not relinquished from its control."

Legal toleration implies essentially a negative mental attitude—a mere refraining from persecution. Here, however, the absolute authority of the civil power even over matters spiritual is not questioned. The Government simply gives certain persons under certain conditions an option to differ from it in theory and in religious practice. "Liberty of conscience, on the other hand," as our author holds, "springs from the theory that the final object of the State is man, that man is responsible for his own actions, and that the State assumes no responsibility for his thoughts or beliefs." But the mediaeval idea of the State, we have to bear in mind, presupposed the spiritual responsibility of the State for the salvation of the souls of its citizens and had therefore to impose on the Government the duty of supporting the ecclesiastical authorities in what was then considered as their laudable endeavour to eliminate heresy. Legal toleration, when recognised, at best allows an opposite point of view to exist but that does not imply approval. But a philosophical frame of mind must recognise the right of contrary religious beliefs to have as much chance of prevailing. Even when this much is achieved, toleration as such is bound to fall short of real religious liberty.

It is, indeed, a melancholy reflection to have to believe with the author that religious tolerations in the West owes less to a better understanding of the spiritual nature of Christ's teachings than to the modern man's conviction that religious truths can hardly be ascertained definitely or to his general indifference to Christian Theology and religious practice. Though admitting that intellectual scepticism and religious indifference have to a large extent weakened the theory and practice of religious persecution, the author is inclined to hold that "the finest conception of religious toleration presumes a positive attitude of mind which enables us charitably and sympathetically to hear another man whom we consider to be in error."

Finally, in enumerating the principal forces that have actually operated towards the gradual development of religious toleration, we have to make mention of such as these:—(1) The dangers to the State of pursuing rigidly a policy of persecution, for religious minorities could never be completely wiped out without jeopardy to the very foundations of national life. (2) The separation of the State from the Church resulting in sixteenth century secularization of national politics. (3) The growing political power and solidarity of minority groups capable of counteracting the pretence of omnipotence of the Government even without always resorting to the extreme measure of a civil war (4) The ever increasing number of dissenting sects or groups which weakens and ultimately tends to destroy the theory of uniformity in matters religious and also gains gradually an influence in the Government itself in which in course of time their different point of view is sure to find its reflection and expression. (5) The spirit of compromise which in all countries and communities slowly gains ascendancy as men realise that the existence of minority groups in the State does not necessarily involve threats to the economic, social and political peace and order. (6) the inevitable replacing of severe persecution by cautious and moderate repression due to the growth of liberal ideas, expansion of education, facilities of cheap and extensive travels bringing into closer touch communities and individual men and women hitherto living more or less isolated and apart and therefore exposed to mutual misunderstanding, and. (7) the influence of the printing press on the world of ideas and their cheap, quick and effective communication to a larger majority of men and women and the impetus lent to written controversies. The ground was prepared, however, by the Renaissance thinkers who gradually developed a spirit of rational thinking destined to undermine the claims of authoritative revelation and the orthodox traditions of scholastic theology. Moreover, the sense of an imperative need for salvation became subordinated to a living concern felt by men and women for this world and for the present life and its manifold affairs and interests. The church began to cease to be the custodian of man's spiritual welfare and even religion became an affair of each individual. The humanist's formula of private judgment began to enlist on its side a large number of able advocates. The Reformation had to build its structure on this foundation of humanistic thought. As the author observes, "it led men to judge what is true and good by the test of reason rather than the tenets of tradition. We may regard the Reformation as representing the unconscious triumph both of the scientific spirit and of human liberty."

This human liberty included liberty of dissent. Then again, the rapid growth of national States had the tendency to accentuate national religious differences which in their turn accelerated the pace of toleration till the time came for the demand of what may be called international tolerance.

We recommend the book specially for the method of discussion adopted in it by which the writer makes such a complex problem easy to grasp in all its bearings. The arrangement of the vast amount of detailed information is good and the net result is a lucid discussion which enhances the value of a book so useful to churchmen, political thinkers, social philosophers, laymen and students of history.

J. G. B.

Indian Currency and Exchange.—By S. B. Sengupta, M.A., B.L., Principal, Khalsa College, Lyallpur, published by R. S. Saura, Lahore, price Rs. 3, pp. 312.

This fairly difficult subject is not properly understood by many of the Indian public. Although a great volume of literature has been published in this field yet many of the important issues are not thoroughly grasped. The author has dealt with this subject in a lucid and clear manner so that the subject-matter is grasped fairly easily by the beginners. Levying much emphasis on the historical development of the subject the author has outlined the chronological evolution of Indian currency from 1835 to the year 1932. The crucial events of the years 1892, 1898, 1913, 1919 and 1925 led to the appointment of Committees for studying the nature of the changes and outlining the future course of the currency authority.

The effect of such changes as have been adopted has not been forgotten. Valuable material found scattered in the different authoritative reports of these bodies provide the grist to the mill. The author must be congratulated on bringing about a fairly lucid manual dealing with the evolutionary aspect of our currency system.

Elementary currency theory is usually stated here and there in order to elucidate the trend of his remarks. The recent purchasing power-parity doctrine as stated by Prof. Cassel is also lucidly explained.

Writing in 1932 the author ought to have used *Sterling* or gold after 1s. 6d. (see p. 4); as the paper sterling currency is managed, currency and sterling is bound to be of the gold standard for some time to come until international economic co-operation succeeds in making gold the international monetary standard once again. The ensuing World Economic Conference to be held in forthcoming winter would of course decide the fate of the managed paper currencies.

The author has quoted very often such standard authorities as Prof. Keynes, Prof. G. F. Shirras, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and Sir J. C. Coyajee and made the narrative authoritative and easy enough for the beginners.

The displacing of the number of pages from p. 80 to p. 87 is a serious mistake of the publisher greatly marring the utility of the book.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Disarmament:—Preparation for the General Conference (February, 1932). Issued by the League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva, pp. 127, price 1s. \$0.25.

The pamphlet gives the general reader a plain and unvarnished description of the disarmament problem confronting the sixty-four nations of the world. No task which the League of Nations has undertaken is so important as the one of Disarmament and there is no gainsaying of the fact that it has been straining its best nerves and endeavouring its level best to secure a satisfactory situation by reducing the national expenditure on armaments, land, naval or air. Realising full well that the empty declaration that "aggressive war would be considered an international crime." would be ineffective and that "Regional guarantees and Regional defensive treaties" would be of little avail, efforts are now being concentrated in more than one direction, *e.g.*, the adjustment of political thought, increased machinery for peaceful settlement of international disputes, the establishment of international confidence and improved international relations. It is indeed true that these act and react on each other and the disarmament problem itself is a necessary prelude towards the attainment of the above desirable features in the realm of international relations.

With the disapproval of the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno Agreements were entered into in December, 1925.

These paved the way for the Preparatory Commission which carefully prepared the agenda for the General Disarmament Conference. The six sessions of the Preparatory Commission discussed almost threadbare every problem of major importance concerning Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Considerations of space preclude us from referring to the prolonged debates on the much talked-of but least understood subject of security.

Notable spade-work was done by the Arbitration and Security Committee of 1927. Equally creditable work was done by the adoption of the Paris-Pact for the Renunciation of War. Finally a Draft Convention consisting of 60 articles was prepared by the Preparatory Commission and placed before the General Conference of February, 1932. The different clauses along with the reservations of the different Powers are stated in detail from p. 22 to p. 61. The various reservations make it plain that divergencies of principle exist among the different Powers but the Draft Convention outlines a "well-defined and well-considered framework." The achieved task is far from complete. No plan for reduction and limitation of *material armaments* will succeed unless it is accompanied by "moral disarmament." International security becomes a mere willo'-the-wisp in days of international disquiet and flagrant insecurity. Propaganda for waging war must be signally dealt with. World public opinion must aim at the securing of a general *detente*.

The realisation of the ideal of complete disarmament is far from ever. The institution of the international organ of disarmament is urgently needed and it alone can accelerate the national march towards complete disarmament ideal. The dissemination of information and educational propaganda by this body would perhaps meet with better success. But the Draft Convention is an important milestone in the continuing process of disarmament.

There is also a close connection and interdependence between disarmament and security. The realisation of national security prompts the nations to undergo severe financial strain even at the expense and neglect of local duties. But for this economic and budgetary limitation the phantom ideal of national security would have beggared many a nation as a result of their excessive and unwarranted overspending. It is not the limitation nor the stabilisation of armaments at a lower figure than the present that are needed. As President Henderson rightly remarks "it is by entire renouncement of armaments and the forsaking of the War Spirit alone" that the ideal of collective disarmament "can be realised.

The annexures to the different chapters give the complete text of the Draft Convention, the "conclusions" of the Report of the Budgetary Experts, the summary of the Washington and London Naval Treaties and a short bibliography of Official Documents on disarmaments.

It is an indispensable *vade mecum* for understanding the subject and we are much indebted to the League of Nations for this valuable monograph. We only wish that its endeavours would be crowned with success

as early as possible for nothing is so important for world economic recovery than the complete renunciation of armaments. Neither the scrapping of reparations nor the reduction of war-debts and tariffs would meet with such signal success as would follow the abolition of armaments.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR

We are glad to announce that Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., has been re-appointed as Vice-Chancellor of this University and offer him our sincere congratulations.

* * *

BAGESWARI PROFESSOR OF INDIAN FINE ARTS

The Board of Management of the Khaira Fund have recommended to the Senate that

(1) Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.), be appointed Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts for a period of five years, with effect from the 15th September, 1932, on the condition as laid down in the rules governing the Professorship and that he be placed on probation for the first two years.

(2) That under Section IX of the Rules of the Endowment he be deputed to Europe for a period of one year for further specialisation in the Study of Art and that, during this period, he be paid from the Khaira Fund an allowance of Rs. 500 per mensem and a lump sum grant of Rs. 3000, to cover expenses of passage, travelling and other expenses.

(3) That the salary of Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy, when he takes charge of his appointment on his return from Europe, be fixed at Rs. 750 per month.

* * *

KAMALA LECTURER FOR 1930

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1930 on the usual conditions, the subject of the lectures being মানুষের ধর্ম (Man's Religion).

THE STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSH LECTURER IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION FOR 1933

Mr. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A., of Dacca University has been selected for appointment as the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer in Comparative Religion for the year 1933 on the usual terms and conditions.

MOUAT MEDAL

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Mr. Subodhchandra Sengupta, M.A., on the result of his work, during the Third-year's term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for 1928.

DATES FOR THE UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The following dates have been fixed for the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations :—

Intermediate Examinations in Arts and

Science	...	...	20th February, 1933.
Matriculation Examination	...	...	13th March, 1933.
B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations	...	...	27th March, 1933.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1932



THE FALSE AND THE SUBJECTIVE

The thesis elaborated in the present paper is that the consciousness of the false and the consciousness of the subjective imply one another. It may be analysed into two propositions (1) that the consciousness of the false is consciousness of the subjective and (2) that the consciousness of the subjective is consciousness of the false. The first denies that the false is but the objective fact of non-existence and the second denies that the subjective can be known without belief or disbelief in its content—which is apparently the theory behind what is called psychological introspection. The further implications of the thesis would be that the object is through the self-alienation of the subject and that the subject is not known except by a denial of the object. These implications are not discussed in this paper.

(1) *Consciousness of the False is Consciousness of the Subjective.*

The proposition may be thus developed :

The consciousness of the false is consciousness of a content that is not speakable except as the content of a belief which again is not speakable except as that the content of which is false.

The false is what is corrected or disbelieved. Properly disbelief should mean correction or rejection of what was believed,

* Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society on the 4th August, 1932.

though the word is sometimes used loosely to mean rejection of what is suggested or the mere absence of belief in the imaginary or the contradictory. To be conscious of a content as imaginary or contradictory is to have no belief in it. Disbelief is a positive mode of consciousness and is not merely the privation of belief. The so-called disbelief in a suggestion is really a belief. A content is suggested as what either is or is not and never, as will appear, without all reference to fact; and the rejection of it means that the negative alternative is accepted or believed. We take disbelief then in the sense of correction which we hold is incapable of being regarded as equivalent to a *belief* in negation.

Correction of error means disbelief not merely in what was believed but in what we are explicitly conscious of having believed. The content said to be disbelieved cannot in fact be expressed except as what was believed. What is it that we are said to disbelieve? If we start with the belief 'this is A'—all belief in the last resort is in a *this* or given reality—and then correct it, what is it that we take to be false? What we disbelieve may be taken to be what we believed. In the belief or judgment 'this is A,' how should the content believed be formulated? Is the correct formulation of it 'this is A' or 'this *being* A' or 'this *as* A'? If we accept the first two formulations, there is no difficulty in accepting them also as the formulations of what we disbelieve. If however the believed content be taken to be 'this *as* A,' what we disbelieve cannot be said to be also 'this *as* A,' for the word *this*, when used as the principal word in a verbal combination, can mean only what is believed and never what is disbelieved.

We contend that the first two formulations of the content of belief are inadmissible. The judgment-form 'this is A' in which the principal word is the copula stands neither for the fact believed nor for the believing act but for an undifferentiated or confused unity of the two. There is nothing in believed fact or in the believing act—each taken singly—answering to

the distinction between 'this A' and 'this is A,' i.e. to the copula, the meaning of which nevertheless has to be understood in reference to the fact and the act. The content of belief cannot therefore be formulated as 'this is A.' Nor should it be expressed as 'this *being* A'—what is nowadays called *proposition* as distinct from judgment. In 'this being A,' the principal word is *being* which means here a relation in a wide sense of the term between *this* and A. What is believed however is not the relation but the concrete fact *this* as related to A. It is briefly expressed as 'this as A'¹ in which the principal word is *this* standing for the substantive fact. It is this fact as characterised by A and not the characterising relation that is properly said to be believed.

The content of belief is formulated loosely as 'this is A' and artificially as 'this being A,' the natural expression of it being 'this as A.' The content of the corresponding disbelief—meaning *what* is disbelieved—cannot be expressed in this form. It cannot in fact be expressed in any form except problematically as '*what* was believed,' the *what* being unspecifiable at the time of the disbelief in purely objective terms. We cannot then even say that what *was* believed is 'this as A,' for the word *this* would mean content of a *present* belief.

Disbelief or correction then as necessarily involving the consciousness of something subjective, viz., the previous belief has to be taken as a form of reflective consciousness. To be conscious of the false as such is to be conscious of the subjective. Not that the consciousness of the false is a belief in the prior belief as a definite subjective fact. Disbelief indeed is a conscious reference to the prior belief but the prior belief can be spoken of at the time of disbelief *only in reference to the disbelief*. Although the previous belief is not disbelieved, it is not *now* specifiable by its content, for the content is specifiable only by reference to it. The belief can be specified only as that the content of which is false or is now disbelieved. The content cannot be spoken of without reference to the belief and the belief

¹ In more complex cases, the content may have to be expressed as 'this A as related to B.'

cannot now be characterised without reference to the present disbelief. Disbelief is not a cognitive belief in the prior belief but a consciousness of it in necessary reference to itself.

It is difficult to define cognitive consciousness but it may be characterised as the consciousness of something which is speakable without reference to the consciousness. Will-consciousness for example is distinguishable from it by the circumstance that it implies a belief in something that cannot be formulated without reference to the willing. To will an action is to be conscious of the action not as merely going to happen but as going to happen *through the willing*. What we believe here may be called the content of the willing but the content, if literally expressible at all, is expressible *not* in the form 'this action is coming' but in the form 'this action is coming through me, through the causality of my willing.' Now the belief of which we are necessarily conscious in disbelief is such that the content of it cannot be spoken of without reference to the belief and is accordingly to be regarded as a non-cognitive belief. The disbelief also, the content of which is the content of the belief which is speakable only in reference to the disbelief, is a form of non-cognitive consciousness.

(2) *Consciousness of the Subjective is Consciousness of the False.*

The proposition may be split up into two propositions: (a) that the consciousness of a belief implies disbelief in its content and (b) that all consciousness of the subjective implies consciousness of a belief. Both would appear paradoxical, if not obviously false.

(a) The first proposition may be thus elaborated:

The consciousness of a belief is consciousness of *having* the belief *as past* for present rejection or re-affirmation, the re-affirmation implying rejection.

The statement may be hazarded that the consciousness of a past belief is either belief or disbelief in its content and never a non-committal consciousness of the content as merely subsistent.

We may be conscious of the content of a past belief without being conscious of the belief itself. Such consciousness need not be actual belief or disbelief : it may be only an idea or suggestion.¹ If however we are conscious of the belief as a subjective fact, our consciousness of its content is always a judgement that it is or is not a fact.

Strictly speaking, the consciousness of a past belief, as of any subjective fact, is not memory but whether it is called memory or not, it differs from the memory of an objective fact in an important respect. To be conscious of a subjective state is to be in a subjective state referring to the content of the primary state, of which the consciousness of the primary state is a transitive fringe or function. The consciousness of the subjective is not like the consciousness of an object, a substantive conscious state subsisting by itself.

To be conscious of a subjective fact like belief is to have a present dealing with the content of the belief in the way of rejection or re-affirmation. Either way, it implies *having* the belief. How can we be said to have the belief when it is rejected? When we disbelieve the content of a belief, we understand the content, as already explained, not by itself but *as* what we believed. We are thus conscious of the belief as past but as the belief is now understood *only* as rejected, we may say that to reject it is to *have* it now in the mind *as past*. *As past* means *as rejected* : the consciousness of the pastness of the belief is but the consciousness of the belief being rejected.

To reject a belief is to have the belief as rejected. It is to be aware of a dissociation of the content of the belief from fact. Again to re-affirm a belief is not only to continue believing in its content but to be conscious that the content might not be fact. It also implies the dissociation of the content from facthood. To be conscious of a belief then is in all cases to be conscious of such a dissociation. When the belief of which we are conscious

¹ The consciousness of a content without all reference to fact is not even an idea which has a problematic reference to fact. See p. 8.

is the belief of another mind expressed through speech, we are conscious of the content of the belief being dissociated from our own belief in the very act of understanding the speech. To understand a person's assertion may be primarily to believe the content asserted but it is also *from the very start* to be aware that the content might not be fact.¹ When however we are conscious of our own belief, we are conscious of the dissociation of the content from fact *only through positive disbelief*.

We are explicitly conscious of a subjective fact like belief when we distinguish its content from it and we distinguish it only as we disbelieve it. The dissociation of the content of a belief from its facthood in the re-affirmation of the belief implies that re-affirmation is really the rejection of disbelief. To know a belief to be true is to reject a disbelief in its content that is already emergent. Just as the rejection of a belief implies having the belief as past, so the rejection of a disbelief means having the disbelief as past. To be conscious of a past belief as true is also to have the consciousness of its being false. In all cases then in which we are explicitly conscious of a past belief, we have a disbelief in the content of it.

It may be said that to be conscious that the content of a belief might not be fact, it is not necessary that it should be disbelieved. It may be simply doubted or there may be only a question in the mind, a desire for information as to whether the content is existent or non-existent. But a question of this kind does not imply consciousness of the *belief*: it implies only the consciousness of its content as possibly existent or possibly non-existent and does not accordingly involve a dissociation of the content from *fact*. Existence and non-existence both come under believed content or fact. Doubt indeed—as distinct from such question—involves a dissociation of the content from fact, being the consciousness of the content as either fact or no fact (where ‘no fact’ means ‘not even the fact of non-existence’). It is the

¹ The content however is not here dissociated from the asserting act.

consciousness of an alternation not of two beliefs but of belief and disbelief, of a belief as past and the disbelief in its content, both being present in the mind. Doubt cannot indeed be said to be *both* belief and disbelief but it cannot be *denied* to be either. Where then the content of a belief is doubted, it cannot be said to be not disbelieved.

We may accordingly hold that we are conscious of a belief as past only when we have a disbelief in its content. To be conscious of the subjective fact of belief is to be conscious of its content as false.

(b) We now come to the other proposition that all consciousness of the subjective is consciousness of a belief. It may be thus paraphrased :

There is no consciousness of a subjectivity that is not consciousness of a content referred to fact.

What is not the consciousness of a content is not the content of introspection, though it may be subjective fact. Again there may be the consciousness of a content without any reference to fact and this also cannot be said to be the content of introspection. What we are reflectively conscious of is the consciousness of an actual or possible fact, of a content as what is or may be believed. The consciousness of a content as what may be believed is still an actual consciousness of belief.

Some explanations are necessary. Introspection should be taken as at once *meaning* the distinguishing of a mode of consciousness from its content. To be conscious of a mode of consciousness is to be conscious also of the content of the mode; and to be conscious of the mode and the content together is to distinguish them. Not that it can be said to be the consciousness of their distinction *as a content*; the distinction cannot be regarded as an actual content that is either objective or subjective. The distinguishing here is not the consciousness of distinction and the consciousness of the subjective is but the distinguishing

of the subjective from its content. Introspection accordingly cannot be literally said to be the consciousness of a subjective content, though the form of expression is unavoidable. If it were the consciousness of a content, there would be introspective consciousness of introspection and therefore introspective consciousness of this consciousness and so on *ad infinitum*.

The subjective is not definable as the content of introspection. Introspection is itself a subjectivity and we speak of it with belief, though we have no consciousness of it. A subjectivity then of which we are not conscious may not be denied and may be significantly spoken of. One example of it is the so-called consciousness of a content without a believing or disbelieving reference to fact. To be conscious of a content without reference to fact is to be conscious of it *as* without reference, as with the referring consciousness suspended. The so-called consciousness of the bare content is the suspending act which is the consciousness of the referring consciousness and not of the content only. If to introspect be to distinguish consciousness from its content, a content without reference to fact being incapable of being distinguished from, there can be no introspection into the consciousness of such a content. The consciousness of a content without intentional reference is a non-relational *acquaintance* with the content.

To the definition of introspection as the distinguishing of a subjectivity from its content, it may be objected that it would exclude introspection into perception and into all consciousness on the perceptual level. The very character of perceptual consciousness is that it is not immediately distinguishable from the object perceived and yet we seem to be obviously aware of such consciousness as when we say 'I see the table.' Nor does this awareness of perceiving the table imply any disbelief in the table, as would be demanded by our theory. Such awareness of perception however is not introspection but only a significant speaking of it. Just as there is no introspection into introspection though we may speak of introspection, so the fact that we

speak of seeing the table does not imply that we are introspectively conscious of the seeing. We have no direct enjoying consciousness of the seeing operation—as distinct from the organic-muscular experience of using our eyes—being performed by us. Much of what we call introspection appears to be only a speaking or naming of a subjectivity. All introspection may imply a naming of the subjective but all naming of it is not introspection.

We have no consciousness then of a subjectivity that is not consciousness of a content with intentional reference. Intentional reference is a believing or disbelieving reference and disbelieving reference involves a believing reference. Thus if we are conscious of the subjective, we are conscious of a belief.

The consciousness of a belief has been shown to involve disbelief in its content. As to be conscious of any subjective fact is to be conscious of a belief, all reflective consciousness may be said to involve disbelief in the content of the corresponding unreflective consciousness. Thus the consciousness of the false is the consciousness of the subjective and *vice versa*. We are necessarily aware of the false and the subjective together.

KRISHNA CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

THE HUMAN INTEREST IN THE TREATMENT OF THE SUPERNATURAL

In the intuitions from which the creative impulse of poetry springs, there seems to be something strangely primitive that falls readily to the lure of the supernatural. Different types and modes of supernaturalism flourish in poetry in different cultural and literary epochs, and it is a study of fascinating interest how these differences arise through the forces of culture-history, modifying men's outlook on Nature and human life and changing the character of the poet's art in dealing with the supernatural world.

The supernaturalism of English romantic poetry is a significant case in point. It is usually related by literary historians, somewhat indiscriminately, to the so-called 'mediaeval revival.' But the supernaturalism of old romance and that of English romantic poetry belong really to two different spheres. In fact, the very notion of aesthetic or literary revival is contrary to our modern sense of evolutionary history. The state of intellectual or spiritual consciousness can never be the same in two ages, and there is something inherently improbable in the idea that at the beginning of the last century the aesthetic spirit took a sudden leap across the gulf of eighteenth-century rationalism and brought back into English poetry the charm of mediaeval romance. The 'indispensable eighteenth century' cannot be scrapped nor can the long cultural distance between the Middle Ages and the modern ignored.

The supernatural strain in English romantic poetry harks back undoubtedly to the mediaeval tradition. But it is decidedly not the same strain,—not the mere marvel and wonderment of things and happenings transcending Nature, of the magic ring, the wonder-voyage, the bloody apparition, the mysterious

adventure with creatures unknown to natural history. The frankly objective presentment of the supernatural yields place to a subtler and more effective treatment of it.

A typical and characteristic poem, dealing with the supernatural, in romantic poetry, from Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* to Hood's *Dream of Eugene Aram*, will be found to embody a tale of strange and shadowy experiences undergone by an abnormally circumstanced individual, the central interest in which is shifted from the wonder of the mere supernatural occurrences to the psychological bearings, the inward connections of the incidents with a mind that experiences and is affected by them. The psychological interest in romantic supernaturalism is not something casual or extrinsic, but it arises inevitably from the mode of setting forth the supernatural as part of individual experience.

When Coleridge in his somewhat hasty retort to Mrs. Barbauld compared the *Ancient Mariner* with one of the Arabian Nights' Tales and insisted that the poem should have had no moral at all, he betrayed a lapse, so rare on his part, from his usual critical acumen. The supernaturalism of Coleridge's poem is of a type essentially different from that of the Arabian Nights. It is not a mere tale of terror and wonder, and if the moral idea issues out of its psychological implications, it is neither irrelevant nor artistically unsound. The controversy about the moral of the poem, started by the poet himself, would be hopelessly barren, if it did not point to one prominent and distinguishing characteristic of the treatment of the supernatural by the romantic poets, *viz.*, its note of humanity.

The romantic poet's conception of the supernatural, even apart from the treatment, has a fundamental difference from that of the earlier poets on one hand and of the later 'Celtic Revivalists' on the other. The former were pre-occupied with the awe and wonder of the supernatural, while the latter with its mystical allurements, its far-off beckoning beauty. In the hands of the Celtic poets, the supernatural becomes a sort of

coloured vapour changing ever to the variations of the aesthetic temper and feeling, but never settling down on the realities of human life. Unreality of the supernatural becomes with them a studied unrealism, with nothing more substantial to hold on to than ghostly landscapes, fairy life and strange traffickings between the earth and regions unearthly. The imagination seems to drift vaguely beyond all moorings and soundings in human life as we find in Yeats's early Celtic-mythological poem on *The Wanderings of Usheen*. But the romantic poet, with his pre-occupation with humanity, articulates the supernatural to the realities of life in the sphere of spiritual or psychological experience. Hence we have a feeling of soundness and certainty, the sense that the poet, however far his imagination may travel, will come back at last like Coleridge's mariner to familiar moorings. But this distinctive human interest, arising perhaps from that inherent and pervasive quality of English romantic poetry which Matthew Arnold, its champion and interpreter, made a test and touch-stone of *all* poetry and formulated as 'the criticism of life,' has a subtle artistic effect on the treatment of the supernatural which is best exemplified by the conclusion of the *Ancient Mariner*.

The resurgence of the natural human interest at the end of the poem has the effect of throwing the whole series of supernatural occurrences, from the appearance of the spectre-bark to the departure of the seraph-men, in a strange retrospect. We are landed at a point of vantage as it were, from which the supernatural experiences may be viewed apart, and they show themselves, seen thus from at a distance, strangely evanescent and illusory. A mist, a dream-like dubiety, seems to swallow them up.

In one of the supernatural stories of Rabindra Nath Tagore, a device is employed for the same artistic effect. The story describes the wonderful experiences of a man in a lonely and deserted palace of pleasure, built two centuries and a half ago in the sumptuous Mughal days of yore. It had seen within its

walls the splendid lusts and cruelties of the imperial *harem* and now 'the curse of all the heart-aches and blasted hopes made its every stone thirsty and hungry, eager to swallow up like a famished ogress any living man who might chance to approach.' At night this deserted palace becomes alive with the ghosts of long-dead Mughal revelries—ghostly laughs of bejewelled maidens, tinklings of anklets on viewless feet, unearthly music of guitars struck by invisible hands. The man comes completely under the exquisite supernatural spell and the haunted palace seems like 'a living organism digesting him by the action of some stupefying gastric juice.' 'The intangible, inaccessible, unearthly vision' appears to him to be the only reality in the world—and all else a mere dream. But the vision comes only of nights when the spell thickens, but with morning it is snapped. This is how the snapping of the spell is described: "I saw that day had dawned, and Meher Ali was going round and round the palace with his usual cry (*i.e.*, Stand back! Stand back! All is false!) in that dreadful weather. Suddenly it occurred to me that perhaps he also had once lived in that house, and that, though he had gone mad, he came there every day, and went round and round, fascinated by the weird spell cast by the marble demon.

"Despite the storm and rain, I ran to him and asked: 'Ho Meher Ali, what is false?'

"The man answered nothing, but pushing me aside went round and round with his frantic cry, like a bird flying about the jaws of a snake, and made a desperate effort to warn himself by repeating: 'Stand back! Stand back! All is false! All is false!!'

Here we have a device, brought *ex machina*, to restore the mind to a point from which the falsity of the supernatural experience may appear in retrospect. But Coleridge achieves the same artistic effect, without the aid of any extrinsic device, by simply bringing the mariner at the end out of the spell in which he seems visibly to re-involve himself in reviewing his

weird experiences, as indicated by the wedding-guest's startled exclamation : ' I fear thee, ancient mariner ! ' We perceive the return to his normal self and the final re-emergence of natural human interest in the mariner's weary words :

“ O, wedding-guest ! this soul hath been
Alone on a wide, wide sea :
So lonely 'twas, that God himself
Scarce seemed there to be.
O sweeter than the marriage-feast,
'Tis sweeter far to me,
To walk together to the kirk
With a goodly company ! ”

And then it seems that all his strange experiences on the weird voyage become vague, unreal and illusory to him and he can pick out of them only one suggestion that comes home to his normal, natural self, now chastened and humanised,—the simple moral :

“ He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.”

The simple humanity and every-dayness of the moral, appearing so curiously inadequate if regarded as a summary expression of the effect of the whole, coming at the end of the poem, has this effect that it makes all the supernatural incidents seem misty and uncertain. The mariner had shot the albatross and he underwent terrible experiences in consequence. But if the experiences came only to enforce the moral truth on his mind, one may well wonder if they were real happenings at all and not the projections of a distorted mind, the painful prolongation of ' the spot upon the brain which will show itself without.' Thus the human interest, carrying, ' the truth of emotions ' and ' interesting the affections,' which arises so naturally out of the romantic poet's characteristic manner of setting forth the supernatural in the form of a human experience, becomes also a matter of subtle art, deepening the mystery and refining the appearance of the supernatural.

The importance and significance, as regards artistic effect, of the introduction of the human interest or the 'natural' element is felt at once by considering by way of comparison the type of supernatural poetry from which it is deliberately excluded. We become conscious at once of an impoverishing loss of subtlety and complexity, although other qualities may be evolved.

One of the earliest of such poems during the romantic period is Hogg's *Kilmeny*. The poem is suffused with that elfin Celtic unrealism, centring in a mysterious hide-and-seek between the earth and 'the land of faery,'—the motive of the old legends of Tamlane in ballad and romance,—with which the so-called Celtic revivalists make such exquisitely imaginative play. But the theme turns on a single note incapable of indefinite artistic variations, *viz.*, the mystery of the fairy world. Hood's *Elm Tree* carries on through its indistinct and grotesque dream-like imagery a low suggestive monotone in which the forest's hidden pulse of life comes throbbing up and sinks dying down,—

' Sometimes murmurs overhead,
And sometimes underground,'

making us feel that the trees are no 'senseless things of wood'

" But conscious, moving, breathing trunks
That throb with human blood! "

But the feeling evoked rests in a purely artistic sensation and is uninformed with the deep convincing power with which the same theme is treated in a different and more 'humanised' spirit by Wordsworth in the poem on *Nutting*. Coming to later poetry, Rossetti's *Eden Bower* or *Sister Helen*, in which a deeper note of human passion is struck, we find no such 'soul-lore,' as characterises the Coleridgean treatment of the supernatural, but only the vibrations, running in crescendo through the whole gamut, of one terrible overmastering passion, cruel revenge born of blind jealousy, hardly admitting of any by-play or interplay of other feelings and emotions. In recent English poetry, Walter

de la Mare's *The Listeners* is one of the most finely imaginative of supernatural poems. It presents a deserted ruined house in a desolate moon-lit spot, which ghosts have made their dwelling and into which a lonely lost human voice suddenly penetrates, deepening the weirdness of the listening silence of voiceless phantoms, startled by 'that voice from the world of men.' The most striking feature of the poem is the absolute break of contact with life and reality,—a syncope as it were of all human thought or feeling. In such poems in which supernaturalism is deliberately detached from contact with human realities, the suggestive and imaginative qualities may be extremely exquisite, but they still appear thin and bloodless by the side of romantic supernatural poetry, so rich in its psychological complexity and so profound in its significance in relation to human life. Oman, bringing his survey of 'Romantic Triumph' to a close, asserts that "more than aught else, perhaps, the Romantic Movement stood for humanity in its widest sense, made man as man the theme of central interest." This perhaps is true, not only with regard to what has been called 'romantic naturalism,' but with regard to romantic supernaturalism as well.

SUKUMAR DUTT

IMMORAL TRAFFIC IN CALCUTTA AND ITS SUPPRESSION

Immoral traffickers are usually women living in mercenary immorality. The Law embodied in the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (B. C. XIII of 1923) and the Bengal Children Act (B. C. II of 1922) is intended for the rescue of girls under 16 from immoral surroundings and their being placed in suitable custody legally prescribed until they are 18 years of age. The operation of the law is practically confined to those calling themselves Hindus, the traffickers being exclusively women. Male traffickers are mostly Europeans importing adult women from South-Eastern Europe and settling them at Karaya. Their habitations are usually houses leased out to male persons to render the realization of the rent legal by concealing the immoral purposes of the lease. The greater part of the rent for the term of the lease has to be paid in advance for the landlord's security. Anglo-Indian minor girls are usually not on the market of immorality. Only one instance is known of an Anglo-Indian father leading his girl child into the path of sin.

Non-Hindu women of this class can easily enter into respectability by marriage or other forms of changed life. Many pious Musalmans take it as a virtue to save the woman from sin by marrying her. Musalmans are allowed to practise polygamy, and those who can afford it segregate their wives. Others find it an economic advantage to marry a woman of this class without liability for dowry or *Kabin* on divorce and cases are not unknown of a Musalman woman living alternately as a married wife and as a woman of the town. Hindu women unprotected and without means are occasionally found to become Musalmans for the sake of livelihood. Musalman Nautch girls known as Baiwallis are literate and trained singers and dancers. Girls

under 16 can very rarely enter into such occupation. During the period of operation of the Law referred to only one case came into Court of a Musalman girl placed for training under a Baiwalli leading an immoral life. Instances are not rare of Musalman gentlemen marrying Jewish women of this class or their daughters.

In Hindu community the position is quite different. Debadasis or immoral temple women are unknown in Bengal proper. Puri and Gauhati are the nearest places where this practice prevails. Generally Hindu women of this class form a caste by birth or adoption. It is to be remembered that the caste of Vaisnavas in Bengal proper and of Bairagis in Chattisgarh can be adopted by Hindus of all castes. In Calcutta a Brahman was known to have adopted the Methar caste. Hindu women of this class whether by birth or adoption accept their social or extra-social position as the fruit or outcome of sins committed in past incarnations to be expiated by calmly bearing their social degradation. Their post-mortem welfare depends on pupilage of a particular class of Brahman, by acts of charity, visiting places of pilgrimages specially Brindaban and Navadwip, bathing in the Ganges, building temples and other similar acts esteemed as pious. Orthodox Hindu society make it the exclusive privilege of this class of women to sing and dance before Thakurs or sacred images on festive occasions and singing hymns at ceremonies ending periods of mourning. Many well-known women of this class are known to have retired to Navadwip and devoted their lives to acts of piety such as are open to them under prevalent usages.

Hindu women of this class specially in Calcutta, as moral justification for the life they lead, go through the ceremony of mock marriage. It will be useful to subjoin a few extracts from a paper dealing with Mock Marriage.

“In one form of such marriage the bridegroom is a degraded or pretended Brahman who goes through the form of marriage observed among the higher castes, for the usual fee of

Rs. 5 and a nether garment, called *dhuti*, and an upper one called *chādar*. He never sees his bride after the ceremony is concluded and departs with silent, if not express, consent to his bride's subsequent career of sin and shame in the world's eyes."

"A girl is initiated into the profession by marriage with a god. In the case of an idol, already established for public worship, the ceremony is quite simple. It consists in the officiating priest's placing vermilion powder on the parting of the girl's hair just above the forehead from a receptacle previously placed on the idol's foot. A fee is paid to the priest for the service. If the idol be a private one the regular ceremony is performed, the priest uttering on the idol's behalf the *mantras* or formulæ prescribed by the Shastric ritual on the part of the bridegroom. In this latter form, upon accidental destruction of the idol, the surviving wife has to abandon all marks of wifehood, the vermilion is rubbed out and the left wrist bared of the iron wristlet. In all other respects her life continues its even course. In the other form where the idol is public the risk of widowhood is removed."

"The ceremonies described are evidently intended to preserve the religious purity of the whole sphere of prostitution. The consent of the human or the silence of the inanimate husband justifies the action of the prostitute and her patrons. The husband-god dwells in every male heart as its ruler. Marriage with him is marriage with every man. Thus prostitution is taken as a bringer of sanctification and not sin into the world. Earth, scooped out of a brothel, has its use in some forms of religion, the prostitute being apparently regarded as a social protective against male propensity for evil."

The only Western Institution that has any resemblance to the Hindu prostitute caste is the Turf Club. Race gambling like all other forms of gambling is not recognised by Law, but Turf Club helps the gambler who wins to realise his claim against the loser. The defaulter is excluded from further gambling.

Judges who cannot recognise race gambling in Court administer Turf Clubs as individuals. Christian charities close their hands against Turf Club gifts which civic charities receive with gratitude.

Is it difficult to understand that in existing circumstances removal by Law of a child from her natural or adoptive mother of the class mentioned should be resented by her as unjust interference with her religion and resisted by expensive litigation? Costs of litigation are often met out of refreshment allowances or *Jalpani* received by such mothers from men desirous of securing immature girls for immoral purposes on attainment of maturity. As a matter of fact during the whole period of operation of the related Law, about a hundred girls have been rescued while the number of such girls in training for immoral life in Calcutta cannot fall far short of a thousand or two. Smallness of child-birth among women of this class may have a scientific explanation. But there is no doubt that it is an incentive for adoption of infant girls, either foundlings or willingly parted with by their mothers and relatives and even small girls friendless or unprotected. Women, not *declassé*, to hide their shame, in social obscurity give birth to children in some Calcutta Hospital or in holy places like Navadwip, Benares or Brindaban. Male children are disposed of by small payments to Methars or Muddaforashes who assist in cremation ceremonies and sometimes they find protection in Christian foundling institutions, but a girl child is sought after most eagerly and earnestly by women of the town. There is another source of recruitment in Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore, comparatively poorer Districts of Bengal. A considerable portion of the inhabitants of these Districts have usually to purchase brides. The price is said to be Rs. 100 for every year of the prospective bride's age. Most of the men desirous of marriage are labourers or hand-workers or of a slightly superior class. It takes them many years to lay by the necessary price for their brides who are therefore very often left child widows. Women of the class referred to, of sufficient means,

take them in adoption even, on payment of small sums to their relatives or protectors. One such child widow rescued from machination of her husband's mistress to sell her into immorality is now being trained by the Society for the Protection of Children in India, and another helped by that Society on attainment of majority is now a married Christian wife. A girl rescued under the Law and placed in the custody of the Baptist Mission in Calcutta is now in training to be a mistress of some Government girls' school and she has, under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A., obtained a gold medal for singing and is now a Christian by religion. Of the girls in the custody of the Calcutta Vigilance Association two are happily married and another is earning her livelihood by honest work.

Will it be wrong to appeal to all charitable hearts to help the girls now in the legal custody of the Calcutta Vigilance Association to earn honestly their livelihood when the time arrives for their discharge? There are sad cases of such discharged girls going astray which need not be mentioned here.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

PRELUDE

It is not fantasy can stay
The soul's deep hunger, or delay
The disillusion of the heart :
Send us, O Muse, a sterner art,
For beauty is no dreamful thing,
But vigorous and inspiriting.

The poets in their pilgrimage
Seek only this from age to age :
A moment's term to restlessness,
A pause in life's familiar stress;
And beauty, snared for one swift hour,
Is that day's peace, is that day's power.

It is not fantasy will give
Such pauses, being too fugitive;
And never yet a dream alone
Has set a man on any throne
Of truth, or taught him to deny
Death's mocking scandal and old lie.
Send therefore, Muse a sterner song
To us who to thy sect belong,
Lest men amid their labouring
Should deem the lyre a moonstruck thing,
And not the mighty voice that sweeps
With galloping beauty heights and deeps !

WALLACE B. NICHOLS

SOME EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN THE PUNJAB

The educational progress made by the Punjab in recent years has brought that province into some lime-light. That the fame is based on facts and not on mere propaganda is evident from the following figures showing the increase in enrolment between 1917 and 1927 :—

Province.	Percentage of increase between 1917-27.
Punjab	120
Madras	58
U.P.	58
Bihar	40
Bombay	35
Bengal	22
Assam	15
C.P.	7

Though efficient departmental organization has been largely responsible for this success, it is a mistake to ignore other factors which are quite effective.

1. *The Factors that help.*

First and foremost there is the temperament of the people, shaped by geographical and historical influences. Continuous invasions from outside kept the Punjab free from hereditary aristocracies and the typical Indian conservatism. The society remained tribal and did not allow the conservative forces to gather strength and create that die-hard mentality which worships the past, hates the present and ignores the future. Nowhere in India is the caste system so weak as it is in the

Punjab. The Punjab may therefore be called a *tabula rasa* on which the reformer can easily write anything new.

The second factor is the economic prosperity of the province. It is the second richest province in India, Bombay being the first. But more important than this is the fact that the wealth of the province is more evenly distributed than in any other province of India. The Punjab peasant is also the proprietor of the land which he cultivates. Hence he has a certain amount of self-respect and is entirely free from that serf mentality which is the characteristic of the peasant elsewhere in India.

The third factor is the "dash" of the Punjabi. He is found in every part of the world earning his livelihood through his own labour. Almost every British Colony and Dominion has a Punjabi settlement. As early as 1901 there were 25,000 Punjabis in Uganda. If any Indian deserves the epithet of 'practical' it is the Punjabi.

The Punjab peasant and his countryside have therefore more influence on the politics of the province than the town-dwellers and their urban activities. The Punjab to-day is governed in the interest of its 90 per cent. rural population and not its 10 per cent. town-dwellers.

2. *The Corner-stone of the Punjab Educational Policy.*

Vernacular education based on the most up-to-date lines and shaped according to the requirements of the villagers is therefore the goal of education in the Punjab. A net work of primary schools surrounded by middle vernacular schools and each primary school looking forward to being raised to middle standard—these are the main features of the Punjab educational policy. How vigorously this policy is being pushed forward is evident from the fact that in 1921-22 there were only 412 Lower Middle and 244 Upper Middle Schools while in 1928-29 there were as many as 2,221 Lower Middle and 595 Upper Middle Schools.

To cope with this increased work of vernacular education and to give it further impetus a separate Inspector of Vernacular Education was appointed. Fortunately the Punjab authorities recognized from the beginning the limitations of private enterprise under the existing Indian conditions and took upon themselves (through the District Boards) the main burden of vernacular education instead of leaving it to private bodies. The following table shows the relative position of various provinces in this connection :—

Province.	Percentage of Prim. Schools run by State.	Percentage of Schools by Private Bodies.
C.P.	90	10
Bombay	82	18
Punjab	81	19
U.P	78	22
Madras	33	67
Bengal	20	80
Bihar	12	88

That this elimination of private enterprise in the Punjab has led to very satisfactory results can be seen from the following figures showing "leakage"¹ during the primary course :—

Province.	Percentage of State Schools.	Percentage of Private Schools.	Percentage of Leakage.
C.P.	90	10	54
Bombay	82	18	59
Punjab	81	19	74
U.P.	78	22	75
Madras	33	67	82
Bengal	20	80	86
Bihar	12	88	89

¹ "Leakage" means the number of boys who drop out in their upward journey from the first (primary) class to the fourth (primary) class.

The above figures show clearly that the "leakage" is highest where the percentage of State schools is lowest. Here is a fine lesson for those who run down State enterprise and praise private schools. The figures relating to Bengal and Bihar are particularly instructive.

3. *Normal Schools the Starting Point.*

But more important than the above is the re-orientation of vernacular education as regards its aims. The vernacular schools in the Punjab are not only to train the young but also to enlighten the old. Each of these schools, in short, is to become the centre of social and cultural activities of the rural area which it serves. The teachers in these schools are to be the "guide, friend and philosopher" of the peasant.

But this new policy could not be enforced with the old-fashioned teachers employed in the vernacular schools of the Punjab. Hence the present-day Normal Schools, full of life and activities and the centre of attraction for educationists from every part of India.

Community work is the slogan of these Normal Schools. The pupils, beside the usual instruction they receive in the art of teaching, are also taught the various ways of approach and appeal to the rustic mind—the work which is now popularly known as "Village Uplift," thanks to the activities of Mr. F. L. Brayne of the Gurgaon fame. The spirit underlying this new move can be best summed up in the following words :

"The inspecting staff turned its eyes from the boy at the desk to the boy in his environment ; and then to those dimly envisaged inhabitants of that environment, fathers and big brothers. No thinking man could see these without feeling deeply that the duty of an Education Department is to seek out those that sit in darkness and to give them light."

The teachers trained in the Normal Schools of the Punjab to-day are selected from amongst villagers and the spirit of the

“ New Learning ” consists in teaching the youth (1) through leadership, (2) through social services, and (3) through making the school a community centre.

The Normal school pupils divide themselves into groups, each under its own leader. They go to villages, lecture on sanitation and actually help the villagers in cleaning up their villages. They organize Melas, health exhibitions and other shows to attract the rustics. Popular propaganda songs are composed and sung in these Melas, processions for emphasizing one single idea are organized and marched through villages.

4. *The Project Method at Moga School.*

But the credit of introducing this new Normal school and reorganizing vernacular education does not belong to the Punjab Education Department. The inspiration came from the American Presbyterian Missionaries who started their famous school at Moga in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab. This school was and is really meant for Christian converts living in villages. It consists of a Normal class and a Rural Community Middle School teaching from the first to the eighth class, the first four classes serving as practising school for the Normal class. The purpose of the school is to prepare selected village boys for the leadership of their own communities and majority of them become teachers in village schools after finishing their education.

But it is not only in aims that this school differs from others. The methods of teaching are also different. It uses what is technically known as “Project Method.” According to this method, instruction is focussed around typical problems which are actually encountered in life outside school. In the course of solving these problems or working out the projects, principles are discovered and learned. Topical instruction is given only a secondary place. The pupils are encouraged to seek actively the solution of the problem wherever the search may lead them, even

outside the confines of the school. In short, it means learning by doing.

The school has about 55 acres of land, 45 of which is under cultivation, with 3 wells, 2 silos, and stables for cattle. The staff consists of 3 missionaries, the Principal and his wife, the Vice-Principal, the Head Master, 3 teachers with Senior Vernacular teachers' certificates, four teachers trained at Moga, one trained agricultural teacher, a carpenter and a tailor who teach their profession and a woman teacher for the Woman's School.

There are about 150 students on the rolls of whom 55 are in the Normal class and the remainder in the Primary and Middle classes. Most of them come from extremely poor classes and the parents give almost nothing towards their education.

The Normal course which covers a year consists of the following subjects :—

1. Principles and practice of teaching.
2. Child psychology.
3. Hygiene and other such subjects.
4. Rural social problems.
5. Religious education.
6. Agriculture.
7. Village home industries.
8. Village school management.

Groups of Normal school pupils are taken out to villages to study and observe educational conditions and submit their reports to the class. Near the end of their training the entire class is taken into the heart of a mass movement district where they spend two weeks organizing and maintaining new schools, teaching in established schools, learning community work and carrying on their studies and class discussions on the basis of their experience.

A village teacher's journal is also published in Urdu and English. This journal is the clearing house of new ideas and methods which are successfully tried at Moga.

5. *The Famous Gurgaon Experiment.*

That the example set by the American missionaries at Moga has not been lost on the Punjab is evident from a similar experiment tried at Gurgaon by Mr. F. L. Brayne, the Deputy Commissioner, under the auspices of the District Board. Though the ideals are identical, Mr. Brayne's conception of his work is wider and he includes people of all communities and creeds, improvement in agriculture, village sanitation, and uplift of women being his principal aims.

"The object of a village school," says Mr. Brayne in his well-known book, "is to make better, more intelligent, healthier and happier villagers. If a ploughman's son comes to school, his schooling should so prepare him that when he comes to follow the trail of his father's plough he will pick up the work more quickly and display more intelligence in all his business than his father did. Above all, the children must learn at school how to lead healthy lives and protect themselves from epidemic diseases. What is the use of teaching boys who are going to go behind, become in some way physically incapacitated, or even to die before they reach manhood? What is the use of education when the home is dirty, uncomfortable, and epidemics are liable to sweep away the whole family, or leave the children blind and maimed."

With this end in view he founded his well-known School of Rural Economy and the School of Domestic Economy at Gurgaon.

The aim of these schools is to supply the home training which is so common in Europe and which is so conspicuously absent in India. "The first object of the Gurgaon School of Rural Economy," says the founder, "is to teach the dignity of labour, as until the villager will put his hand to it he will never clean or improve his village. The next object is to instil the idea of service, the desire to help one's self and other people; and the third object is to convince them, by the actual instruction given, that we have a complete remedy for all the ills of village life."

The school consists of two sections : (1) a normal school of three units, and (2) a class of village guide candidates.

A farm of 51 acres taken on a long lease serves as an experimental farm. Four Persian wheels and a windmill have been fitted to the wells. Scouting and co-operation are the two basic subjects taught, as it is hoped that from these two the spirit of self-help, co-operation and social service can be instilled into the students.

The Normal class has to study all the subjects prescribed for the J. V. Teachers' Certificate Examination but in addition to that they go through the syllabus of the village guide class.

All the students have to visit villages and give lectures and do all the work in this connection by way of learning and practising their job. They themselves do all the chores to learn the dignity of labour and the necessity of personal effort. They stage uplift dramas in villages, "as this is the most convincing form of propaganda we have yet discovered."

The village course takes only a year to complete including the vacation. Students are selected for admission. Naib Tahsildar and Kanungo candidates, sons of agriculturists, ex-officers, ex-soldiers, Patwaris and Patwari candidates and teachers of village schools are given preference. Every student from Gurgaon district is given a stipend.

6. *Rural Community Board and Councils.*

Another important factor in the education of the masses is the Rural Community Board and its district branches known as District Community Councils, recently established. The idea has been borrowed from England. In 1920 various voluntary and statutory societies like the village clubs, associations, the Red Triangle Federation, Barnett House, etc., met together to think out better ways for doing their work, the uplift of the countryside. Their joint organization is now known as the Rural Community Council. The lead was given by Oxfordshire

but now many other countries have established their council. It is divided into five groups, Education, Health, Juvenile, Rural Industries and Social recreational.

Though the aims are identical, the Punjab organization differs from its English model in method and machinery, on account of prevalent illiteracy and lack of initiative among private individuals for this sort of work. In the Punjab it is therefore a semi-official body presided over by the Education Minister for receiving a grant of rupees one lakh a year from the Government. Various beneficial departments of the Government co-operate along with private individuals who are interested in it. One central organization distributes grant of Rs. 500 or more to each of the District Community Councils. This amount is utilized in paying allowances to Librarians in nearly 2,000 villages and in supplying gratis books, pamphlets, charts, etc., to village libraries on subjects of rural interest. It also possesses a cinema lorry which goes round the province. It keeps suitable films on health, education and other allied subjects. Each District Community Council has been supplied with one or more magic lanterns and slides.

It sends out a Demonstration train to backward regions, showing local industries, health and agricultural improvements and wherever, this train stops, fairs are organized by local councils where officials and non-officials give talks on various useful topics.

7. "For all" Movements.

One of the enthusiastic Divisional Inspectors has instituted a scheme, though he is not the inventor of it, by which every student of a school can take part in all the activities of his school. Before the school starts its usual work the entire school assembles at one place, each class under its own class teacher. Games, both European and indigenous are played, each class playing its own game separately under the supervision of its teacher. This is popularly known as "play for all."

In the same way there is "Refreshment for all." Each boy has to bring from his home a little refreshment and the class teacher has to see that he does. During the recess the teacher stands in the class room and sees that every boy had something to eat. "Music for all" is another stunt. The whole school assembles and the selected boys act as the chorus leader and the whole school sings in one voice.

8. *Divisional Organization.*

Divisions serve as the units in all the educational schemes. Each of the five Divisions of the Punjab has its Divisional Educational Association consisting of two members from each district elected by the District Head Masters Associations. An educational magazine is published under the auspices of each of these Divisions, and Educational exhibitions and conferences are held every year.

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN

CENTRAL BANKS AND SPECULATION

The experiences of the years 1928 and 1929, which the American Banking world did undergo as a result of the stock market speculation are not worth while being recounted in full. But the disastrous fall of securities' prices in November, 1929, meant the withdrawing of non-bank money from the short-term money market and the New York city banks had to fill in the gap to a great extent and commodity markets were immediately affected. It initiated and contributed to the severity of the general trade depression and many country bankers of the U. S. A. have failed in 1930 as a result of frozen loans due to deflation in land values which have been taken as security for bank loans. So some method of intensified and effective central bank control is being considered desirable in order to prevent such extreme demoralisation on the part of Bank executives during normal times of banking activity and to obtain the maximum of efficiency from the American Banking System.

The Wall Street crash has sent back money to Europe as the deflation of brokers' loans from 7,000 billion dollars to 3,500 released floating money which ran to London for safe employment. Thus this event has some domestic as well as international importance.

But this article pays emphasis to the salient lessons that India ought to learn from the disaster. The attitude of our banks towards the utility of centralised control, *i.e.*, the Reserve Bank (which would be created in the near future) and the reorganisation of some of the Stock Exchange practices are important issues which cannot be neglected any longer. But the mechanism, personality, functions and operations of the Stock Exchanges are not dealt with in this essay. As higher

industrial concentration will tend to be the order of the day in this country it would be wise to set right the machinery of Stock Exchanges as early as possible so as to make all securities liquid.

The American Speculation Craze.

The United States of America has often witnessed periodical "shake-outs" when unfortunate speculators were generally picked dry in the process of getting rich quick. But the recent speculative crash on the Wall Street is of more than ordinary interest, for very important lessons can be learnt out of this debacle by those willing to profit by the example of others. As soon as the speculative boom tends to subside the stocks and shares naturally get into "strong hands" who are not inclined to play the fools' game. Besides this usual weird effect the speculative outburst in the Wall Street during the years 1925-29 has produced several important consequences on the world's monetary history.

The Early Stage of the Speculative Mania.

"Man proposes but God disposes," says the common adage. With the most benevolent intentions of conferring a real boon on the war-worn Continent of Europe, the late Mr. Benjamin Strong, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank,¹ initiated the wise step of encouraging the flow of gold back to Europe by means of low discount rates cheapening money at home.² But the American public began to make a naughty use of the ease

¹ This aim unfortunately ran counter to the other objects of the F. R. Board. As the proposed aims of the F. R. Board were not clearly formulated the end in view was not often realised. Nothing is more important for the F. R. Board than to give up the pursuit of aims which are contradictory in nature. The "needs of business" and "international considerations" require low rates of interest but this would aid and abet the speculative tendency as it were. Credit restriction would undoubtedly restrict the overwhelming desire to aid agricultural production.

² From the autumn of 1927 to the middle of 1928 gold to the extent of 600 million flowed out of the U. S. A. (see the F. R. Bulletin, January, 1930, p. 9).

and cheap money supplied to them by the F. R. Banking System.

From 1922 the security prices were slowly rising but began to slump down in January and February, 1928. But the final check to the speculative orgy was administered only in October, 1929. As a matter of fact it took a pretty long time and several undreamt of steps had to be taken by the banking authorities in order to stop the momentum of a four years' rise in stocks and shares.

Initiated in 1925¹ the American public soon began to gamble in the price of stocks and shares. An enterprising press soon began to furnish the credulous public with financial tips for the new class of speculators. But the speculative sun did not begin to shine brightly until September, 1927, when the low rediscount rates of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were maintained by the F.R. Board to allow gold to flow to Europe to help the processes of monetary reconstruction and internationalise the gold standard. Easy money, maintained artificially, tempted people to speculate and there was wide public participation in the stock and share market.² There was unbridled speculation on their part which did not heed the fundamental forces of demand and supply.³ This soon proved a source of danger to productive activity, savings,

¹ From 1925 to 1928 building and other constructional businesses were on an unprecedented scale and caused a huge growth of business profits. Hence the market value of securities began to rise from the beginning of 1925. Flourishing business conditions initiated the boom.

² The Commercial and Financial Chronicle says that "Every one became seized with the idea that it was possible to get rich overnight by simply taking flyers in the Stock Market. Accordingly everyone became fascinated with the fluctuations on the Stock Exchange and everyone participated therein. Scrub-women, porters, elevator boys, typists, boot-blacks, soda-fountain attendants, clerks, statisticians, actors, actresses, and business executives—all classes became a prey to the speculative craze."

³ Safety, yield and capital appreciation are generally the triple forces that directly influence the value of the securities on the stock market. Securities are sold at 30 or 40 years' purchase of the yield of securities. Other considerations such as good or bad trade, psychological influences, bank rate, exchange rates, and special considerations concerning industries also played their part in determining the value of securities. See H. Wither's "Hints about Investments."

banking institutions and everything else in society. The extent of public participation can be gauged by the mere fact that several stock-brokers had to arrange special compartments in their office premises to accommodate the women speculators. Another relevant fact which can make the reader visualise the dizzy height of the speculative movement, is that on a single day *i.e.*, March 13, 1928, a total of 3,947,530 shares, changed hands. As stated already the slump began to be felt in January and February 1928 so that this figure pertaining to the operations in March do not really indicate the most upward tendency in the "battle of the billions" as the speculative fever has been aptly designated by the imaginative press.¹ There were often in the earlier boom days five and six million share days. Another way of pointing out the extent and nature of universal participation in the stock market can be resorted to. The following speech of Signor Benito Mussolini makes the above fact apparent. Says he: "Everyone gambled on the stock exchange and since stocks rose incessantly every one bought at 20, sold at 100 and pocketed the difference with which he purchased a motor-car, a radio-set and telephone or made a trip to Europe, paying for it by instalments and built a house in the country."²

Not concerned with the task of relating the story of the speculative boom attention is mainly rivetted in this article on the salient features of the banking responsibilities and the way in which the F. R. Banking system discharged them.

Although sound homilies were being preached, now and then, condemning the reprehensible uses of the ill-gotten wealth of the speculators which was mostly spent on articles of luxury or semi-luxury articles such as automobiles, art importations at fabulous prices, wearing apparel and dress accessories—still

¹ "On one day alone 17,000,000 shares changed hands which was a record for Wall Street."—Annual Register, 1929.

² See "Literary Digest," May 1931.

nothing serious was attempted by the banking system till 1928. Mob psychology ruled the prices of stocks and shares out of all proportion to the income-earning powers of the companies.¹

The first measure of the F. R. Board was more of the nature of a temporary 'warning' than a stern administrative measure checking the abnormalities of insane speculation. The sale of Government securities to the extent of \$ 725,000,000 was the first indication of real activity on the part of the F. R. Board. It sought to apply a gentle brake on speculative activity by tightening credit resulting out of the above open market operations.

Nextly, it encouraged the free flow of gold from the country on the understanding that the psychological influence of the departing gold stock would arrest the speculative activity. Even this method of attacking speculation proved futile.

Thirdly the Chicago F. R. Bank raised its re-discount rate from $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ in January 1928 as a warning to the speculative element in Wall Street. The object of the high rate was to attract gold from the East to the Middle Western States. The F. R. Banks of Richmond, New York, San Francisco and Minneapolis soon followed suit and evinced a desire to curb the speculative tendency. But these high interest rates proved negligible factors in curbing the speculative enthusiasm.²

Such high rates in the different regional F. R. Banks of the U. S. A., soon tempted the short-term floating balances to return back to America to earn the high rates of interest.

¹ There are some writers who consider that this is not the first step taken by the F. R. Banking system to check speculation. Firstly, in the winter of 1927 to 1928 the F. R. Banking system refused to replace the exported gold by the process of purchasing government bonds on the open market—a policy which it generally pursued up till this time. This was more a *negative* measure than a positive attempt to check speculation. See Dowie, "American Monetary and Banking Policies," p. 282.

² It is only a broad generalisation of this tendency which makes the joint authors remark that Stock-Exchange speculations cannot be governed by variations of interest rate. See R. N. Owen and C. O. Hardy, "Interest Rates and Stock Speculation."

To check this adverse factor the other money centres were forced to raise their bank rates.¹

Even with high bank rates ($4\frac{1}{2}\%$ rediscount rates) and high call money rates ranging at 6% on April 18, 1928, the banking system could not check the tide of speculative activity as Trade Corporations and other non-bank lenders soon entered the lucrative field of short-term lending. Deterred by high money rates kept up by the banks the brokers increased their dependence on these outside resources and the "boot-legging profits" of the Corporations were employed as short-term loans instead of being declared as honest dividends to the shareholders or kept as deposits in banks earning the low deposit rate of interest. It was this money contingent from abroad and domestic non-banking resources that led to the free supply to the brokers and one calculation (New Republic) states that these outside sources lent roughly one quarter of the credit needed by the brokers. Such artificial stimulation defeated the tactics of the F. R. Banking authorities, who soon realised that stock and share prices could not be maintained at such high levels. It thought that "the gambling stage of the bull movement" was reached and it expected a long and slow decline in prices. But its anxiety not to punish the innocent along with the guilty forced it to be lenient and further drastic repressive measures were not undertaken. Brokers' loans could not indeed be curtailed without hurting legitimate business needs at the same time.

But the above opinions were considered unduly pessimistic and a large number of well-informed writers began to maintain that this activity or upward swing in stock prices meant only a reflection of the increased business and productive energy of the people of the U. S. A. As Mr. Moody stated America became a creditor nation and the development of mass production became

¹ The monetary pressure on other centres can be indirectly measured by increase in the stock of U. S. A.'s gold between June 23, 1928, and Jan. 11, 1929, to the extent of 7 millions of dollars and between that date and 23rd October 1929, by a further accretion of 282 mil. worth of gold.

a settled fact. New industries and inventions added to the wealth of new products. Conditions of labour and politics continued to be steady and healthy prosperity was engendered by the improved credit arrangements of the F. R. Banking system. The inevitable result of all these forces and prosperity propaganda was the cumulative activity on the stock market.¹ This speculative craze was adroitly interpreted as a healthy sign indicative of real prosperity. Enthusiasm was catching and the speculative wave could not be checked by moral persuasion, credit restriction, and the tightening of money rates by the banking authorities.

Sympathetic speculative booms began to appear on the London Stock Exchange and the Paris Bourse by June, 1928, and speculation became universal in all the chief monetary centres. The emotional optimism so characteristic of the days of prosperity was mainly responsible for this activity.

Thinking that a stronger medicinal dose would allay the speculative fever the rediscount rate was raised to 5% in July, 1928. The open market operations were strengthened and a large batch of securities was sold to tighten money. The open market acceptances fell to a low minimum of \$75 mil. by July, 1929.

No stronger action could be taken as the crop-moving season commenced in August and September, 1928. Fearing the administering of a check to legitimate business and lawful industry the banking authorities relied more on the moral suasion tactics and pressure upon New York member banks

¹ One view was that the broker's loans in the New York money market were after all the result of increased economic and fresh industrial activity resulting in new company flotations and the credit situation is after all not very abnormal and "there is no reason," says E. P. Stoker, a practical banker, "why Washington should shiver at the broker's loans as though it were being pursued by Banquo's ghost." Broker's loans or Stock Market loans are to the extent of 5,550 mil. and railroad industry are flourishing and a glance at the business situation reveals that the loans might after all be necessitated by the extension of these industries. The existence of stable commodity prices and business prosperity are leading to a vigorous criticism of the F. R. Board's policy of "tight money" with a view to squeeze credit out of the share-market. See Mr. Simmon's Letter, *The Economist*, May 25, 1929, p. 1163.

rather than on high interest rates. But as soon as the busy season was over the F. R. Board, once again displayed its real intentions and began to initiate high money rates to deflate speculation. By legitimate appeals and tactful warning and carefully influencing the member banks and other commercial banks it attempted to check the speculative use of credit. On February 7, 1929, the F. R. Board issued the following significant statement indicative of its intentions and real policy. "The F. R. Board neither assumes the right nor has it any disposition to set itself up as an arbiter of security speculation or values. It is however its business to see to it that the F. R. Banks function as effectively as conditions permit. When it finds that conditions are arising which obstruct the F. R. Board or the F. R. Bank in the effective discharge of their functions of so managing the credit facilities of the F. R. System as to accommodate commerce and business it is its duty to enquire into them and to take such measures as may be deemed suitable and effective in the immediate situation, means to restrain the use, either directly or indirectly, of the F. R. credit facilities in aid of the growth of speculative credit."

This solemn determination was not accepted willingly by the financial world and those who were most impudent in their challenge asserted that "it was no part of the duty of the F. R. Board to deflate speculation." It was interpreted as a long bow-shot beyond the proper function. The Wall Street Journal defiantly asserted that "the business of F. R. Board was banking" and that the country does not expect it "to regulate Wall Street, stabilise farm prices, control prize-fighting at Madison Square Garden, ameliorate the traffic congestion on Broadway and wash the baby in its spare time." In short, it did not want the F. R. System to cut short the country's nascent prosperity.

The F. R. Board, however, stuck to its original intentions and soon established it as the duty of the banking system to see that the public is not only adequately supplied with money and credit on reasonable terms but it should not allow them to make

an improper use of credit. The rediscount rate was raised in August, 1929, to 6 p.c. and the call money rate swung to a high level of 20 p.c. in March, 1929.¹

Staggering under the load of a heavy money rate the speculators soon realised that a true connection existed between business prosperity and the value of the share. The bear contingent, the increase in unemployment, and reports of poor earnings of the companies—gave the finishing knock-out blows to the reeling and groggy speculators. But it has established beyond doubt that it is the duty of the Central Banking Organisation not only to provide the *volume of credit* needed but *its distribution and administration are no less important and vital to the society than mere volume alone*. This can be achieved by placing restrictions on total loan amounts which can be made to individual brokers. But this cannot be secured unless greater publicity of banking operations exists than at present and the C. R. Bank which detects this tendency can promptly refuse to rediscount for those erring banks which show increasing advances to those dabbling on the Stock Exchange

So now, perhaps, we are in a position to understand the salient lessons we have to infer from this speculative crash. Lesson Number One is the duty of the banking authorities to see that the volume of credit alone is not the main consideration but every endeavour should be made to check 'naughty' uses of credit.² Commercial credit should be used for legitimate short-term productive purposes and the purely speculative or financial uses have to be curbed in right earnest.³ As in the U. S. A.

¹ The usury laws do not apply to the call rates in the New York money centre nor to the rediscount rates of the F. R. System. See J. M. Clark, "Social Control of Business," p. 453.

² See the recently broadcasted speech of Right Hon'ble Reginald McKenna, on January 3, 1930, quoted from the Bankers' Magazine.

³ Prof. J. M. Keynes expresses this fundamental truth in a more dignified language as follows :—"The main criterion for interference with a "bull" or a "bear" financial market should be that is to say the probable reactions of the financial situation on the prospective equilibrium between savings and new investment," Vol. I, p. 257.

there would be in every other country banks prepared to finance the worst forms of speculation and then run to the stronger financial institutions for help. Such financial misdemeanour must be checked.

Lesson Number Two is that speculation can be properly conducted only by those who have given all their lives to the study of it. "Successful speculation is a whole-time job," says S. A. Moseley, a practical financier of great repute. Conducted by the ordinary man in the street it becomes a mere fool's game and although one view opines that momentarily neither the industrial expansion of the country might be checked,¹ nor the prosperity of the country might be adversely influenced, still the world as a whole would feel the material harm in the long run. Money rates had to rise in all centres to prevent the outflow of money to the U. S. A. A severe spasm of worldwide monetary stringency impeding the legitimate productive efforts of other countries ensued and induced the tendency towards falling commodity prices. This was the unfortunate result of the efforts of banking authorities to check speculation.

The succeeding world depression has been rightly traced to this speculative boom and its effects on the foreign money markets.² Steadiness in money rates is no less essential and international central banking co-operation should consider this as one of its important objectives.

Lesson Number Three is the extreme caution that is needed even by issue houses and Investment Trust Companies to conduct their operations during such times of disturbed public psychology as in the days of abnormal speculation. No sound investment

¹ This view should certainly be criticised for even in the short period there was restriction of credit the collateral shares against which credit is created have fallen greatly in value. As the speculative movement runs over a great period of time, savings bank accounts shrink and exports fall off for with the restriction of credit to debtor countries they cannot absorb the exports of the speculating country.

² See Mr Reginald McKenna's Address at the last Annual Meeting (1931) of the Midland Bank.

trust ought to depart from the principles of diversification, intelligent management, compulsory formation of reserve and the reinvestment of a portion of its profits in the shares of important companies. Some of the American Investment Trusts did indeed conduct operations in a questionable manner, so as to deserve the castigation of that eminent practical financier, the late Mr. Paul Warburg. He designated them as "incorporated stock pools" and did not hesitate to decry them as "subtle instruments of stock-market inflation." But elsewhere in Great Britain as well as Scotland, the *pure* investment trusts have done sterling service to teach the superiority cult of the ordinary share over the Government bond. Investment Trust¹ can certainly do this better than ordinary investors in this respect and these have to be started in each country. If Banks were to merely own investment companies or form holding companies to enable them to undertake the promotional part of their business there might be success for the shareholders for the time being. But as the encouragement of speculation is not the proper function of commercial banking this speculative tendency of bank-owned investment companies has to be checked by the passing of restrictive legislation.

Lesson Number Four is with reference to the Stock Exchange organisation. The one significant lesson it did was to introduce more specialisation in the mechanism of the Wall Street. New markets for stocks arose in New York. The Curb Market, the Real Estate Securities Exchange² and the Produce Exchange Markets for real estate bonds and stocks arose as a result of the speculative demand for these different kinds of stocks and shares. Besides this horizontal expansion of the N. Y. Stock Exchange organisation, improvements were

¹ See Dr. L. R. Robinson, "Investment Trust Organisation and Management."

² This was constituted on 13th March, 1929, so as to provide a regular place for trading in real estate securities. Now that mortgage bonds are to be created in this country by the Land Mortgage Banks a similar market for these mortgage bonds would be needed and there would be more people willing to come forward to invest in these mortgage bonds.

brought about in the matter of listing the shares of new companies on the Stock Market. This by itself would not check speculation but the investments of the public may be guided into channels of safety. The quotation of shares of properly developed companies is all that is needed. The formation of Industrial Finance and Investment Corporation in Great Britain by the late Lord Melchett¹ was definitely meant to place before the public for issue only such companies that deserve to succeed. An effective check against the flotation of unsound companies is what is needed.² The insistence on the mentioning of complete details in company prospectuses would also check unwise speculation.

Lesson Number Five is that weak punters who depend on outside help to carry on their speculative deals were the first to suffer. Speculating with others' money in an uninforming manner, meant disaster to themselves as well as the lenders. Some of the banks also suffered as a result of the bank officers speculating with bank's money embezzled by them.³ They were the people who could least afford to lose the money, yet the temptation was so irresistible that they yielded to it. When they were unable to afford to lose even the margin,⁴ it meant terrible loss to themselves and the banks.⁵ The psychology of fear induced by the sudden collapse of stock speculation had its own reaction on the psychology of the businessmen who are not now cheerfully responding to the bait of "easy or cheap money" artificially created by the banks.

Lesson Number Six is the advisability or otherwise of the

¹ See Hartley Withers "The Quicksands of the City," p. 128.

² See the Macmillan Committee Report, pp. 167-168, para. 388.

³ See my paper submitted to the recent Lahore Economic Conference, January, 1931.

⁴ One of the suggested reforms is to check "margin-trading" on the Stock Exchange. The idea is to restrict it only in the case of the big people who maintain £10,000 margin accounts. But as genuine purchasers of stock are always few there would be no liquid market for any security if 'margin-trading' and the 'floor trader' are prohibited.

⁵ From 19th September, 1929, when stock values reached their greatest height, to 13th November, 1929, when they fell to the lowest level, security holders suffered a loss of \$ 8,000,000,000, a sum greater than the entire cost of war to the U. S. A. See *Annual Register*, 1929 volume

independence of the regional branches of a Central Bank operating in a big country. Now, if India were to decide to fall in with the regional plan basis of the Reserve Bank it behoves us to realise the necessity for the independence of the regional branches of the Reserve Bank. A rigid uniformity in the matter of rates can and need be enforced only in the days of national or international necessity. There would be radical differences in the rediscounting obligations in the different regional centres due to natural differences in financial requirements. Hence some of the branches may maintain lower rediscount rates (*i.e.* $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. lower than any other rates of other branches). In U. S. A. some of the five federal reserve banks maintained roughly 4 per cent. while the remaining seven maintained only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.¹ But it must be admitted that the F. R. Board has not yet mastered the technique of harmonising the different regional requirements and fusing them, if needed, into a single national discount policy. The rate-fixing power is not yet placed in the hands of the F. R. Board. (Dec. 1930.)

Lesson Number Seven is that we have to revise our banking knowledge in more directions than one. The older conception of banking was to have a small turnover of business, maintain excessive rates of interest and high exchange charges. This has to be given up for the modern conception of bigger turnovers and lower interest rates. Another old-fashioned faith which has to be discarded is the ability of the banker to deflate speculation. It is plain now that banks after all cannot hope to deflate speculation. All that the high interest rates can hope to do is "to husband the country's credit reserves, keep the financial hospital beds in reserve for a possible emergency and *help to some extent in curbing dangerous tendencies in the speculative markets.*"² Just as the entrepreneur is not deterred by an increase in borrowing rates when he realises that prices

¹ See the *Literary Digest*, February 18, 1928.

² E. G. Nichols in the *Chicago Daily News*. *Italics mine.*

are tending to rise in the country market, so also the increased borrowing rates will not deter the speculators so long as enthusiasm is catching and an enthusiastic press is providing them with financial tips of doubtful standing. This does not mean that the banking system should not charge a higher rate for loans on security collateral than on commercial paper collateral. This is a legitimate and lawful device which may go a long way in seeing that bank credit is used for legitimate productive purposes. The curtailing of loans on speculative security basis is seriously advocated by all economists and bankers in the U. S. A.¹

Lesson Number Eight is the part played by instalment selling or "consumption lending" as the bankers styled it. Taking the National City Bank of New York into consideration it aimed at the direction of increasing the current prosperity of the U. S. A. by this plan of systematically financing the consumption abilities of the small-salaried borrowers. Small sums were generally lent on personal security at 6 per cent. rate of interest for securing home needs and two or three signatures were generally insisted on to eliminate extravagant customers. These loans were made repayable at the end of a year or a period of eighteen months and weekly deposits were accepted from the borrower customer for the purpose of liquidating the original loan. Undoubtedly society was benefited to a great extent by this plan of consumption lending but it was this plan that must be held responsible for worsening the speculative situation. As 25 per cent. of the value of the article alone was to be paid at the beginning the borrowers had some money to be utilised in the speculative ventures. While it created abnormal prosperity in the U. S. A. it also facilitated the middle class people to lay by something for being lost in the speculative attempts to get rich quick.

¹ See H. P. Wills' article on "Speculative Security Issues in the U. S. A." in the "Banker," 1931.

Although this has been the unfortunate result still the "consumption banking" of which America is the pioneer is a legitimate ideal which would tend to eliminate the heartless pawn-brokers or loan sharks and their unsavoury practices. Philanthropic and self-supporting loan societies and Morris Plan banks were started but the interest charges have not been reduced and the attempt of the larger banks to serve the consumption needs of the people is noteworthy. If a large number of banks conduct this business there is an open and legal market where funds can be secured easily and the extortion of the loan sharks can be evaded. The "uniform small-loan law" which is adopted by some of the States in the U.S.A., aims to tolerate the existence of the honest money-lender and his 30% rate of interest which covers his costs and risks.¹

Lesson Number Nine consists in selecting and adopting the wise features of the Wall Street organisation and discarding some of the similar obnoxious features which tend to prevail here as well as in the New York Stock Market. The membership fees are indeed high in the country than before; for instance, formerly any individual depositing Rs. 5 could become a broker but this admission fee is now raised to Rs. 7,000 in the case of the Bombay Stock Exchange organisation.² These associations should be chartered bodies and admission should not depend on individual financial ability alone but three sureties should be provided by every broker as proof of his integrity to perform his contracts.

Secondly the system of monthly settlements prevails in Bombay Share Bazaar or Stock Exchange. The system at Calcutta is somewhat different. There are no settlement days and delivery is theoretically due the second day after the

¹ See F. W. Ryan, 'Usury and Usury Laws,' pp. 135-137.

² The membership fee is Rs. 5,000 in the case of the Calcutta Stock Exchange. There are about 300 in all. There is a committee which governs the Stock Exchange consisting of 14 members. There is nearly a 5 to 16 days period for completing the contract. The Forward business is limited to 5 or 10% of the total transactions.

contract is passed and sales of securities are effected for the most part under blank transfers.¹ The system of fortnightly or monthly or periodic settlements is preferable as it introduces order in the Stock Exchange operations of the speculators. The operations on "bear account" would become penalised relatively to those which are conducted for a rise, for with daily or short-period settlements of 5 days as were experimented with on the London Stock Exchange after the war the former require much larger financial resources than the latter. Forced selling in order to satisfy the system of daily settlements becomes the rule and the slump becomes aggravated as a result of the daily settlement. The restraining action of the bear operations tends to place a natural check to the high level of prices to which shares and stocks may be carried by the speculator. The calls for money on the part of the Stock Exchange operators would be more frequent under the system of daily settlement and the call money rates fluctuate more actively under this system than one under the monthly or the fortnightly settlement. These were the defects experienced under the daily settlements or forty-eight-hour period on the Wall Street.²

The system of blank transfers are still allowed on the

¹ See the Indian Year Book (1927), p. 662. But generally there is a 3 days settlement. But the seller need not compulsorily produce the share at the end of the period. There are no periodical settlements and bears can postpone delivery till they can cover the sales at favourable rates. The author knows several cases when transactions were dragged for several months before the accounts were squared. A penalty for the retention of the blank transfers beyond a certain period can be imposed. The present practice of managing agents making unavoidable delay in sending shares has to be checked. The squaring of accounts at definite periods prevents the indefinite pooling up of risks that prove very dangerous when any crisis were to develop. This is the rationale why there is insistence on periodic settlements.

² There are, of course, many defenders of the practice of daily settlement on the Stock Exchange. Firstly, they tend to check over-commitments. Secondly, the burden of settling 2 weeks' transactions would be very great. Finally, the banks would lose the valuable outlet for their short-term funds. Considering the fact that transactions are few, the first and second advantage will not be realised in actual practice in our Stock Exchanges. The regulation and flow of credit by banking authorities would be possible under periodic settlements.

Bombay Stock Exchange and measures to curtail the life of blank transfers are not enforced even at the present day, 23rd January, 1931. Since these lines have been written attempts have been made by the Bombay Government to increase the stamp duties in March, 1932.

The system of blank transfers prevailing in these Stock Exchanges of ours need not be declared void but as it tantamounts to bad transfer, the delivery transfer deeds should be executed on prescribed uniform contract notes or forms which should have a foil and counterfoil. The Secretary of the Exchange ought to get a copy of the contract.¹ Due taxation ought to be levied on these contract obligations. A maximum fee of Rs. 40 has been suggested by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee. Specially heavy additional stamp duties can be levied on carry-over contracts.

Another baneful practice which a banker has to check is the habit to refrain from the transferring of the security owing to heavy stamp duty. A fixed lowered duty, as is prevailing in England, is to be accepted and this suggestion of maximum fee of Rs. 10 for the transfer would safeguard the legal position of the banker, and would not deter the borrower from completely transferring the legal ownership to the lending banker.

Lesson Number Ten is the impossibility of rationing credit in an unorganised money market, specially when no personal contact exists between the Central Reserve Bank and the other credit-creating banks. Knowing full well that credit has to be supplied to business concerns at the same old rate as before every endeavour was made to restrict the speculative uses of credit. A differentiating rate might only mean that re-lending would be done by the legitimate trade borrowers

¹ An official list of closing quotations can be compiled and published by him. Again it would enable him to keep a good record of all bargains for inspection. A uniform brokerage fee can also be stipulated and enforced.

to the speculators who are willing to pay higher rates for the use of money. To draw discrimination between the loans made to the legitimate borrowers carrying on production and speculative borrowers' loans or brokers' loans, as they are termed in the Wall Street jargon, is useless under such circumstances when inter-lending can be made. A more rational procedure would be the limiting or prohibiting, if need be, access to member banks which are abusing the privilege of securing loans by the rediscount privilege at the Reserve Bank. Mere blind rediscounting is totally injurious and a careful analysis of the items of paper for rediscount should be the object of the Central Bank. A really useful Central Reserve Bank ought not to act merely as a reserve or emergency bank alone but the credit controlling aspect of its functions ought not to be ignored. Unless this aspect of the duty is enforced there will be a 'saturnalia of loose credit.'

The rationing of articles has been rightly acclaimed as a successful measure but it is impossible to think of successful rationing of credit and doling it out to the credit of trustworthy borrowers alone and refuse the same to others. If this power were to be granted to the banks they would become inquisitorial in nature and unless all banks co-operate this rationing of credit will not succeed. Even legitimate borrowers will not be sure that credits would be extended to them up to the limit required under the rationing regime and they would fall a prey to insecurity.¹ Hence this policy of rationing credit in a decentralised banking system has to be discarded and any other method of controlling credit, say by moral persuasion, discount rates and a rigid examination of the member banks' activity by the C.B. authority, would be preferable to the arbitrary and ineffective remedy of attempting to improve the quality of credit created. Any decentralised banking system—for even in the U.S.A. only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the existing banks belong to the F. R. system—cannot hope to

¹ See A. C. Pigou, "Industrial Fluctuations,"

improve the quality of credit, for the needed co-operation between the different unit banks cannot exist and co-operation is a thing which can never be enforced from outside on unwilling minds. Hence arises the necessity for developing a highly integrated banking system where the Central Bank can hope to do something under this heading.¹ This is the main reason why banking amalgamations have to be encouraged, for there can be discipline, drill and decorum in the case of the few remaining units rather than in the case of a motley group or a vast array of bankers. A restraining influence over the general over-extended credit situation can be secured if the policy of restricting or limiting credit to member banks encouraging speculation is pursued by the Central Reserve Bank in the highly organised banking system, and too frequent oscillations of the bank rate can be dispensed with under this regime. This would mean that the C. R. Bank's credit control and discipline are virtually existing as a matter of fact. Nothing is more conducive towards the unification of the banking system than this measure. This examination and inspection aspect of Central Banking would be facilitated if the commercial banks do not undertake² "mixed banking" functions on any large scale. The displacing of the Government securities item as far as possible by suitable trade bills would be a desirable innovation in our commercial banking matters. A trade bill can easily become an ideal banking security if the newly created would be Acceptance Houses and the rediscounting market were to co-operate with the banks in this respect.

Lesson Number Eleven is the tendency on the part of the U.S.A. banking authorities to place the broker loans on a stable

¹ See the recently broadcasted speech of Reginald McKenna quoted in the "Economist," January 3, 1931, London.

² The extension of the National Bank's activities into the field of trust company and the savings bank was accepted and rendered permanent after the F. R. Act. The McFadden Law of 1927 authorised banks to invest a portion of their savings deposits in mortgages of city real estate so that with "frozen assets" the problem of solving banking stability is endangered thereby.

footing and independent of the call money of the banks. The Continental Bank of New York recently increased its capital solely to finance the brokers' requirements and pave the way towards stabilising call money rates and the collateral loan market rates.¹ About 350 Stock Exchange and Curb Houses hold the stock and the directors are all representatives of the brokerage houses. In addition to this move there is agitation to bring in a reform advocating the fortnightly settlement and an effective clearing system. This attempt to reform the stock exchange organisation is laudable. We do not witness such a thing in this country. The wise recommendations of the Atlay Committee were not accepted in the beginning and until 1925 there was no attempt to carry them into execution. It was the 'threat of Government intervention' that brought about some welcome changes. But the call money market in the Presidency Towns is still limited to a few crores and inter-bank transactions in this line are rather frequent.

Conclusion.

The above facts clearly indicate that speculation is inherent in human nature and is an attendant evil in the days of prosperity. So long as 'outside money' can help the brokers any banking system can do little to check this lawful activity. A unified banking system can however mitigate the evils arising out of unbridled speculative activity. Speculative outbursts would occur now and then thus revealing the imperfections of the economic structure. As one distinguished writer says, "speculation is an inseparable concomitant of any market that is really open and free but what is needed is the pursuit of the golden law of moderation in this as in every other walk of life." Otherwise enterprise degenerates into adventure.

¹ In spite of this the New York City Banks have been forced to take up the brokers' loans as the non-banking lenders withdrew their money from the call money market in 1920.

Sound banking management, effectively enforced checks against overissue of unsound securities and the curtailing of the immense volume of loans for speculative purposes are the only real curbs against the speculative craze. The sound banks should join their hands together and dissociate themselves from the stock-jobbing interests or refrain from forming security affiliates—a practice which most of the National Banks are guilty of.¹

Education on the part of investors to discount the booming methods of the under-writers who encourage the public to buy would also be a welcome feature. Popular support for highly speculative and often worthless enterprises can only be checked in this way.

Apart from the inherent impossibility of checking speculation it is not after all advisable to check speculation entirely for the restriction of speculation means the reduction of values. Without the speculator the economic benefits of a free market cannot be realised by the producers and consumers of society.²

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ The Bank of the United States which failed in 1930 had 48 affiliates and an affiliate was specially formed for making bank shares active and become widely held by the general public.

² The Leeman's Act of England has wisely prohibited speculation in British bank shares but it has at the same time greatly restricted the market for them.

TAJ MAHAL

This marble palace is no tomb of love
For faith to languish in, and dream grow cold,
Where ghosts trail mourning robes, and memories rove
The eyeless corridors of youth gone old;
Rather, these soaring blooms of marble seem
A life triumphant, rising on dauntless wings,
To where the aegis of eternal dream
Holds time-less court above the wrack of things.
The warm night breathes with moon and sleeping flowers;
A marble road flows glimmering to the hall
Wherein one limpid light, across the hours,
Marks the white bed of Mumtaz-i-Mahal,
A star from heaven come down blue steep on steep
To light the corridors of her living sleep.

WADE OLIVER

ENGLISH FOLKLORE

During the old English period various charms and cures were in use among the people. Against a swarm of bees the old English poet prescribes this:—"take [earth with your right hand and throw it under your right foot and utter the incantation."

But it must not be assumed that superstitious beliefs were the possessions of the ancient world only. Old superstitious are now dying out but new ones are coming in. It is among the rustics and uneducated people that old beliefs are kept intact. The villagers of England have a simple unassumed manner; education and modern civilisation have not been able to remove their quaint manners. When you visit the countryside you find the people very communicative unlike the sophisticated townsman. An English friend of mine went to the countryside with a girl of his party to canvass during the General Election of 1929. As he was talking to an old lady she turned on him all on a sudden and said, "Well Mister, your friend has got a very short skirt!" From this my friend was sure that the old woman would vote against his party. I met a simple villager of Devonshire who wanted to be very pleasant to me and remarked, "We all (meaning white men and black men) come from the same stock, sir. It was when Cain killed his brother and God asked him why he did so that Cain turned black with terror. So one section of the people became black from that day." It was not a flattering idea to me to be told that we descend from Cain, specially because I was just then reading an old English poem in which the Christian poet again and again described a monster as 'Cain's progeny.' Of course I knew very well that the simple villager meant no harm.

Superstitions owe their origin to popular beliefs, to a mixture of Christianity with other creeds, and to the dread of the

unknown. But they are not the monopoly of the uneducated or semi-educated villager. The enlightened town-dweller also is not free from them. Even society women visit the Bond Street Clairvoyant, palmist, or crystal-gazer, not to speak of the fortune-tellers and palmists of the annual village fairs. 'Thirteen' is an unlucky number and there are people who defy it by forming the "Thirteen Club," which has thirteen members and which meets at the thirteenth hour of the thirteenth day of a month. Yet when an aeroplane crashed on her way to France in 1928, many English papers took care to flash the news that she was carrying thirteen passengers, as if that was the cause of the disaster. May is a very unlucky month for marriage. Still society marriages sometimes take place in May. This and the 'Thirteen Club' are mere stunts and their existence only points to the survival of the belief in these two superstitions. As late as 1928, many marriages took place in the last few days of April, that is, before the approach of the unlucky month. Even educated people take care to 'touch wood' in order to avoid mishaps or the devil's intervention, when they have expressed satisfaction at the good fortune or good health of their children. Referring to the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, the London correspondent of the *Statesman* (of Calcutta) wrote (in the *Statesman* of 16th January 1932), "touching the wood of the table before him, Sir Samuel declared that so far the action taken (in India against the Civil Disobedience Movement) had been successful." I do not know if Sir Samuel touched wood purposely at the psychological moment but the *Statesman's* correspondent is certainly a believer in the old superstition about touching wood.

We know that simple folk like costers spit on their first money of the day for luck and fishermen spit on the mouth of the first fish of the day. But even an educated man turns his chair round thrice in order to change his luck at cards. Another popular belief is that it is unlucky to receive a knife or scissors without paying for it. It is said that in 1927,

when Queen Mary was given golden scissors for cutting a ribbon at Edinburgh, she insisted on paying six pence. Similarly the Lord Mayor of London made a payment in 1928.

Educated people know the worthlessness of such beliefs, still they cannot shake them off. I do not believe in the existence of ghosts. Yet when at night I pass under a big tamarind tree in my old village, a tree which was reputed to be the rendezvous of all the ghosts and fairies of the locality in my childhood, I have an uncanny feeling even now. I consider all the superstitions of educated people to be of this nature.

Educated people sometimes keep alive ghost stories whereas many country people do not believe them. Many rustics are heard to say this about ghosts, "I dunna believe as there's anythin' in it, as the dead come back. If they been gone to the good place they wouldna want to come back, and if they bin gone to the tother place they wouldna be let to." On the other hand when the play of 'Count Dracula' or 'The Vampire' was first staged in London many society ladies are said to have fainted.

Many old Halls have their particular ghosts. There is the traditional 'Black Lady of Windsor Castle' (said to be Queen Elizabeth) who was seen last in 1923. Cardinal Wolsey has often been seen at Hampton Court. Some streets or heaths are also reputed to be the favourite resorts of ghosts. Besides these, new ghosts are always appearing in places where atrocious murders have taken place. The Cornish coast, near which German U-boats destroyed ships during the last European War, is credited by the rustics to be the rendezvous of the spirits of the victims (of the submarines). They move about with lights in order to lead astray any German vessel that may happen to pass that way. Houses that remain vacant for a long time become the favourite resorts of ghosts as is the case in our country.

The name given to a ghost by rustics is 'boggart.'

Boggarts haunting houses sometimes become notorious by removing bedclothes off the sleepers. The best way to remove a boggart is to induce it to agree to be away 'while hollies are green' and a boggart is foolish enough to fall into this trap (for hollies are ever green). A horse that starts at a hedge is said 'to take the boggart.' Boggarts appear before men in the shapes of various animals, as for example, a large dog, pig or calf. Their shrieks are occasionally heard at night and it means death to the hearer. A boggart is also called a 'Barghest' because it sits on a gate or fence ready to fall on the shoulder of a late traveller. 'Gabriel's Hounds' are supernatural dogs whose sound at night is a warning of death. They are alluded to by Wordsworth in a sonnet—"For overhead are sweeping Gabriel's Hounds," etc. In Cornwall we hear of a spectre huntsman and his hounds, which are called the 'Devil and the Dandy-dogs.' Once a peasant, being pursued by them, fell on his knees and began to pray, and the unholy crew could not touch him.

'Seven Whistlers' are birds whose cry indicates misfortune. Miners refuse to go down the pits after hearing them. Superstitions like these are most rampant among people who are generally engaged in some dangerous occupation, and during a war superstitions grow apace.

The Germans tried to take advantage of the superstitions of the people during the last Great War. They tried to frighten the allied armies by projecting lights on clouds from aeroplanes and the allies saw fantastic figures in the sky. This device is said to have at first been successful against the French soldiers. But the English Officers turned the table by telling their men that supernatural powers were not fighting against them, but those were the angels coming to help them.

The rustic folk invoke various spirits to frighten children, *e.g.*, "If tha doesna leave off skrinin, I'll fetch a black boggy (*i.e.*, boggart) to these," or "I'll zend the mumpoker afer ye,"

There are many harmless spirits who are always engaged

in mining unseen by human beings, and they should by no means be disturbed by whistling or any other noise.

There are again different names for 'Will-o'-the-wisp' among the rustics, e.g., 'Hob-lantern,' 'Jack-a-lantern,' 'Kit-in-the-candle-stick,' etc. Victims of it walk round and round, and the only way out of its clutches is to turn some article off one's clothing. There are many little spirits which help the farmer. But if he disturbs them he will find his cream-pans broken, horses and cattle turned loose, and the housewife's churning will not produce butter.

Superstitions.

A rustic can recognise many signs of approaching death whereas his educated brother is quite in the dark. A small cinder from the fire is called a 'coffin.' It betokens death if it is silent; but if it makes a crackling noise it indicates that there is some money in store. When household furniture creaks it implies death or serious disease. If a clock, a picture, or a looking-glass falls, it also portends death. If letters cross in the post, or if a piece of land is accidentally left out in ploughing or sowing some one is sure to die. To break a looking glass, to open an umbrella inside a house, or to drop a comb, is to call for the death of some one in the house. If three people take part in making a bed some one is sure to die within a year. None should turn a mattress on a Friday or Sunday. Three candles in a line also portend death within a year. The sudden death of a pig or departure of rats from a house is a sign of coming death. We all know the saying "Even rats leave a sinking ship." The flight of a dove into a room also portends death, and so does a fruit-tree when it blossoms out of season :—

A blossom upon the apple-tree when the apples are ripe
Is a sure termination to somebody's life.

The magpie is an unlucky bird. If you see one at a time you will come to grief. Two or three at a time indicate different

fates. The popular sayings about magpies are—

One for sorrow, two for mirth,
Three for a wedding, four for a birth,

The northern form of the saying is—

Yan is sorrow, Tweea is mirth ;
Three in weddin', fower is birth ;
Five is silver, six is gold ;
Sebben is a secret, nivver to be told.

To counteract the mischievous influence of magpies one has to raise one's hat, make a cross on the ground with the foot, wet the forefinger with spittle and therewith make a sign of the cross on shoes and utter these words—"Devil, devil, I defy thee; magpie, magpie, I go by thee."

A black cat is a good sign, and it should by no means be driven out of a house. There is a story (which, I am sure, is absolutely without any foundation) that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was an unsuccessful man in his early life and one day he started for Scotland in despair. While he was waiting at a railway station in London a black cat began to rub against his feet again and again. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald took the hint, came back to his lodgings and from that day became very successful in all his affairs.

To return to our subject. A kitten born in May is unlucky—"May chets, Bad luck begets." Goslings of May also are unlucky. I have already said that it is unlucky to marry in this month. A Devonshire saying is "Marry in May, You'll rue it for aye." It is unlucky to kill a robin, wren, martin or swallow. It is also ominous to spill salt, to break a salt-cellar, or to hang a picture over a door. When you have started from a room on a journey you must not re-enter it. But if you have to, you must counteract the evil by sitting on a chair for a while.

If a baby's first tooth appears on the upper gum it will not live long. A gap between two front teeth is a sign of luck and

wealth (Readers of Chaucer know why his Wife of Bath was 'Gat-toothed'). A child should never be weighed or it must not see its face in a mirror before it is a year old. A new broom must first sweep something into the house, lest it should sweep away good luck. Friday is a very unlucky day for going out or undertaking a new job.

Two bells ringing simultaneously in a house indicate a parting. To stir tea in the tea-pot is to stir up strife. To cross knives or to put the poker and the tongs on the same side of the fire-place, is unlucky. If a woman's hair grows low on the forehead it presages widowhood, and it is called a 'widow's luck.'

" If your eyebrows meet across the nose,
You'll never live to wear your wedding clothes,"

is a saying of Midland, though elsewhere it is a good sign. A white spot on a finger-nail is called a 'gift,' and it indicates different fates according as it occurs on different fingers:—on the thumb, a present; on the forefinger, a friend or lover, etc. A mole on the body also indicates different things:—

" If you've a mole above your chin,
You'll never be beholden to any of your kin."

When a new dress is worn an old lady will utter the formula, "Health to wear it, strength to tear it, and money to buy another."

There are many quaint practices connected with various days of the year. Thus on Paul Pitcher's Day (January 24th) boys in Cornwall throw broken pitchers at houses, shouting 'Paul's eve, and here's a heave.' Guy Fawkes Day (November 5th) is the day of mischievous pranks indulged in by boys, especially by the undergraduates of the two older Universities. Valentine's Day (February 14th) is the occasion when birds select their mates. It was a gala day for human beings also at one time. English literature bears testimony to it though few

people observe it now. Up to the middle of the 19th century the Eve of Mayday (May 1st) was known in the north as 'Mischief-night.' Gates were broken, tubs left outside were carried away, and other properties were damaged, on this occasion. Lyric poets were very fond of going 'a-Maying' with their dear ones on this occasion. But inspite of attempts at reviving May-Day festivities we now hear more of May-Day riots (labour troubles) in important cities of the West than of festivities.

In the New Year the first person to enter a house must be a lucky man, and not a woman or a red-haired man. There were various customs connected with the 'Twelfth Day,' *i.e.*, January 6th. Shakespeare's play, 'The Twelfth Night,' was written for this festive occasion and hence this name. To this day belonged the ceremony called 'howling,' when boys, called 'howlers,' went round 'wassailing' the orchards. After this farmers used to entertain the 'howlers' with toast and sugar soaked in new cider. This ceremony is referred to by Herrick in his 'Hesperides':

" Wassail the trees, that they may bear
You many a plum and many a pear ;
For more or less fruits they will bring
As you give them wassailing."

Christmas was and still is the most popular festival of the year. Children still believe that Santa Claus comes through the chimney on this occasion to stuff their stockings with presents. There is the story of a boy who was praying just before Christmas for a bicycle as a present. His aunt happened to hear him, and, thinking that a bicycle would be too dangerous for him, gave him a tricycle as a Christmas present. At night she placed her ears near the keyhole to hear what he might say in his prayer before going to bed. The boy said " Oh Santa Claus, don't you know the difference between a bicycle and a tricycle? " In 1928, the Daily Mail (of December 13th) contained the account of a school-mistress being taken

to task by angry mothers for telling their children that the presents the children get are kept there by their parents at night and not by Santa Claus, who does never come. It seems the children had come home weeping at the rude shock which their cherished dream had from the school-mistress.

Charms and Medicines.

Charms for diseases and other harms, which were so much in vogue during the Old English period, are mostly forgotten now. But a few persist still, and new ones have also come into being. A horse-shoe on the door or the chimney-piece for bringing in good luck, is a familiar sight all over the country. The practice of touching wood has already been referred to. Market women and hawkers spit on their first coin of the day. Perhaps this grew out of a practice resorted to as a charm against witchcraft. There were various rustic methods of treating diseases and some of them still exist. Disease-charmers and bone-setters can still be found. The 'Christian Science' movement is a superstition of recent growth. The followers of this creed resort to what we call in this country 'faith-cure.' No doctor is called in when some one is ill. A coroner once passed severe strictures on the parents of a boy, who were followers of Christian Science and who did not seek medical aid when their son was ill the result being that the boy died. Charwomen may still be found who think that old church linen heals wounds very quickly. In 1927, a person was accused at Nottinghamshire Hall of taking money for a love philtre in order to cure a husband of unfaithfulness (the philtre was a mixture of boracic acid and baking powder). There are many charms for whooping cough—a familiar one being to put a piece of the ailing child's hair between two pieces of bread and butter, and to give it to a dog. The disease is at once transferred to the dog.

During the European War both officers and men carried amulets to avert danger. At the present moment there is a

fresh supply of new amulets under the less superstitious name of mascots. A few years back mascots could be found in all women's belongings like hand-bags, handkerchiefs, scarves, etc. Candidates at elections, flying men and cricket and football teams very frequently receive mascots from sympathisers

A rural woman, for fear of some mishap, will never tell you that she is perfectly well. She will at most say, "I'm pretty middlin'." This word 'Middling' is used to indicate any degree of health. Thus 'middlin,' 'joost middlin,' 'nobbut-middlin,' imply moderate health; 'very middlin' or 'uncommon middlin' means very ill.

There are quaint sayings among the people, which prescribe a course of life that will ensure good health, *e.g.* "An apple a day, keeps the doctor away," and the Devonshire form of it is "Ait a happle avore gwain to bed, An' you'll make the doctor beg his bread." Another saying is—"Don't cast a clout Till May is out" (clout means woolen underwear next to skin and the weather being uncertain in May woolen vests must be used up to the end of this month). There was an old belief that in order to have a rosy complexion one has to get up early on May-morning and wash one's face with dew, which is known even now as May-dew.

There were at one time many superstitious practices for divining future events. Some of them remain up to the present day. Love-divination is the most popular form of it. If a country lass wants to make her sweetheart's love constant or to make a choice out of several lovers, she resorts to superstitious practices. A game of children is to find out the occupation of the future husband. A girl picks off the seeds of a rye-grass from the bottom upwards and utters these words—"tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, rich-man, poor-man, thief." Each seed represents the occupation named as it is taken off. The words are repeated again and again until only one seed remains at the top and it indicates the occupation of the girl's future husband. The future husband's name is again ascertained in the following

manner. A new envelope is opened and the names of three known young men are written in three corners and the fourth corner is left blank. A piece of wedding cake is then placed in the middle, the envelope is folded up again and placed under the girl's pillow for three nights. Every morning she tears off one corner and the name left on the fourth corner is the name of her future husband. If it is the blank corner the girl will die an old maid. In order to know when a marriage will take place a woman will count off fruit-stones or buttons with the words "this year, next year, sometime, never."

Birth, Marriage and Death Customs.

Many birth, marriage and death customs owe their origin to old superstitions. The causes are now lost sight of though the customs exist. A baby's nails must not be cut before it is a year old ; but they can be bitten off. The belief may be due to the aversion to iron in the middle ages. The fate of a child depends upon the day of the week on which it is born.

Munday's cheel is fair in the face.
 Tewesday's cheel is full of grace.
 Wensday's cheel is full of owe.
 Thezday's cheel hath var to go.
 Vriday's cheel is loring and giving.
 Satterday's cheel work'th 'ard vur a living.
 Zinday's cheel's a gentleman.
 Cheel born upon old Kursemas day
 Es gude, and wise, and fair and gay. (Devonshire.)

Similarly the fate of a married couple depends on the day on which they are married :—

Monday for wealth,
 Tuesday for health,
 Wednesday is the best day of all,
 Thursday for crosses,
 Friday for losses,
 Saturday no luck at all.

One superstition of the nursery is that if an empty cradle is rocked a child will come very soon.

Rock the cradle empty,
You'll rock the babies plenty.

The first time a baby leaves its mother's room it must be taken upstairs and not down. If the house is one-storied the nurse mounts a chair with the baby in her arms. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the leader of the Conservative party, once said this in a speech: "On the day that I was born, our cook wrapped me in a blanket and to insure I should rise in life she did the proper thing—she carried me up some stairs. But she wanted my life to be a considerable one, so she tramped up to the top of the house, and there she put on a chair on the middle of one of the attic rooms, got on it with me in her arms, and then held me up." Now you know why Mr. Baldwin is so great a man.

There are many superstitions connected with a marriage ceremony. It is unlucky for a bridal party to meet a funeral procession on the way to the church. A widow must not be present at a wedding in Shropshire. After the church ceremony whoever of the couple steps out first is destined to be the ruler of the house. A few years back, at a place near Oxford, a mother was waiting outside a church and as soon as she saw her son stepping out first she clasped her hands in joy much to the discomfiture of the daughter-in-law.

Old shoes were formerly thrown after a newly married couple. This custom is to be found here and there even now. Old shoes are tied even to honeymoon aeroplanes.

Another Yorkshire belief is that if a bride-cake is passed through a wedding ring and placed under the pillow, it is sure to bring dreams of future marriages.

Weather Lore.

English people greet one another in the street with some remark about the weather. This is probably because the English

weather is very uncertain, and twice or thrice in the course of the same day they have some new things to say about it. A girl meets a friend in the street with the familiar greeting, "awful weather, isn't it," and the other replies "beastly," and passes on.

The rustic has an advantage over the town-dweller in describing the weather, for he has a richer vocabulary for it. We cannot improve upon the following expressions: 'It's a donkey day, Ben! Varra slashy;' or⁶ 'Here 's a sharp mowornin, John. Ey, as snell as a step-mother's breath;' 'A' tell you 'tis a day wud blaw the horns off the Key' (cows). When the day is bright with a chilly wind, it is a 'sly' day; when a piercing wind blows it is to a rustic 'peel-a-bone' weather, and when it rains heavily it is "raining pitchforks with the tines downwards."

The rustic has some ideas about the weather based on old superstitions and long experience. Thus when the sky is full of fleecy clouds the weather will be 'neither long wet nor yet long dry.' A fine day out of season is a 'weather-breeder,' and it indicates coming stormy weather. If a halo (called a 'wheel,' or a 'bur') is seen round the moon, it is going to rain. "If t' bur i' t' muin be far away (*i.e.*, if it is a big wheel) Mek heaste an' 'hoosen yer cworn an' hay."

The country folk believe that birds and beasts foresee what sort of weather is coming. Hence if they hear the sheep at night they think that rain is coming. 'If the crows play football,' *i.e.*, if they gather in large number, it is a sign of rain. If seagulls are seen inland it is also a sign of a coming storm. The following is heard in Cumberland:—

"Sea-mo, sea-mo, bird on t'stand,
Theer nivver good weather when thoo's on t'land."

A very common saying among farmers is:—

"A red sky at night
Is the shepherd's delight,
A red sky in the morning
Is the shepherd's warning."

Another common saying is :—

“ Rain before seven, fine weather before eleven.”

Conclusion.

It must not be assumed that all the customs mentioned above are to be found all over England. Different parts of the country have different customs or variations of the same custom. Many old beliefs are going out and new ones are coming in. Again, a custom or belief, supposed to be gone, may be found in an obscure corner of the country. Human nature being what it is, we cannot expect that at any stage of our progress in the world these superstitions will vanish.

Folklore is indeed the unwritten history of a race ; it gives us the history of many modern customs, beliefs and institutions. Thus scientific medicine came out of medical folklore and chemistry out of alchemy.

English literature is full of allusions to superstitious beliefs. Many such allusions are found in Shakespeare's plays and the works of other writers. Nowel Coward, one of the best dramatists of the day, refers to popular beliefs when he makes a character (Judith in 'Hay Fever') say, "There's going to be a thunder-storm; I felt sick in the morning." Indeed for a proper understanding of English Literature of all ages a knowledge of folklore is necessary.

S. M. CHANDA

MIR QASIM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PRIVATE INLAND TRADE OF THE ENGLISH

Before setting forth on his ill-fated expedition against Nepal, the Nawab had informed his officers of his recent agreement¹ with Mr. Vansittart in regard to the inland duties to be paid by the Company's servants. It was not only most unwise and tactless, but was a deliberate defiance of the Governor's instructions. Mr. Vansittart² writes, "He (*i.e.*, the Nawab) could no way have given his enemies a greater advantage than by dispatching as he did copies of my letter to all parts of the country, and enjoining his aumils to enforce the immediate observance of the regulations therein proposed, without waiting until directions in consequence were sent from Calcutta to our factories jointly, with the orders of his officers, which he delivered me for that purposeI did not intend the regulations should take place till general orders were sent everywhere; and the Nawab himself well knew that my orders could not take place, till joined with those of the Board, which he had therefore desired me to obtain. Of course I expected the Nawab would wait, till I could write him from Calcutta of the resolutions of the Council." The Nawab knew very well that the regulations proposed by the Governor could not be treated as final, till the Council formally ratified them, and Mr. Vansittart had made this clear to the Nawab at the time of his departure from Monghyr.³ But, no sooner had Mr. Vansittart left, than the Nawab instructed his 'aumils' to enforce the regulations, and seize those 'gumash-tahs' who refused to comply with them.⁴

¹ For details *vide*, Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 27, 1762. Beng. Pub. Cons. Jan. 17, 1763. Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 20, 1763. Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 1, pp. 1-3. Trans. P. L. R., 1762-3, No. 4, p. 9. Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 155-59.

² Narrative, II, pp. 201-2.

³ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 716. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 780) Muzaffar-Namah (Alla. Univ. MS., p. 336). Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V., p. 607).

⁴ Narrative, II, p. 199, Siyar, p. 718.

It has nowhere been explained why the Nawab rashly ordered the enforcement of the regulations without awaiting the final decision of the Council. A number of probable explanations can be suggested.

(i) The Nawab may have regarded the promise of Mr. Vansittart to procure the sanction of the Council as a sufficient justification for issuing his orders in advance. The Governor too confessed¹ in his narrative, "It was not till after my arrival in Calcutta that I suspected any objections could be made to the regulations which I had settled with the Nawab." It is quite likely therefore that the Nawab should have concluded² that the Governor's agreement was, for all practical purposes, final, and the Council would simply accord its formal approval to it in due course. Mr. Vansittart frankly admits,³ I made no scruple to assure the Nawab they (*i.e.*, the regulations) should take place, especially as I conceived myself to be fully authorised by the Board to act for them on this occasion." The Nawab may be presumed to have placed an undue reliance⁴ on such a hasty promise made by Mr. Vansittart.

(ii) Ghulam Husain suggests,⁵ "He (*i.e.*, the Nawab) wrote to his officers everywhere to give them notice of the agreement he expected, and to put them upon their guards; lest, meanwhile, and until the reglement should come up, the English private traders might find means to evade the custom, and the duty taxes." The author's idea is that the Nawab had not ordered the immediate enforcement of the agreement, but the imprudent, and over-zealous officers could not keep it secret, and began rashly to enforce it on their own initiative. Kalyan Singh too has echoed this view, "But his officers could

¹ Narrative, II, p. 204.

² Trans. P. L. R., Jan -Sept 1763, No. 9, p. 8. The Nawab wrote saying that he had imagined the gentlemen of the Council would assent to the agreement.

³ Narrative, II, p. 163.

⁴ Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 780

⁵ Siyat (Raymond's Translation, Cal. Reprint, II, p. 445). *Vide* Text, p. 716.

⁶ Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V., p. 607).

not manage the business in a tactful manner, and began to interfere in the trade of the English.'''

(iii) The Nawab may have thought that by promptly broadcasting the agreement throughout the country he would be able to force the hands of the Council, and compel the Governor to abide by his promise at all costs.

(iv) It may again be that after Mr. Vansittart's departure the Nawab regretted having accepted the agreement at all. He had certainly aimed at crushing the private trade of the Englishmen; and, it is known, had very unwillingly approved of the regulations proposed by Mr. Vansittart. Could he have believed that by immediately enforcing them on the authority of the latter's letter, he would be able to ruin this trade?

(v) That the Nawab did not patiently await the decision of the Council may have been due to another reason. He may have thought that his dignity would be hurt, if he were to be dictated to by the Council in this matter. It was enough that he had condescended to agree to the proposed preferential treatment of the English merchants. Did he think it derogatory to his honour to wait for the Council's concurrence in the proposed settlement? As a matter of fact, the Nawab subsequently declared¹ that he had neither negotiated, nor would ever care to negotiate with the Council in the matter of the private inland trade of the Englishmen.

Not only did Mir Quasim give his officers notice of the regulations, but he also directed them to punish the defaulters severely. The over-bearing officials strictly followed these instructions, and began to tyrannize over the company's 'gumashtahs.'² An idea of their high-handedness can be formed from the following facts :

(i) Duties on even the company's cloth began to be unjustly

¹ Trans. P. L. R. Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 9, p. 8.

² Siyar, p. 716. Muzaffar-Namah (MS) p. 336. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS) p. 780.

demanded at different places,¹ and the Governor had to protest against this more than once.

(ii) The Nawab's officials, now that they were suddenly invested with extraordinary powers, at once abused them by oppressing, and even arresting the 'dallals' and weavers who supplied the company with cloth.²

(iii) Boats, notwithstanding that they were provided with the usual 'dastak' of the company, were needlessly stopped, and the delay caused in this manner obviously caused great loss.³

(iv) The Faujdar of Dacca was reported to have ordered the 'amils' to make it impossible for Englishmen to remain in the country, and punish those who had any dealings with the latter. This was a typical instance of the insolent proceedings of Muhammad Ali Beg, Faujdar of Dacca. The Governor wrote⁴ in the course of his letter, ".....it is his (*i.e.*, the Faujdar's) design not to suffer a single Englishman in the country, and to punish whoever shall take upon himself the name of an Englishman; accordingly the Company's business, and that of the private gentlemen, has been everywhere stopped, whereby they have been, and still are, subjected to many losses : and the agreement which was made between you and me, for the removal of the disputes between your dependents, and ours, has been entirely broken off by Mahomed Allee." It is certainly difficult to understand how the Nawab's officers could issue orders on their own account, and proclaim, by beat of drum, that the Englishmen should not be allowed to remain in the country.⁵ As such complaints were reported from all parts, it is apparent that these officers must have acted under the orders of their master himself.⁶

¹ Trans P. L. I., 1762-3 No. 7 (p. 10); No. 8 (p. 12); No. 12 (p. 14).

² Letter to the Faujdar of Dacca : Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 13 (p. 16).

³ Letter to the Faujdar of Rajmahal : Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 16 (p. 18).

⁴ Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 21 (p. 22).

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd Feb., 1763.

⁶ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 333

(v) The Company had so long jealously maintained its sole monopoly of saltpetre produced in Bihar, but complaints¹ were received from Patna that the 'amilis' had begun² to obstruct the transit of saltpetre, and oppress the 'a-samis' who supplied the Company with saltpetre.

(vi) The Faujdar of Rangamati was guilty of a flagrant abuse of his powers, and the council had to send a party of sepoys to arrest him.³ It was reported that he had not only been stopping the boats at every 'ghat,' but had demanded as much duty as he pleased, and had arbitrarily plundered the 'manjhis,' and 'dandis,' besides ill-treating the peons of the Englishmen. Such violences, and extortions practised by a Faujdar were surely not uncommon, and prove either these were instigated by the Nawab, or the latter's control over his officers was extremely lax.

(vii) The council was further informed by Ellis⁴ that the Nawab's officers in Bihar had recently demanded a duty of nine per cent. on opium, although it was exported by the Company to foreign markets. The majority in the Council resolved that the Council at Patna should send sepoys to protect their 'gumash-tahs ;' and the Governor had to remonstrate with the Nawab against his ordering the levy of a duty on the Company's opium.⁵

While the Nawab's officers undeniably abused their authority, and exceeded their powers, the Company's servants resisted the demand of duties fixed by Mr. Vansittart, and zealously sought to protect their trade even by resorting to force, whenever necessary. It was a peculiar situation on the whole. The officers of the Nizamat insisted on levying duties, and punishing the defaulters, while the English gentlemen refused to pay any

¹ Narrative, II, p. 279.

² Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 18 (p. 19).

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th March, 1763

⁴ Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th March.

⁵ Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 31 (p. 30).

„ „ „ No. 34 (p. 37).

duty unless they should be called upon to do so by the Council. The result was a bitter struggle, and acts of violence were committed on either side. All this was due to the precipitate haste of the Nawab who refused to wait till the Council either ratified, or altered his agreement with Mr. Vansittart. The attitude of the English merchants has been usually condemned, and there is no doubt that they were actuated by selfish motives in their violent opposition to the demand of duties. Apart from purely personal considerations, there were, however, certain arguments in their favour :—

(i) It is nowhere mentioned in the Farmans that the privilege of duty-free trade was to be restricted to sea-borne trade alone, and there is no definite prohibition of inland trade therein. In short, Farrukh-siyar's grant exempted the English from the payment of duties both in their individual as well as corporate capacities, though as a matter of fact, the former Nawabs of Bengal had disallowed such an interpretation of the Farmans.

(ii) It was argued with reason that a sudden enforcement of the proposed regulations would be disastrous to their private trade.¹

(iii) The Company's servants further refused to abide by the agreement on the ground that it had not been sanctioned by the Council.

(iv) They were directed by the council itself not to pay any regard to the orders which the Nawab had sent to all the factories.²

(v) There was no alternative but to use force when the rapacious officers of the government deliberately oppressed the Company's agents, and impeded its trade in a most despotic manner. Mr. Vansittart himself admits³ in his Narrative,

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th January, 1763. (*Vide* Letter from Dacca to the council, dated 10th January, 1763.)

² Beng. Pub. Cons., 1st February, 1763.

³ Narrative, II, p. 254.

“Having been long under the yoke of our gomastahs, they no sooner had a prospect of being freed from it, than they, in their turn, would rule despotically, and use their authority to unlawful purposes. This gave our subordinate factories daily opportunity of making fresh complaints to the Board of the interruption of their business.”

(vi) They had been paying at different places duties on salt and tobacco ¹ and now they were suddenly subjected to new demands which they considered to be a breach of their special privilege.²

(vii) They rightly objected to being subjected to the arbitrary demands of the ‘chaukidars’ who wanted to collect as much, and as many times as possible.³

(viii) They are not the only people who demanded a preferential treatment. It may be pointed out that the Muslims also enjoyed special concessions in the matter of the duties. The Nawab would certainly have been more justified in opposing the claims of the English, if he had abolished the marked differentiation in favour of his own co-religionists.

(ix) They came to know that the Nawab had directed his officers to show special consideration to the governor’s agents ⁴ alone. Naturally, this formed a plausible argument against Mr. Vansittart.

The hostile majority in the Council, who were further strengthened by the arrival ⁵ of all absent members except the chief of Patna and Chittagong, rejected the Governor’s regulations, and came to the decision that although the English were entitled by the imperial ‘Farmans’ to trade in country produce duty-free, the Nawab could be allowed a duty of two and half per cent., on

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 15th Nov. 1762.

² Beng. Pub. Cons., 2nd March, 1763.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th March, 1763.

⁴ Narrative, II, p. 425. Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 31 (p. 30.). First Report of the Select Committee (Appendix 84).

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 17, 1763. (The Council Summoned all the absent members to consider the situation.)

salt only, and that the English 'gomastahs' should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Nawab's officials.¹

In the meanwhile, the Nawab had been informed of the rejection of the agreement by the Council, and he indignantly protested against it in a number of letters written to the Governor. His feelings can be best understood from the following characteristic passages² in his letters :—

(i) "When you came here, an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would consent to; but it is amazing that not a single person has approved of it."

(ii) "I neither have, nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself, and therefore, I plainly write, that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us, you should act in such a manner that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not advise me of it. I understand that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subahdar. This appears to me a trivial matter. Let them establish whom they please; it is of no consequence to me."

(iii) "To be sure, whatever your gomastahs write is all exactly just and proper; and my people tell nothing but lies and bare-faced falsities...I must cut off my officers' heads, but your gomastahs who are guilty of oppressions receive encouragement from you."

(iv) "Your order is absolute with respect to my people, but you have not the least command over your own."

The attitude of the Nawab was now just as obdurate as that of the Council. He insisted that if the agreement was to be modified at all, it must be in accordance with his suggestions. He wrote³ to Mr. Vansittart on the 26th of Feb., 1763, "you know very well, Sir, that I never intended such a treaty; it was merely

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 1st and 2nd March, 1763.

² Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 9 (p. 8), No. 22 (p. 23), No. 23 (p. 27).

³ Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 22 (p. 23).

in compliance with your pleasure that I assented to it." He now demanded three amendments to the former agreement, and these clearly show that the Nawab aimed at the virtual extinction of the English private trade. The only conclusion that one can draw from his letters is that the question of the duties was only secondary, and that he was more keen on absolutely stopping the private trade of the Company's servants. His demands were as follows ¹ :—

(i) "From the beginning till now the Nazim of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have done and do with you, hearing no correspondence with the rest of the Board." The Nawab meant that all his negotiation or correspondence should be with the Governor alone, and not with the rest of the Council. Had he not recently found it to his cost that the Governor's word was not law?

(ii) "Now, I say, that gomastahs are to trade as heretofore, in merchandize imported, and exported, and refrain from those articles of trade which interfere with the revenues due to my Government, and are a cause of disputes and the ruin of the inhabitants, and poor people." This was an unusual demand indeed! The Nawab obviously wanted to put an entire stop to the inland trade of the English gentlemen.

(iii) "I wish not to be concerned in a charge of so much vexation; you may be pleased to find some other to undertake it. For my part I am heartily tired of those disputes, and vexations." In short, the Nawab objected to the dual rule that would prevail, if his officers were not to control the English agents, and if the latter constantly interfered with the Government under the pretence of carrying on trade.

The Nawab's attitude appears from his letters to Mr. Vansittart, written during the months of February and March, to have undergone a complete change in regard to the whole question of the inland trade. Till recently, he had complained

¹ Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 22 (p. 23).

of the loss of his custom duties, and the high-handedness of the English agents, but he now plainly demanded an absolute stoppage of the inland trade of the English, a point that has been generally ignored. He seems to have determined not to tolerate their private trade on any footing whatsoever. In order to justify his unjust demand, Mir Qasim wilfully distorted, and exaggerated the facts. The following¹ are only a few of his recent arguments against English inland trade, and these amply show how far he could be led away by sheer prejudice and hatred :—

(i) Every village and district in Bengal was ruined through the oppression of the English ; and the people were deprived of their daily bread.

(ii) Revenue collection was entirely stopped, and as the Nawab puts it, “ I am a sufferer in the revenues by near a krore of rupees ! ”

(iii) If the duty of 9 per cent. was regarded exorbitant, the English gentlemen should give up their trade. Formerly, they had not traded in country produce.

(iv) His officers were beaten and chastised, if they dared to oppose the English agents ; and he considered his own life to be in danger.

The Nawab's fury knew no bounds when he learnt that the gentlemen of the factories not only opposed the demand of duties, but even seized his officers under the instructions of the Council.² It may be noted that Mr. Vansittart too had agreed to the arrest of tyrannical officers, and he defended his attitude, in the following words,³ “as the question was now whether the acting persons complained against should be seized, or war made directly with the Nawab himself, I concurred in the former...”. The Nawab was determined not to put up with such violent proceedings, and he retaliated by ordering⁴ the immediate arrest of

¹ Trans. P. L. R., Jan.—Sept., 1763. No. 19 (p. 19) ; No. 14 (p. 13).

² Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd Feb., 1763.

³ Narrative, II, p. 314.

⁴ Siyar, p. 718 (Text), Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 336. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 783, Khulasa (J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 609).

English agents wherever found guilty of any oppression. It was an act of sheer folly, and marked the definite commencement of that reckless policy of revenge, which ended in his ultimate downfall. Enraged at the unexpected opposition to, and defiance of, his authority, he treated the point of view of his opponents with supreme contempt, and refused to believe that his own officers were no less unscrupulous and overbearing than the English agents. The consequence was that his officers freely did whatever they liked, and the English merchants took the law into their hands just to prevent their trade from being stopped by the former. The Nawab ceased to pay any heed to the complaints against his officers,¹ while Mr. Vansittart was simply powerless to check the gentlemen of the factories. Numerous cases of conflict between the Company's servants, and those of the Nawab came to be reported in quick succession from different places.²

The disturbance that took place at Tajpur³ early in March, 1763, was the most serious among the innumerable cases of quarrel, that occurred at this time. The Nawab as usual distorted the facts of the incident, and held Ellis alone to be responsible for it.⁴ What happened was, briefly, this. On being informed that the Company's trade in Mow was being interrupted by the Nawab's officials, Ellis sent Lieutenant Downie at the head of three companies of sepoy to Mow "with orders to clear the Company's business in that district, and seize all those who have interrupted it." The officer captured Akbar Ali, Naib of Tajpur, and brought him prisoner to Patna, having left the Company's salt petre at Tajpur in charge of a 'hawaldar,' a 'naik', and twelve sepoy.⁵ In the meantime, the Nawab had ordered a body of five hundred horsemen to intercept the English

¹ Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 32 (p. 34).

² *Ibid*, No. 12 (p. 14), No. 27 (p. 28), No. 31 (p. 30), and Narrative III, pp. 32-33.

³ Narrative, III, p. 34.

⁴ Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., No. 28 (p. 34) and No. 29 (p. 35).

⁵ Ellis to the Governor, March 6, 1763.

⁶ *Ibid*, March 15, 1763.

detachment; they arrived at Tajpur, and attacked the sepoy's stationed there. Of the twelve, four were killed, three wounded and the rest, with the Company's 'gumashtah,' carried prisoners¹ to the Nawab who, being afraid to proceed to extremities reprimanded and released them.²

In his letter³ to the Governor, dated March 14, the Nawab gave a highly coloured account of the incident, and alleged that it was Ellis who "has created these disturbances under pretence of the saltpetre," his 'amil' "was by no means in fault," and that when Muhammad Amin Khan "drew near to the factory your sepoy's there, by order of the gomashah, fired upon them." The Nawab not only did not admit that his 'amil' had obstructed the Company's salt-petre, but omitted to mention the fact that he had sent his 'jamadar' at the head of five hundred horse to oppose the sepoy's under Lieutenant Downie. The Nawab went to the length of referring to the factors as "Your servants and men of low character."⁴ All this was well calculated to intensify the Council's hatred for him. The action of Ellis in sending sepoy's to protect the Company's saltpetre, howsoever arbitrary it might appear, was not unjustified, because,⁵ firstly, he had acted strictly in accordance with the orders of the Council, secondly, it was useless to complain to the Nawab when he had refused to answer his letters, and listen to his complaints, thirdly, he had no remedy but to use force to free the Company's business, and finally, the Nawab had so far in spite of almost daily representation failed to direct his men not to obstruct English trade till a new agreement was concluded. The Nawab's sending of an armed force to repel the Company's sepoy's was an injudicious step. Such retaliatory methods were bound to lead to a rupture. Either he should have openly

¹ *Ibid.*

² Narrative, III, p. 34.

³ Trans. P. L. I., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 29 (p. 35).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 24th March, 1763,

declared war against the English, or he should have graciously come to a compromise with the Council. He did neither, but by his own hasty and ill-judged actions and measures¹ he accentuated the breach between himself and the English.

In March, the Nawab executed a veritable *coup d'état* by announcing the total remission of all duties for two years. This was an extremely shrewd decision. It has often been regarded as a memorable instance of his benevolence towards, and sympathy for the Indian merchants. That this view is untenable can be easily demonstrated. The reasons which the Nawab himself gave for suddenly abolishing all duties are as follows :—²

(i) He argued that he never got anything by collecting duties, as most of the merchants in the country could pass their goods under cover of the English 'dastaks';

(ii) he considered the duties to be a source of constant dispute between him and the English ;

(iii) he thought it would be a useless waste of money to maintain the 'chaukis' for a few poor merchants who were either too obscure to secure the protection of the English agents or too poor to afford the duties ; and

(iv) he wanted to encourage the merchants in general by an entire abolition of duties.

These reasons are neither convincing, nor even plausible. That the Nawab could not collect anything on account of duties is manifestly a travesty of truth. It should not be forgotten that the inland transit duties used to be farmed out. Again, the customs duties formed only a small part of the state dues ; and though a large number of merchants did successfully evade the payment of duties, it cannot be maintained that the Nawab was

¹ Siyar, p. 719.

² Siyar, p. 720. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.). p. 784. Muzaffar-namah (MS.), p. 336. Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 609). Riyazu-s-Salatin (A. S. B. Text), p. 382. Narrative, III, p. 72.

Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 32, p. 41.

„ „ „ „ No. 33, p. 44.

defrauded of the most part of his dues. It would be an equally sweeping exaggeration to say that most of the merchants in the country were afforded the protection of the 'dastaks' issued by the factors. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that the 'chaukis' existed for a few poor merchants alone, whose contributions could not, according to the Nawab, repay the cost of the maintenance of those 'chaukis.' Moreover, the very fact that the Nawab abolished the duties for two years only should not be lost sight of. If he had been actuated by feelings of generosity alone, he would have remitted the duties for good in order to encourage the trade and commerce of Bengal. There is no doubt that the Nawab was far too clever to have temporarily given up his right to the duties without some definite object. It has already been pointed out that he was bent upon crushing the inland trade of the English, and that he had always looked upon their commercial activities as a potential danger to his government. He knew full well that the only reason why the factors derived huge profits out of their private trade was their exemption from duties, which gave them an unquestioned advantage over the indigenous merchants who paid heavy duties on their goods. If all duties were remitted for English and Indian merchants alike, the latter would surely be able to undersell the former, and thus ruin the trade of their foreign competitors. In fact, the Nawab could never have been unaware of this consequence of his policy. He must have known that a general remission of duties would ultimately be ruinous to the private trade of the English who could never have successfully competed with the Indian merchants, once their privilege of the 'dastak' was rendered valueless.

The abolition of duties at this juncture was not due to a sudden whim of the Nawab. There is sufficient evidence to show that he had been considering its feasibility for a long time past, and had even divulged his intention to the Governor during the latter's visit to Monghyr.¹ It was only owing to Mr. Vansittart's

¹ Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings to the Council, dated Dec. 15, 1762.

opposition that the Nawab had so long postponed the execution of his plan.¹ The Council's refusal to ratify the Governor's agreement excited the bitterest indignation of the Nawab, and he thought it highly disgraceful² to submit to the clamour of the hostile majority in the Council, whom he considered to be his personal enemies. The only way to escape a public humiliation was the immediate abolition of all duties, and by this means alone he could retaliate on his opponents effectively. It was consequently a very clever move. He had believed that his right to forego his own income could hardly be disputed, and that his action would eventually oblige the Council to yield to his demand of duties on English inland trade. The Nawab may also have expected that the Company too might force its servants to pay duties on their private trade in order to safeguard its own interests which would surely be adversely affected by the total abolition of duties. The majority in the Council did for obvious reasons exaggerate³ the effect of the Nawab's declaration of free-trade on the Company's business, but their argument was essentially correct. There can be no doubt about the fact that the abolition of duties would certainly have been, at least for some time, injurious to the Company's trade in Bengal. Mr. Vansittart himself had represented to the Nawab that his proposal of taking off duties in general would "prejudice our Honourable Masters' business by enhancing the number of purchasers,"⁴ although curiously enough, at the consultations of the Council he strangely defended the Nawab's action, and declared, "..... we hope the present regulation, instead of being a prejudice to the Company's business, may be an advantage to it."⁵ The Governor's self-contradiction is amusing indeed. His desperate attempt to justify the Nawab's policy proved to be of no effect!

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd March, 1763.

² Siyar, p. 719.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd March, 1763.

⁴ Narrative, II, p. 160.

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd March, 1763.

Shortly after this, the intelligence arrived from Patna of an act of unprecedented violence perpetrated at Gaya¹ at the Nawab's own instigation. This was a signal proof of the fact that the Nawab was at this time not unwilling to come to a rupture with the English, and it is strange that the Council did not immediately declare war against him, as the Gaya incident was a sufficient justification for the commencement of hostilities. The facts of the case are these.² A 'subadar' of the Company's troops had been permitted by the Chief at Patna, and Raja Naubat Rai, Naib of Patna, to pay a visit to Gaya for religious purposes, but he was seized on mere suspicion by the Nawab's people. On being informed of this, Ellis sent fifty sepoy to release him. The latter were unexpectedly attacked under the Nawab's orders by his troops from Tikarry, and the Commander of the Nawab's troops declared on being remonstrated with by the 'subadar' that he had been ordered to cut English sepoy to pieces wherever they could be found. In the skirmish that ensued, a 'hawaldar' was killed, and a number of sepoy were wounded, while the rest managed somehow to escape to Patna after bravely defending themselves against about 4,000 of the Nawab's troops. It seems clear from the account of this affair that the Nawab was bent upon provoking the Council to a war. Only lately he had ordered an attack against the Company's sepoy at Tajpur, and had openly threatened the extirpation of the English; and the recent unprovoked attack against the English sepoy at Gaya was an unmistakable evidence of the Nawab's intention to defy the power of the English by a deliberate show of force, and thus publicly assert his independence of the Company.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

¹ Narrative, III, p. 79.

² Beng. Pub. Cons., April 1, 1763.

GURU GOVIND SINGH

“ Today they think of the passing things,
Of the little gains of Silver and Gold :
Not of them, democracy's early prophets,
The Gurus who taught and loved the truth,
That life is a sacrifice;
That victory is to him who builds
For the kingdom of dharma;
That martyrdom lives long after tyrants are no more.”

It makes one shudder to visualize the great Guru, seated on a regal cushion, with a warrior's sword stuck to the girdle and a prophetic glory spread overhead like the sun's. And while the hawk perched on his hand gazes steadily around, his grave-faced master looks stern and elated over the prospects of a coming struggle. What eyes are those full of a mystic glamour! what a head full of thoughts! and underneath what a heart! High feelings worthy of a poet's, in a trance are traceable in his awe-inspiring countenance. While seated in this splendid attitude, he seems to be a foreign on-looker on the false pageants of life and the hypocrisies of the erring man.

This is the usual picture which is said to represent the great Guru Govind Singh, in his four-fold capacities, as a soldier, a prophet, a poet and a statesman.

Why is Guru Govind Singh great and what are his permanent services to humanity in the capacity of a reformer? These are the questions that I shall very briefly deal with, in this few-worded article.

“ Human strivings and uprisings, bringing the crisis of human history, are to me the echoes of personality, seeking more freedom, to express its innate longing.....It is a wrong idea to suppose that one must possess wealth or fame to become a personality. There is only one aristocracy, the aristocracy of character.” These lines contain a significant truth of life.

In reviewing the life-history of Guru Govind Singh what strikes us, at the threshold, is the immense power of his personality, this "aristocracy of character, in all his actions, and reflections." It was indeed the propelling force of his inner conscience which drew forth numberless adherents to his faith, even in a generation's life time, and which inspite of his meagre resources, made him invincible to his enemies. Low-born people, despicable in mien and appearance, and rejected by their fellow-brothers as untouchable outcasts, flocked to him from all sides and were thoroughly overhauled under his proselytizing influence. Received with affection and treated with a respect that is due to man, they profited well by his preachings and personal examples. It is wonderful to notice how soon they got adapted to the civilized ways of life and became decent citizens of an organized community. Out of the same dregs of society, he created fine soldiers, well fitted to endure any hardship and so well-versed in archery and swordsmanship as to cope successfully with the Imperial army of the Moghuls. Their fighting qualities, of which courage and perseverance were more noticeable, were well recognized by the enemy, for whom gradually, the Khalsa, had become a terror and a danger of the first magnitude. This all was nothing short of a miracle.

The truth is, that he had a certain conviction within him, a conviction born of an excessive love for truth and righteousness, which made him look hard as steel and colossal as a mountain. It was a conviction in his own personality and powers which, he affirmed, were a Providential gift and therefore irresistible. Curiously enough it grew stronger within him, as the difficulties of his task increased and as his resources, in course of time, grew thinner. For instance, the Hindu Rajahs of the hills had, once, assembled as guests with Guru Govind Singh who asked them to oppose the Moghul tyranny with sword and arms. Ajmer Chand, the chief of them, thereupon replied, "Each Turk can eat a whole goat, how can we who only eat rice, cope with such strong men? Can sparrows kill hawks or jackals tiger?"

The Guru was unusually provoked by their timidity, and replied in terms, vindicative of his country's honour, "My 'Singhs,' too are permitted to eat flesh and one of them shall be able to hold his ground against one hundred thousand Turks. I will kill hawks with sparrows; O Rajah, have no anxiety. I shall make men of all four castes my 'Singhs' and destroy the Moghuls." He continued to address them in the position of a master: "how has your religious, social, political status deteriorated, you have abandoned the worship of the true God and addressed your devotion to gods, goddesses and trees. You know not how to govern territories.....I am intensely concerned for your fallen state." And again "gird up your loins to elevate the fallen condition of your country."

It was the marvellous quality of his fearless soul which made him address the emperor Aurangzib, by way of admonishment: "Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne, yet how strange is thy justice, thy attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas a hundred times! Alas for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Promises not meant to be fulfilled injure those who make them. Smite not any one mercilessly with the sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O, man, be not reckless, fear God."²²

What a great soul it was that uttered thus!

The great Guru had long seen with a prophet's vision that in the struggle for existence, his Sikhs as a separate entity, would not survive. Owing to the political domination of the Musalmans, men's minds had grown sceptical, and they wavered from one principle to another, in consternation. The forces of disruption were already sapping the foundation of society. The present-day conditions then existing and a prospective glance over the future had assured him of the necessity of soldering his Sikhs into a nation. This seems too prodigious a task for any single life but he accomplished it within the wonderfully short space of a few years. Thus the work of reformation begun by Baba Nanak and continued uninterrupted under the successive

Gurus was brought to a happy completion under the tenth. This may aptly be called a master stroke of his genius.

A potent reason for his immense achievements in a comparatively short space of time, is found in the fact, that he sacrificed all that he possessed, including his own self, in the interests of his beloved "Panth." History of the world has not a single instance to match with the self-imposed martyrdom of all his four sons, at Chamkaur, and later on, at Sirhind at the hands of a Muhammadan Governor. During the incessant wars that he carried on with the Moghuls and the misguided Rajahs of the hills, he never spared himself, for he was always in the forefront to stir his followers by personal heroism. He was the organizing general and a fighting soldier in one.

His philosophy was a practical creed of life and hence its pragmatic value considerable. The central conception of a truly religious life which he taught, was to live for others. In thus exhorting a virtuous life, he was compulsorily led to emphasize the use of sword where lip-service did not avail. Addressing to the Sword-God he says, "Thou terrifiest evil, thou scatterest sinners." Thus he created a breach in the time-old Buddhistic tradition of non-violence and reverted to the creed of Lord Krishna who advocated war to propagate truth and extirpate evil. This constituted one of the most solid achievements of his life. As put by Professor Rakshit, he held to the four essential conditions, for the spiritual uplift of men and his final redemption.

- (1) Meditation of God's name.
- (2) A belief in the immense possibilities of soul and their development.
- (3) Respect for Scriptures.
- (4) Need of a Prophet.

And it was his special glory that he lived up to them, so as to inspire his followers with an example.

A brief review of his various divine compositions would reveal to us a different aspect of his many-coloured genius. Judged from the vast imagination, the rapid flow, the sweetness of rhythm, the additional charm of alliteration found in all his writings, he would easily rank with the greatest poets of the world. His poetry is pregnant with deep-set religious truths and is a direct address to God as the creator of man and to man as indebted to his Creator "for all that he gave." Indeed it "justified the ways of God to man" with an assertion which would banish all heresy and scepticism from the mind of the reader and convince him of the realities of life and after-life. A lofty transcendentalism is blended with human realism, so that in spite of being highly imaginative, it serves a most practical purpose. This all looks like a paradox in one whose whole life was spent "over hedges and fields, in camps and courts" and in active statesmanship.

In his private life the Guru's conduct was remarkable for its sweetness, sympathy and affection and several other benevolent virtues which he practised. The records show how he used to give bath to his folks, by his own hands. Thus "his heart," as the poet says, "the lowliest duties on himself did lay."

From beginning till end, therefore, the incidents of his life—his birth, his infancy and youth, his wars against the Rajahs and the Emperor, his sacrifices, his various scholarly compositions, and finally his death, are a series of miracles that stand unparalleled in the history of man. And his greatness was achieved, not only in great things but even in "little, unremembered acts of kindness and love," where true greatness shines.

Of the permanent services of Guru Govind Singh to humanity, in the capacity of a reformer, we may mention the following cardinal points of a happy social and deeply religious life, that he successfully emphasized on his followers :

(1) A united Commonwealth of the people in which socialistic equality prevails.

(2) Liberation from the bondage of caste and creed.

(3) Emphasis on one-God worship as against idolatry and rituals.

(4) Evolving a new character in which virtue lies imbedded.

Guru Govind Singh has aptly been surnamed as the "Prophet of Socialism." In his last message to the faithful on his death-bed he had declared that henceforth the "Panth" obedient to the writings of the Holy Granth, was to be its own guide; and collectively, was to be held responsible for all its individual members. The Sikhs, everywhere, were to organize themselves into "Congregations" which were to elect a small inner body of five "Pyaras" or the loved ones, who were required to perform their necessary function—practically all the work of the community. Every Sikh was to form part of the corporate life of the community and he had no existence apart from it. One for all and all for one was the cardinal maxim on which the whole system was based. Bhai Nand Singh's remarks, in his lecture on Sikhism at the International Religious Conference held in America, 1915, are worth quoting :—

"Guru Govind Singh was the only man of modern India who developed the ideal of Commonwealth, in the minds of the people. After he had gone and the Sikhs got control of Northern India, there was established the Khalsa Commonwealth which worked with great success for a length of time. All the business of that Government was done by representatives of the whole Sikh people, in the presence of the Holy Scripture which represent our Gurus. The coin too was struck in the name of the Khalsa Commonwealth. Everything a Sikh owns is considered to be the property of the Khalsa brotherhood and each one of the Sikhs is a worker for the whole nation which has the full control of any property for the welfare of the nation according to the tenets of the faith."

A study of history shows that distinctions of caste and creed had split up the Indian society into various sections and

sub-sections, thus rendering it impotent for growth and development. Its heinous influence was seen like a shadow everywhere but little realized. The birth of a man determined his profession which, in its turn, determined his social status and even his salvation in heaven as if it were some gradable thing. A society, thus marked by gradations excluded legions of poor people who fell into the category of the untouchables, and were, thus doomed to eternal thralldom. To the lofty-minded Guru who revered the poorest of the poor as a unit of God's creation, this was a sacrilege, and a sin of such magnitude that "the greatest sins blushed before them."

As has been pointed out, he accorded to them a welcome which raised them in their own esteem, thus bringing home to them the idea of self-reverence which is the cardinal necessity of a virtuous life and as the poet says, "leads life to sovereign powers." Under the magical effect of the baptismal nectar, the "Amrit," all—high and low alike—were proselytized into "Singhs" or lions. A draught of this "Amrit" being taken, it worked in the constitution and spirit of the neophyte like a talisman, who emerged an altogether new man, strong and beautiful—defending virtue and defying opposition. "Amrit" had effected a resurrection in the entire social structure. He thus swept away all distinction of birth and worldly status and promoted a fraternal brotherhood among his people.

Thirdly, the time-worn religion of the Hindus was constantly elaborating its rituals and multiplying its gods, so that the idea of monotheism which existed with the ancients was totally lost. From a conception of the one All-pervading God and a host of deities representing various powers, there was a gradual transition to an idolatry that excluded everything else and finally came to be recognized as the sole religion by the people. This and other doctrinal-intricacies were taken advantage of by the priesthood who found, in all these, a potent weapon to keep their power intact.

It was one of the missions of the great Guru to purge the misconceiving mind of false knowledge and the counterfeit supremacy of the Brahmans. He violently condemned idolatry and discarded all observances based upon superstitious ignorance, although he was a ceremonialist, in his own way. He emphasized instead, the worship of one God who was All-powerful, Immortal and Omnipresent. Says he :

“ If for ages thou do penance to a stone, it will never rejoice thee,
O, fool, it will never generously lift its arm to requite thee,
Says what confidence can be placed in it ? When trouble arises
It will not come to save thee.

O, ignorant, obstinate man, be assured, that thy false religion
and superstition will ruin the.”

Finally the great Guru, in fact all the preceding Gurus, affirmed that the love of virtue that existed only as an aspiration, remained but a shallow theory. Similarly, the principles of virtue, as put down in a code for the people, remained a dead letter, because they did not secure us against temptations. The temptations, in fact, are too strong to resist unless virtue is so imbedded in our character that it becomes a part of our own person. Thus our whole mental and moral being is, so to say, “soaked” in virtue and whatever we think, conceived or act is necessarily virtuous. If the development of character along these lines is carried to perfection, there is absolutely no scope left for sin or crime. The Guru therefore not only preached the benefits of virtue and right action to his disciples. He introduced virtue in their daily programme in such a way, that it was constantly practised and looked to. There was no action, however insignificant, with which virtue did not associate itself.

GIACOMO MEYERBEER

The Man and His Music.

Meyerbeer was ever amazingly young, both in his music and in his outlook upon life. This we are well able to judge on any of those rare occasions when we are favoured with a composition of his from a provincial broadcasting station, or the still more rare occasion when some far-seeing band or orchestra includes his works in their programme. The strain of the German school of composers was considerably strengthened by the addition of Meyerbeer to their ranks. If not a first-rate genius he was certainly well among the best of his kind.

Born in Berlin, September 5, 1791, Meyerbeer was a prodigy almost from when he began to walk and to reason things out for himself. We are told that when only four years of age he could repeat on the piano the airs he had heard on the hand-organs in the streets. At five he received lessons from Lauska, a pupil of Clementi; at six he appeared at his first concert; at nine the critics spoke of him as one of the best pianists in Berlin! Nor was his success won without endeavour and hard work; he studied under numerous masters to perfect the art to which his soul so naturally clung, among which might be cited Clementi (mentioned above), Bernhard Anslem Weber, Abbé Vogler, and others. It was whilst he was studying at Abbé Vogler's school at Darmstadt that he had for a fellow pupil Carl von Weber.

For many years there was great emulation and friendship between Weber and Meyerbeer, which cooled off materially, however, owing to Weber's disgust at Meyerbeer's pandering to an extravagant taste. He voiced his criticisms in bitter words that were never forgiven by the erratic Meyerbeer.

Educated first as a pianist, it was some time before he found his true vocation as a composer. The glamour of Rossini's music overcame him, and foolishly enough, like many other composers, he was led to produce a number of compositions that were only poor imitations of the Italian, and which, like most other imitative works, are now entirely forgotten. Nevertheless the Italian school still exercised a strange fascination over Meyerbeer, and most of his earlier works pointed in this direction.

Meyerbeer's first work was the oratorio, "Gott und die Natur," which received such a successful performance before the Grand Duke, as to earn for him the distinctive appointment of court composer. Swayed by his success, he let his pianistic art fly to the winds ; although Moscheles, a competent judge of music and musicians, has said, that if Meyerbeer had devoted himself entirely to the piano, no one could have possibly surpassed him.

Meyerbeer's concerts at Darmstadt and Berlin were extremely successful. After these, meeting Salieri in Vienna, he was advised by him to study voice production as an essential branch-art of a rising composer. Realising the value of this excellent advice, he remained in Italy some considerable time to study the cultivation of the voice. He arrived in Vienna in the height of the fever for operas "à la Rossini" ; at once his soul and brain were afire to compose operas for the Italians. His work in the period immediately following was prodigious. In 1818 he wrote "Romilda e Costanza" for Padua ; in 1819, "Semiramide" for Turin ; in 1820, "Emma di Resburgo" for Venice ; in 1822, "Margherita d'Anjou" for Milan ; and in 1823, "L'Esule di Granata" also for Milan. Not one of these operas weathered the storm of public criticism, portions of "Semiramide" are still heard occasionally, but taking the above all round they are dead to the world of music. But they must have proved excellent practice for later work. It was not until the production of "Robert le Diable" at Paris in the year 1831, that Meyerbeer

gave us unquestionable proofs that indicated his great dramatic ability. He probably reached the height of his gifts in this direction in composing "*Les Huguenots*." This opera, produced in 1836, stands at the head of his works. Into this opera Meyerbeer put all his matured power. Although of great length, he manages to sustain interest right from beginning to end.

Meyerbeer returned to Venice in 1824 for the purpose of producing a new opera, "*Il Crociato in Egitto*," which received general approval. It had a tour and was performed in Paris in 1825, and the same year in London. This was the last of Meyerbeer's operas written in the Italian style. Although at the production of "*Il Crociato in Egitto*" he established a reputation as a close rival of Rossini, he struck out in an entirely different direction with his next compositions. He cannot be classified as belonging to any one national school of music, there are no clearly defined tendencies in any branch of his art. He wrote in any style that might appeal to him at the minute, whether it were Italian, German or otherwise. The reason of this is plain, he did not necessarily write for money, he was more than amply provided for by the rich banker, Meyer, who left the musician a vast fortune ; consequently he could afford to toy or experiment with any style or art-form that came under his interest. Another reason is that he became so eager to obtain public recognition that he went to any length that would bring him nearer to his ambition.

In 1827 Meyerbeer was married, and for several years enjoyed a very peaceful and happy life. The loss of two children was a very sad blow to him indeed, and led to his concentrating on the composition of church music for a year or so. His output for this period was very meagre, however, consisting only of a "*Stabat*" a "*Miserere*," a "*Te Deum*" and a group of eight of Klopstock's songs. But his genius was fermenting inside him preparatory to that great departure that was to make his name famous. This was the production of "*Robert le Diable*." But if he gained the applause of the crowd, he received only

bitter condemnation from Weber and Mendelssohn among others. In 1832, when Spontini resigned his place as chapel-master at the court of Berlin, Meyerbeer succeeded him. "Les Huguenots" was given to an enthusiastic public on February 26, 1836. In 1849 Meyerbeer returned to Paris to produce the third of his great operas, "La Prophete," which also met with amazing success. The last twelve years of Meyerbeer's life were spent in Paris. When seized with his fatal illness he was at work on "L'Africaine," and although he prayed he might be spared to finish this work it was not to be. He died May 2, 1864. Although Meyerbeer did not scale the greatest heights along with Beethoven, Mozart, etc., there are portions of his operas that it would be impossible to surpass for beauty, dramatic power and effect.

LELAND J. BERRY

RABINDRANATH AS AN EDUCATIONIST

Poets have been compared to birds of paradise, which were long believed to have no feet ; and the average man thinks that whereas they have no feet, it shall be forbidden them under the strictest pains and penalties to alight and walk. " Their function is to beautify the landscape with the flash of wings." Poet Rabindranath has nevertheless alighted and walked on forbidden grounds. He was not satisfied with the educational structure of his own country ; the bitter memory of his school days made him rebel against it ; and he has volunteered to play the architect. The new structure that he has raised will stand as an enduring monument to Rabindranath's genius as an educationist and will serve as a beacon light, as it has already done, to many groping in the dark to find some new avenues in the field of education.

Happily, a new day is dawning in the educational world in which the child is coming to its own. The Santiniketan school of Rabindranath is one of the pioneer schools that have seen the new light. The poet first started to write a poem in a medium not of words, and drew his inspiration from the "tapoban" of ancient India. With the poet the atmosphere—the environment—has been more important than rules and methods, building appliances and all the paraphernalia of education. He brings the child into intimate touch with nature as also with some of the master minds of the East and the West. " For our perfection," says he, " we have to be vitally savage and mentally civilised ; we should have the gift to be natural with nature and human with human society." The open air classes in the mango-groves with the sage-like poet teaching the children indeed remind us of the good old days of Ind. The personality of the poet—a thing that counted much in ancient Indian education—exerts a great influence on the children. He plays and sings with his boy and girl companions and acts and dances with them on the stage—a

sight for the gods to see. The Oriental dances given on the stage are in tune with the music that accompanies them and are rhythmic in character. The body and soul seems to be full of harmony and rhythm. All this is to the benefit of the body and the soul. He has tried to develop in the children the freshness of their feeling for Nature, a sensitiveness of soul in their relationship with their human surroundings, with the help of literature, festive ceremonials and also religious teaching. "We have there the open beauty of the sky, and the different seasons revolve before our eyes in all the magnificence of their colour. Through this perfect touch with nature we took the opportunity of instituting festivals of the seasons." The festivals in celebration of the different seasons of the year are unique in character and quite in keeping with the environment created by the poet. The juvenile souls throb with every passing phase of nature. "When the kiss of rain thrilled the heart, if we had still behaved with undue propriety and paid all our attention to Mathematics, it would have been positively wrong, impious. The season of the rains often brought us unexpected release from duty. Some voice suddenly would proclaim from the sky: "To-day is your holiday!" We submitted gladly and would run wildly away. Such sympathy is so easily crushed by routine which takes no account of nature's claims.... I do not believe in such barbarity."

Rabindranath the poet-philosopher bears some resemblance to Jean Jacques Rousseau, the political philosopher who also tried to revolutionise education. Rabindranath, like Rousseau, is the high-priest of nature, and a particular book, we mean Robinson Crusoe, has charm for both of them. But they differ in one respect. Rousseau is anti-social, while Rabindranath is just the reverse. To quote the words of the poet, "Our children began to be of service to our neighbours, to help them in various ways and to be in constant touch with the life around them." In Robinson Crusoe, the delight of the union with nature finds its expression in a story of adventure in which the solitary man

is face to face with solitary nature, coaxing her, co-operating with her, exploring her secrets, using all his faculties to win her help." Rabindranath is modern in his outlook on education in that he makes the atmosphere of his school attractive and that at the same time he has not forgotten the stern realities of life that the children will have to face some day.

Curiosity in children—the desire to know—the poet wishes to develop. In them the link between the desire to know and the actual knowing has been torn. They have never learnt how to want to know, he says,—from the beginning they are stuffed with information according to the stereotyped method, then they secure marks in examinations by vomiting forth the knowledge thus acquired. In the children, again, various tastes are cultivated, such as those for painting, music, dancing, etc. The Kalāvaban, or the house for the cultivation of fine arts, is an important annexe to the Santiniketan Asram.

Rabindranath has trusted to the presence of the spirit of freedom in the atmosphere. "Their studies, though strenuous, are not a task, being permeated by a holiday spirit which takes shape in activities in their kitchen, their vegetable garden, their weaving, their work of small repairs. It is because their class work has not been wrenched away and walled in from their normal vocation, because it has been made a part of their daily current of life that it easily carries itself by its own onward flow." Team-spirit is developed by group work, such as, scouting, social service, work for the co-operative stores and the kitchen, games, excursions, and the like.

In these days of antagonism between one nation and another and between the classes and the masses, the poet's clarion call for human unity is heard in Santiniketan, the abode of peace. The Biswabharati or the Santiniketan University is inspired by the ideals of the ancient University of Nalanda, where Huen Chwang, the famous Chinese traveller drank deep at the fountain of learning. Scholars from the East and the West as well have responded to his call and have participated in the work he has been doing.

The presence of this noble band of workers, inspired by one common object, shows that there is no colour bar in the republic of education and augurs well for the future of mankind. Santiniketan seems to be the meeting ground of the East and the West, for which consummation the poet is patiently waiting.

Self-government, which is more or less prominent in most of the pioneer schools of Europe and America—not to speak of the now defunct Junior George Republic of Freville, U. S. A.—is a dominant feature of Rabindranath's school. As we have already said, the children do much of the work themselves and even clear the night-soil at least one day in the year—the Gandhi-day. This engenders a spirit of self-help among the young learners, and the dignity of labour is brought home to them in a most practical way.

The Sreeniketan at Surul is a later addition to the Bolpur school. This institution with its various activities such as agriculture, carpentry, tanning, poultry, etc., shows that the poet is not oblivious of the modern conditions of life. Here the poet has come down upon the material plane, so to say. The Sreeniketan may be likened to the modern side of the Oundle school, a great public school of England. Surul also lends its support to the principle of the self-supporting educational colonies of Switzerland.

Rabindranath is not blind to what is going on in the West in the domain of education. He has lately been to Europe and has seized the opportunity of studying the Soviet system of education in Russia. He is permeated by a spirit of eclecticism, and he has not been slow in engrafting new twigs—no matter whether they be from the West—on to his original plant. The Santiniketan is a synthesis of the old 'Asrama' ideal and the modern ideal of education. Rabindranath will live for all time to come not only as a literary genius but also as one of the pioneers of education who have had to fight against enormous odds to better the lot of children in schools and, for the matter of that, to better the world.

THE CONCEPTION OF COSTS

Adam Smith gives a theory of natural price.¹ The natural price of a commodity, he says, is equal to its cost of production and market prices gravitate toward the natural price. All economists belonging to what is known as the English classical school upholds this theory. They all agree that it is cost of production that determines the natural price of goods, but their views as to what this cost of production stands for differ in certain important respects.

Adam Smith himself gives two interpretations of cost, and the economists who followed him were more or less influenced by his concepts. According to Adam Smith the cost of everything is to be measured in terms of labour. But in one place he refers to cost as standing for the quantity of labour that is required for the production of a commodity and in another context he refers to cost as standing for the quantity of labour that a commodity can command in exchange. It is easy to see that these two are not equivalent expressions. The quantity of labour bestowed on the production of a commodity may not be equivalent to the quantity of labour that the commodity commands in the market. This apparent contradiction in Smith's statements regarding cost is, however, easily explained. As Von. Wieser points out, Adam Smith really gives two theories of value, one 'philosophical' and the other 'empirical.' In his philosophical account of the theory of value he imagines a primitive, 'rude' state of society in which land is not appropriated and capital is not accumulated. In that imaginary society the

¹ The term 'price' is used by Adam Smith as synonymous with value which is a relation between commodities. Neither Adam Smith nor Ricardo recognised the distinction between value and price. In John Stuart Mill's *Principles* we find the distinction sharply drawn. By the price of a thing he understands its value in money and he appreciates that there is such a thing as a general rise of prices, though there is no such thing as a general rise of values.

value of goods is regulated by their cost in labour. Here labour is conceived of as disutility cost, 'the toil of the body.' It is a metaphysical concept. Later on, however, he abandons this metaphysical analysis and as he comes to describe the cause of value in the actual society he finds that the cost of production which determines value is not the cost of labour alone. There are other items that enter into that cost. In actual life, in 'the improved society,' as he calls it, where lands have been appropriated and capital accumulated there are three factors that make up the value of a commodity, wages, interest and rent. But all the same they are to be measured in terms of labour. 'Labour alone, never varying in its own value, is alone (*sic*) the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared.' (*Wealth of Nations*, edited by Cannan, p. 35.) He examines the claim of money or corn to be a universal standard of value and rules them out. Gold and silver like corn or any other commodity vary in their value and they cannot be an accurate measure of the value of commodities just as "the natural foot, fathom, or handful which is continually varying in its own quantity, can never be an accurate measure of the quantity of other things." (*Ibid*, p. 35.) In an improved society, therefore, it is not the quantity of labour that is directly bestowed on the production of goods but the quantity of labour that they command in the market that measures their value. And this latter quantity is composed of wages, interest and rent. "The real value of all the different component parts of price..... is measured by the quantity of labour which they can, each of them, purchase or command. Labour measures the value not only of that part of price which resolves itself into labour (wages ?) but of that which resolves into rent and of that which resolves itself into profits." (*Ibid*, p. 52.) This is Smith's empirical account of value, a theory of value as he finds it in actual life. It must be noticed that in his empirical account he analyses cost from the point of view of an individual

entrepreneur. It is therefore known as the law of entrepreneurs' costs.

Malthus follows up the empirical account. Thus in his theory of value cost of production of a commodity is conceived of as the amount of labour that the commodity can purchase. According to Malthus costs of production—'elementary costs' as he calls them to distinguish them from money-costs—signify conditions of supply and include profits and rent. Conditions of supply of commodities stand for "the advance of the quantity of accumulated and immediate labour necessary to their production, with such a percentage upon the whole of the advances for the time they have been employed as is equivalent to ordinary profits." Further, "if there be any other necessary conditions of the supply arising from monopolies of any description, or from taxes, they must be added." (*Definitions*, p. 242.) Here he includes rent in the conditions of supply, for rent is that which is due to the natural agents and these are regarded as a monopoly. Speaking of the measure of conditions of supply, that is to say, of the elementary costs of production he states that they are measured by the quantity of labour for which the commodities will exchange, when it is in its natural or ordinary state." (*Ibid*, p. 242.) And this is the measure of the natural value of a commodity, for natural value is equal to the elementary costs of production.

Ricardo, on the other hand, adheres to the philosophical account and takes labour cost in the sense of disutility cost as the regulator of value. He dismisses the 'labour command measure' of Adam Smith and Malthus and suggests that the relative value of commodities is determined by the relative 'quantity of labour' required to obtain them, that 'every increase of the quantity of labour must augment the value of that commodity on which it is exercised as every diminution must lower it.' It is only when the reward of the labourer is exactly proportional to what he produces that the quantity of labour bestowed on a commodity and the quantity of labour which

that commodity would command in the market are equal and in that case either may serve as a measure of the variations in the value of commodities. But as they are not equal we have to refer to the quantity of labour, as that is 'under many circumstances an invariable standard.' He then explains why the quantity of labour and the reward of labour do not vary in the same proportion: "In the same country double the quantity of labour may be required to produce a given quantity of food and necessaries at one time, that may be necessary at another, and at a distant time; yet the labourers' reward may be possibly very little diminished. If the labourers' wages at the former period were a certain quantity of food and necessaries, he probably could not have subsisted if that quantity had risen 100 per cent. if estimated by the *quantity* of labour necessary to their production, while they will scarcely have increased in value, if measured by the quantity of labour for which they will exchange." (Ricardo's Works: Mc Cullock's Edition, p. 12.) What are then the constituent elements of cost? According to Ricardo they are not wages, profits and rent as such, but the quantity of labour represented by the different factors which yield these incomes. As rent is an income from natural agents which do not require labour for their production, rent forms no part of cost of production.

In Cairnes we find an ardent exponent of this theory and in his work is found also the clearest exposition of how the ultimate elements of costs are not concrete incomes of the different factors but something purely abstract and metaphysical. Cost, he says, means 'sacrifice' and not 'reward,' so that the analysis of cost of production resolves it into three 'ultimate elements,' namely, Labour, Abstinence and Risk. The first indicates the sacrifice borne by 'those who take a personal part in the business of production.' In estimating this sacrifice he takes account of three circumstances,—the duration of exertion, the degree of its severity and the risk of injury. Skill, so far as it is not acquired, is ruled out, for it represents a monopoly and is to be treated

like natural agents; and acquired skill merely represents a sacrifice either in the form of labour or in the form of abstinence, Cairnes calls Ricardo's analysis of cost defective because the latter took account of a single circumstance in estimating labour, namely, the duration of the exertion. In fact regard must be had to other circumstances, too. Labour implies a sacrifice and hence a greater cost not merely in proportion as it is of larger duration, but also in proportion as it is more severe and more liable to accident. Therefore, so far as the labour element of cost is concerned, commodities exchange "not simply in proportion to the quantity of labour employed in their production, but in proportion to this multiplied by the severity of the labour and the risk attending it." (*Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 83.) The second circumstance, that of abstinence, represents a sacrifice involved in the advance of capital and consists, as its negative aspect, chiefly in the "deprivation or postponement of enjoyment, implied in the fact of parting with our wealth so far at least as concerns our present power of commanding it;" and, as its positive aspect, a small degree of risk. The third element, that of risk, represents a sacrifice which falls upon both the labourer and the capitalist.

John Stuart Mill's theory of value is a blending of the two accounts. In general he accepts the quantity-of-labour measure of costs, but in reckoning costs from the point of view of the capitalist he takes into account the reward of labour. "What the production of a thing costs to its producer or its series of producers is the labour expended in producing it." (*Principles of Political Economy*, Bk. III, Chap. IV, p. 558.) This is a purely metaphysical concept of costs. "The value of commodities," he further says, "depends principally on the quantity of labour required for their production, including in the idea of production, that of conveyance to the market" (*ibid*, p. 559). So far his definition of costs practically coincides with that of Ricardo. But looked at from the standpoint of the capitalist, cost does not stand for the quantity of labour alone, for "since the cost of

production to the capitalist is not labour but wages, and since wages may either be greater or less, the quantity of labour being the same; it would seem that the value of the product cannot be determined solely by the quantity of labour, but the quantity together with the remuneration; and that values must partly depend upon wages." In its social aspect, however, cost has little to do with wages. If, for example, there is a simultaneous increase or decrease of wages everywhere the relative position of different commodities remains the same and value remains unaffected, for value after all is a relation between commodities. Thus he observes, "in considering...the causes of the variations of value, the quantity of labour is the thing of chief importance, for when that varies, it is generally in one or a few commodities at a time, but the variations of wages are usually general, and have no considerable effect on value." (*Ibid*, pp. 553-54.)

In the analysis of cost he takes account of abstinence too; for, besides labour there is another requisite of production,—capital, which is the result of abstinence. But capital is not essentially distinct from labour, as it is ultimately resolvable into labour. In reckoning abstinence as a component element of cost he was anticipated by Senior who defines cost of production as the "sum of the labour and abstinence necessary to production." Senior uses the term 'cost' in two senses: (1) the cost of production on the part of the producer, the minimum below which the value cannot fall, and (2) the cost of production on the part of the consumer, the maximum beyond which the value cannot rise. In either case cost stands for the 'sum of labour and abstinence.' Under conditions of equal competition the cost of production to the producer coincides with that to the consumer, so that the value of a commodity is equal to the "sum of the labour and abstinence which its production requires." (*Political Economy*, p. 102.) This is the fundamental concept of cost with which he starts. Later on, however, he measures cost by wages and profit "which must be paid to induce the producers to continue their exertions."

The analysis of cost given by Mill and Senior thus bears marks of Ricardo's influence; for, if they have developed an empirical account of value they have done it against a metaphysical background. Mention need not be made of Ricardo's contemporaries, McCulloch and James Mill in whose theory of value the philosophical account looms so large. It appears, therefore, that Prof. Whitaker underestimates the influence of Ricardo's subjective account of cost and value upon later economic writings when he says that "in the progress of thought of English economists upon value the 'philosophical' labour cost account becomes more and more attenuate, until in the *Principles* of Professor Marshall, nothing remains of it but a note on 'Ricardo's Theory of value.'" (*History and Criticism of the Labour Theory of Value*, p. 14.) In fact, as we shall presently see, in his analysis of costs, Marshall keeps intact the essence of Ricardo's theory; and though he develops an empirical account and measures cost by the amount of outlay on the part of the producer together with normal profits, he has his eyes fixed on real costs. By 'real costs' of a commodity he means "the exertions of all the different kinds of labour that are directly or indirectly involved in making it; together with the abstinences or rather the waitings required for saving the capital used in making it." Emphasis is thus given on 'sacrifice' rather than on 'reward.' But he is conscious of the fact that real costs refer to forces which are for the most part quantitatively unmeasurable, and for measuring costs for practical purposes he takes into account the reward of the 'efforts and sacrifices' in terms of money. Real costs relate to 'states of consciousness' and are not susceptible of direct measurement. They have therefore to be measured through their outward manifestations. But although his immediate concern is with money-costs, his ultimate concern is with real costs. Money-cost is referred to when the problem is studied from the point of view of the entrepreneur. From the point of view of society, however, real cost is more significant. As Marshall points out, real cost,

though quantitatively unmeasurable is qualitatively important in our enquiry from the social point of view as to "whether the cost of obtaining a given result is increasing or diminishing with changing economic conditions." The measurement of costs through outward manifestations is very often misleading if a broader view is taken ; very often it is found on analysis that things are not what they seem. Thus Marshall writes :

"In the discussion of social problems, it is often necessary to inquire whether certain businesses which may or may not be adequately remunerative to the persons concerned, are worth what they cost to the country or the world : and in this connection the term cost of production refers to real cost..... Thus the work of very young children in factories, even though paid for in money at the full market rate, is seldom worth its real cost : the satisfactions which are derived from its contributions to production, are not worth the social cost of child-life spent in grievous and depressing toil, and without an adequate education to prepare for the duties of after-life " (*Industry and Trade*, Bk. II, Chap. I, sec. 2, p. 183). Indeed if the welfare of society is the ultimate end we have in view, we have to look below the surface and study the working of real forces,—the sum-total of utility and disutility arising out of social, psychological as well as physical reactions. It is this that Marshall has his eyes on. There is that 'metaphysical odor' in his system. To say, therefore, that Marshall gives an empirical account of value except in his note on Ricardo's Theory of Value is confusing Marshall's system with the system of Prof. Cassel. It is Prof. Cassel who carries the empirical account to its logical conclusion. He takes an entirely pragmatic view of economic phenomena and constructs a theory of price which is independent of the theory of value and in which the subjective element is totally absent. He does not see why the question of value or of real cost comes in when everything in actual life is measured by money. Money plays the dominating rôle in his system. By cost he means money-cost which represents the outlays in money and this consists of money

wages, money interest and money-rent. These different incomes, the prices of factors of production as also the price of the finished commodity are results of what he calls 'the pricing process.' Cost, he says, is an expression of scarcity and means "the sum of prices that actually has to be paid." (*Fundamental Thoughts in Economics*, p. 117.) Prof. Cassel is a lover of simplicity and by taking things at their face-value he makes the task of the economist easier, but it seems the analysis remains incomplete, and does not give us the whole truth. A more searching analysis of social problems is needed. It is this search for 'subtle truths' that has led Marshall to place the non-human factors of production on a different footing from the human factors, so far as the analysis of costs is concerned. The former do not but the latter do involve 'efforts and sacrifices' which are the real tests of social cost.

Entirely different is the angle from which the problem of cost is viewed by Jevons and some Austrian Economists. To them 'cost' is not an expression of anything which is absolute; on the contrary, it implies a comparison of what is, with what might be, and thus expresses the actual in terms of the potential. The idea of cost, according to them, presupposes an existence of alternative uses. Thus the cost of labour in a particular occupation is not the absolute measure of the labourers' 'toil and trouble' in that occupation, but it stands for the amount of utility that is surrendered on account of its being tied up in that particular occupation at the expense of other alternative occupations. Similarly land in so far as it is capable of being used for alternative purposes involves cost in any particular use, and this cost is measured by the amount of service which it might have rendered in other alternative directions. The classical economists with all their difference have this in common that they take cost to represent *positive* disutility; some of them measure it directly, others measure it through reward. But according to Jevons and the Austrian economists cost does not represent positive disutility but a negation of utility. In order to measure the cost of X they

take account of the utility of Y, when X and Y are two open alternatives for which the factors might be applied. Wicksteed, an exponent of the Jevonian point of view says that the cost of production of a thing is "simply and solely the marginal significance of something else." It is all a choice between alternatives, and as the guiding principle of the administration of resources is equalisation of utility at the margin of all commodities, the utility of that alternative which is surrendered is taken as the basis of the computation of cost of that alternative which is actually chosen. It is only when a particular factor admits of a single use that it cannot be regarded in this sense as involving cost. The factors which do not admit of alternative uses are called 'monopoly goods' as distinct from 'cost goods.' (Von Wieser, *Natural Value*, p. 175.) Von Wieser thus suggests that Ricardo's proposition that rent does not enter into costs holds good when land admits of a single use, but loses its applicability as the uses of land multiply. (*Ibid*, p. 209.)

Such a concept of cost might be fruitful for an analysis of the psychological phenomena making for any equilibrium when the conditions for the equilibrium are given : because when those conditions are stationary and the resources are limited, equilibrium is conceived as the resultant of a process of apportionment of the resources among alternative uses through which the returns from equal amounts of resources are equal in all directions. But this negative interpretation of cost though fruitful for this purpose cannot be said to be essential ; for, the rival method of approach also gives the correct explanation of an equilibrium. The Austrians would say that in equilibrium the total utility is *maximum* ; but we might as well view it from the opposite angle and say that the distribution of resources among different uses leads in equilibrium to the total *disutility* being *minimum*. Besides, this concept is of little use when we extend the principle of cost to problems of international trade or of non-competing groups. As we have seen Wieser classifies productive agents into 'monopoly goods' and 'cost goods.' The

income from 'cost goods,' he says, enters into cost, and the income from 'monopoly goods' does not, no matter whether these goods are reproducible or irreproducible. In fact, however, if any of the monopoly goods are reproducible their income has much to do with their supply and hence with the cost. Take, for example, the labour of a non-competing group. As the group has a single use and cannot be transferred to competing uses, Wieser would say that their wages are not a part of cost. But suppose their wages fall below or rise above the real cost which their labour represents, will not their supply be affected? Yes, and in so far as the supply is affected by the income which they receive, it forms a part of the cost of the commodity which our non-competing group produce. Hence, in order to examine whether the sacrifice owing to a particular productive agent forms a part of cost we have to see, as the classical economists do, if it is reproducible or irreproducible, and not whether it has a single use or alternative uses. Then again, if we give up the classical method of taking cost to represent an absolute quantity of pain we cannot have an idea of social cost which is important from the point of view of welfare economics. According to the other method, as we have seen, the cost of one thing is to be measured in terms of the utility of another thing that might be chosen as an alternative. If we take cost in this sense, we cannot measure social cost without committing the fallacy of *petitio principii*. In fact the method is meant for measuring individual costs; and its exponents have the individual aspect in view, while the classical economists lay more stress on the social aspect. As Hadlay remarks, cost as a lapse of opportunity is 'the reversal of private capital,' and cost in the sense of pain is 'the reversal of public capital.' (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. II.)

Marshallian concept of cost is thus sharply opposed to the Austrian concept, and in recent times there has been some talk over this conceptual divergence. Now, what is this divergence due to? As Prof. Robbins points out it is due, above all, to a

fundamental difference of outlook on equilibrium. (*Economic Journal*, June, 1930.) Jevons and the Austrians start in their study of equilibrium with the hypothesis that economic conditions including factors of production are stationary. Within these stationary conditions equilibrium is attained, they say, when the resources are distributed among alternative uses in such a way that marginal returns are equalised. Production has been compared by Bohm-Bawerk to a 'giant pump.' "Every branch of want has its separate pipe sunk down to the great reservoir of productive powers, and competes with all other branches of want in trying to draw its supply by suction from that reservoir." (*Positive Theory of Capital*, p. 230.) But as the reservoir contains fixed quantities of productive powers, their employment in one branch of want means that the other branches are deprived. In the struggle among the competing branches, the fittest survives, and the productive powers are carried off by those that have stronger powers of suction. This increases the supply and lowers the marginal utility of the stronger alternatives and reduces the supply and raises the marginal utility of the others until a stage is reached at which they coincide with one another. That is equilibrium. Marshall's conception of equilibrium, on the other hand, is one "in which the condition of stationariness is the resultant of a balancing of forces tending to change." (See *Economic Journal*, June, 1930, pp. 206-207.) Marshall does not assume a fixed supply of factors of production as a condition of equilibrium. He fixes his mind on some central point where economic forces have come to rest ; but the variability of those forces is recognised. The forces themselves tend to change, but equilibrium is reached as a result of a balance between these forces. (See *Principles*, 7th Edition, p. 369.) The forces are those of demand and supply,—of utility and disutility. Cost is thus regarded as representing positive disutility to be set off against the opposite force, utility.

The Imputation Theory of Distribution given by the Austrians is a necessary corollary of their equilibrium concept.

They assume a fixed supply of productive agencies as a condition for stationary equilibrium and finds that the causal relation runs from the price of consumption goods to the price of production goods,—that consumption goods get their value from utility, or more properly, marginal utility, and production goods get their value derivatively from that of the finished product. This theory runs counter to the classical theory. According to the classical economists it is cost which determines the value of finished goods, and they look upon factors of production as the elements which go to form the costs of production. Thus while the classical economists consider the value of consumption goods as being determined by production goods, the Austrians turn the relation between them the other way about and consider the value of production goods as being determined by the value of consumption goods. Marshall, however, teaches us that as between utility and cost or between value and distribution the relation is one of reciprocal dependence. Thus he says, "...in the problem of normal value, the various elements govern one another *mutually*, and not *successively* in a long chain of causation." (*Principles*, 7th Edition, p. 816.)

It seems to me that in the study of equilibrium Jevons and the Austrian economists had a short-period view of things while Marshall had a long-period view. Marshall looks upon the 'valuing process' as a continuous, long-period process under which the factors of production, *in so far as their supply is variable*, affect and at the same time are affected by the value of the goods they produce. The other economists referred to, on the other hand, analyse the phenomena of particular moments in relation to which we have a fixed supply of productive agencies. Thus Jevons observes, "...labour once spent has no influence on the future value of any article: it is gone and lost for ever. In commerce, by-gones are for ever by-gones; and we are starting clear at each moment, judging the values of things with a view to future utility." (*The Theory of Political Economy*, p. 178.) But then, we must not lose sight of the fact that a short period

like that precludes the possibility of such an adjustment as would bring about an equalisation of marginal returns in all directions.

The importance of a study of the different interpretations of cost is that the concept of cost has produced far-reaching effect upon other economic theories. We have noticed in the course of our analysis how the different conceptions of costs influenced the theory of rent and price. In other fields, too, economists starting with different conceptions of costs gave different theories. In fact, an appreciation of the two standpoints regarding cost taken by the classical economists on the one hand and the Austrian economists on the other is a clue to a clear understanding of the difference that exists among them in regard to the general theory of value and distribution. This aspect of the question has a very wide scope and I refrain from introducing it in the present paper.

AMIYA KUMAR DAS GUPTA

Reviews

" **A Wonder for Wise Men** " by Wallace B. Nichols (Ward Lock & Co., 3s. 6d. net 1930) and "**Torryzany** " also by Wallace B. Nichols (Ward Lock & Co., 5s. net, 1932) are two notable works of fiction in which the story, admirably told with the imaginative skill of a poet of established reputation, is set in the reign of King Henry VII of England who was, in Bacon's language, " a wonder for wise men." Mr. Nichols made his mark as a really good poet by such works as "*Jericho Street and Selected Poems*," "*Prometheus in Piccadilly*," "*The Song of Sharruk*," "*Earl Simon* " (a trilogy) and tried successfully his hand in the other medium in his novel called "*Brittle Glory* " distinguished for readable plot, fine character-painting and good style.

" *A Wonder for Wise Men* " really aims at a psychological study of the character of Henry VII on the background of historical details and the writer's idea is indicated in the Prefatory Note where he says—" In the following novel I have endeavoured to present historical facts as clearly and truthfully as seemed to me necessary in what is primarily a work of the imagination and not a scrupulous study of the period for students. Chronology has not been unduly strained, nor have the principal events been distorted." The Prefatory Note to "*Torryzany* " further explains the idea behind these two historical novels where we are told that " the outlines of the story that follows are entirely true to fact; certain of the details, however, are from the mint of poetry and the imagination. * * * Part of the book is set in the latter years of Henry VII, and to that extent *Torryzany* may be considered as a complement, though not specifically a sequel, to my previous book *A Wonder for Wise Men*, the setting of which was laid in the earlier years of the same reign. But, though a certain number of the characters from that book stray into the pages of this, the present story has an entirely separate entity, even though both books together may form—in their writer's own mind at any rate—a single presentation of a period of thirty-seven years, namely from 1485 to 1522, and are essentially the fruit of the same creative impulse."

There is a reference to the master artist Torrigiano at page 206 of the first novel in a conversation between Northiam and Sir Reginald Bray.

The principal characters that are common to both the books are Henry Tudor himself, Sir Reginald Bray, Edmund Northiam and his

wife Averill and their servant Long Rafe and the period was the most difficult and stirring time in the aftermath of the devastating Wars of the Roses. It was also the critical juncture of two momentous stages in the history of England—of the fast vanishing age of feudalism and chivalry and of the approaching one of modern civilisation based on commercial prosperity and slowly developing industrial life. The complexity of life pertaining to such changing times is delineated in these two historical novels by the author with an admirable dramatic gift and a thorough grasp of significant details. The task before King Henry was very onerous and difficult. He had to see to it that Yorkists and Lancastrians as such ceased to exist in England and might be replaced by simple Englishmen instead. Henry VII was in a true sense of the word the founder of a new England—"in which foundation he will have the merchantry, the men of gown against the men of mail, at his back" and in which though the nobles were still feudal and warlike his main endeavour was to set up "his own central authority over the industrious of his people rather than over the well-born of them" for "the industrious belonged to the present, the well-born to the past" (page 203, *A Wonder for Wise Men*). This is how Henry Tudor is made by the author to philosophize while addressing Bray and Northiam—"We stand just now over the threshold of a new time and I have laid bases for a new estate in this realm, the money-maker, a midway class between noble and peasant, and have puffed him up beyond his proper importance that might have a bulwark against those king-makers and king-breakers ever to be found among headstrong peers." (*Torryzany*, page 146.)

The plot is here very skilfully constructed so that the reader's interest never flags at any point of the whole narrative and some of the episodes introduced possess the special charm of a fascinating romantic spirit of adventure. As instances, we may point out Northiam's ride in pursuit of Tunstall (Chapters I and II, Part III of *A Wonder for Wise Men*) or his embassy to the French King in the disguise of a Bohemian described at some length under the heading of "A Masque of Gypsies" (Chapters IV and V, Part IV).

The historical background is ably worked out with as much detail as is needful for a convincing picture and the figures of Henry Tudor, Bishop Morton, Lady Elizabeth (the king's betrothed and the future queen and her mother Queen Elizabeth Woodville, Sir Reginald Bray, the Oxford priest Richard Simon, Henry's old enemy Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, The Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lowell, the pretender Lambert Simnel—all are made to move and act appropriately on this mighty stage.

Mr. Nichol's powerful imagination recreates the past with its mediaeval setting of men, manners, beliefs, superstitions and institutions and the modern reader feels that he is in a world of living realities, however strange the environment may be. The fifteenth century is made to live over again before our very eyes.

The writer's wonderful dramatic power of revitalizing the past enables him to reproduce with great skill the spirit of fifteenth century England. We particularly appreciate such arresting scenes as are pictured, for example, in the coming, one after another, of the last Plantaganet King Richard and the first Tudor King Henry to Edmund Northiam's semi-delapidated castle of Basset Flammel (Chapters I and V of Part I) or in the description of a battlefield in the days of chivalry (Chapter III, Part III) or in the sombre and weird delineation of the death scene of Catherine Northiam (Chapter I, Part IV).

Mr. Nichols is equally successful in the dramatic delineation of character. We have before us Henry VII, astute, sagacious, reserved, cautious, wisely element, parsimonious, deeply politic and a protector of the arts and crafts of the day and a magnificent builder as of the famous new chapel of the Abbey Church at Westminster. Long Rafe Kyrbithere, Sir John Spane's retainer and archer, is a superb creation, courageous, faithful, reliable in emergency, a man of varied and extensive experiences in whom lurks the solid worth of a true man under a rough and rude exterior. Equally interesting in a different way is the royal physician Benedict Pan who is proud of being more a poet and a philosopher than a healer of men and who pours out volubly his amusing romantic and sentimental reminiscences in an incessant chatter heightened with snatches of songs and quotation of Latin tags. His perpetual dread of his wife, his own dear Carola, brings out the comic side of his character even though we are assured by him of his life having been of the nature of a romaunt.

There is Sir John Spane's young daughter Averill Spane with whom Northiam is in love—golden beauty in attendance upon the future queen Lady Elizabeth—who ultimately becomes united in a romantic fashion with Northiam.

We are struck by the superb beauty of the young camp-girl Zella who makes an immediate impression on Northiam and is a tragic figure with a hopeless love for Northiam. Her pathetic death makes a strong appeal to our heart.

King Henry VII was essentially peaceloving and there is an eloquent advocacy of pacifism in this book (pages 28, 55, 156 and Chapter II of Part IV specially page 212).

Torryzany is full of more strange and stirring adventures of the Florentine sculptor-artist and worker in bronze and terra-cotta in the three different countries of Italy, England and Spain. His real name is Pietro Torrigiano but *Torryzany* "was the nearest sound to his name that the average English lips could fashion" (p. 159).

The opening line of the novel that "every man is the puppet of his own character" may well serve as the motto of the whole story.

We are first introduced in this historical novel, before the close of December, 1502, to a group of Cesare Borgia's officers amusing themselves with dice or story-telling at a small Adriatic seaport not far from Sinigaglia. A fisherman's wonderfully beautiful young daughter, Rosa Zangra, picked up by a band of young aspirants to poetic fame bent on convening a Court of Love and a Day of the Arts and sing the praise of this "Eleusinian beauty and enthrone her as the Rose of the Seashore, is suddenly overtaken by Borgia and his captain and removed to Sinigaglia recently conquered by Borgia. Here we come across Michelangelo of the Buonarroti, Leonardo da Vinci and Niccolo Machiavelli among others. The *Trap at Sinigaglia* (Chapters IV and V, Part I) gives a vivid account of the horribly brutal ways of the whimsical tyrant and sensualist Cesare Borgia. Rosa Zangra is saved from Borgia's clutches by the artist-soldier Torrigiano then in Borgia's service and her secret yet deep and genuine love for her saviour lends an enchanting touch to the history of the Florentine artist's life.

Like Zella's for Northiam in the first of these two novels, Rosa Zangra's is a passionate yet silent and hopeless love for *Torryzany* and the final end of these two unfortunate girls, as depicted by our author, is too intensely pathetic and touches the most tender chord in the reader's heart.

The attempt to rescue Joan, the young daughter of the master bronze-worker, Easterfield, with whom *Torryzany* was a lodger while in London, from Black Rob Simlin, once an apprentice with Easterfield and Joan's rejected suitor, provides an eerie episode of strange adventures in *Torryzany's* encounter with Black Rob's comrades, an organised fraternity of heath-thieves (Chapter VI, Part II). This scene furnishes evidence also of the conditions of lawlessness still prevailing in the countryside after the Wars of the Roses. The death scene of Henry VII is also described in Chapter X, Part II, with vivid dramatic touches. Occasion is artistically created also for the introduction of two very fine stories described with rare skill. One of these—the tale of his own beard—is told by Long Rafe in his racy English when he sits as a model for *Torryzany's* sketch-head in clay of St. Jerome's head and the second is narrated after supper by the

Spanish Chaplain of the Duke of Arcos, Father Hernandez, to Northiam's daughter, called "The friend of Don Teleo" and is full of horror and thrills.

Through the friendly intercession of Sir Reginald Bray and Northiam, the great Italian sculptor at last had the highest opportunity of his life when King Henry first commissioned him for making his head and shoulders in bronze, then for the design of a Sarcophagus for his dead Queen and himself, and Henry VIII the tomb and effigy of Margaret of Richmond (the mother of Henry VII), and finally when he achieved his immortal masterpiece—the magnificent tomb of Henry VII and his Queen in the royal chapel of Westminster Abbey on which he spent six years from 1512 to 1518.

The author's reflections on Torrigiano's work are worth quoting:—
 "The mingled exultances and despairs of creating—for the production of a work of art is in the nature of a tribulation, and no pleasant pastime—wore Torrigiano as a long campaign will wear even the most veteran soldier." The inner spirit of an artist's nature is laid bare with dramatic vividness in another passage of great force where we read—
 "The prelude to success is often more difficult for the creative spirit to bear with equilibrium than either the success itself or the previous heart-burning of failure. It is as though that part of the intention which, in an artist, is prophetic suffers its reaction rather in subconscious forecasting than in conscious retrospect."

There is an element of sublime beauty in the sacred flame of love that silently burns in the passionate heart of this great artist for his friend Northiam's wife, Averill. With him it is something like a spiritual devotion to an ideal cherished quietly in the deeper recesses of his being. Only once at last he bursts out in a fervent appeal to her in burning words like these:—

"Is it more ill in *me* to say 'I love you because you are beautiful' than in you to say to my statue here that you love it because it, too, is beautiful? Do you smutch it by your admiration? Do I smutch *you* by mine? * * * Is it ever an insult to praise beauty as an artist praises it? Go to, are you so of the world that you cannot credit my admiration with cleanness, my worship with holiness, and my love with honour? *Dio e Morte*, it were my silence were the crime, not my speech: to let so lovely a work from the divine smithy go unloved and unpraised by the best in me, which is my artist's soul. I have spoken; I have done."

There could hardly be a more dramatic and suggestive revelation of an artist's soul. Eventually, an artist's indomitable passion for perfection is the cause of Torrigiano's ruin and tragic end. He falls a victim to the religious bigotry of the Spanish Inquisition before which he is tried on a charge of sacrilege and by which he is condemned. The tragic story of this artist's life has its fitting close in the highly imaginative subjective vision described poetically in which "his spirit soared in its flight from the flesh."

J. G. B.

Ourselfes

RAMTANU LAHIRI PROFESSOR OF BENGALI

Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., has been appointed Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali for a period of five years with effect from the 1st November, 1932, or any later date in course of the present session on which he may join. His salary will be Rs. 600 per month for the first two years, at the end of which, the question of his salary will be reconsidered by the Senate. He will be subject to the conditions and rules applicable to the Ramtanu Lahiri Professorship.

A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on the following theses submitted by him :—

(i) On the nature of Active Carbon and on the Absorption of Electrolytes by it in relation to Current Theories, and

(ii) On the nature of Reactions responsible for Gail Acidity; on the Titration Curves of Colloidal Acids and on the Colloid Chemical Analysis of such system.

RESULTS OF THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW, JULY, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 792 of whom 174 were absent and 1 was expelled.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 618 of whom 383 passed and 235 failed.

Of the successful candidates 27 were placed in Class I and 356 in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 62·2.

RESULTS OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION
IN LAW, JULY, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 484 of whom 73 were absent and none was expelled.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 408 of whom 288 passed and 120 failed.

Of the successful candidates 36 were placed in Class I and 256 in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 70·6.

RESULTS OF THE FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW, JULY, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 841 of whom 267 were absent and none was expelled.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 574 of whom 414 passed and 160 failed.

Of the successful candidates 40 were placed in Class I and 374 in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 72·1.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1932



THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

Reasons for summoning the Conference.

Considerations of space and time preclude me from making a detailed reference to the illusory prosperity brought about by an inflationary era. Fortunately for her an era of credit and currency stabilisation set in early in 1924. It proved indeed smooth sailing for the German finances so long as external (mainly American) capital could be obtained on decent terms. She was able to steer clear of the Charybdis of financial bankruptcy or the Scylla of inflationary credit and currency orgy.¹ With the help of external capital the industrial renaissance and the much-needed rationalisation of war-dislocated German economy could be successfully brought about.² Excepting the year 1926 there was no severe spasm of depression in Germany. It would be no exaggeration to say that by 1929 Germany almost regained her pre-war economic health. Production increased. A high wage rate existed.³ Her low prices enabled her to find

¹ During 1924 to 1930 the total indebtedness of Germany increased to RM. 25.5 milliards. A part of this was covered by her foreign assets amounting to RM. 9.7 milliards. The net debt being RM. 15.8. See the Report of the London Conference.

² See Dr. Doreen Warriner—Combines and Rationalisation in Germany—"The economic effects of the combination movement of 1924-1928 are lucidly described in this book.

³ German wages were low in 1924 immediately after the stabilisation of credit and currency. They gradually rose to a higher level by 1929.

out an export surplus. The expansion of production and consumption took place in the new era out of monies loaned abroad instead of being solely financed out of accumulated savings. Somehow the trick of paying prodigious political debt was accomplished.⁴

But to secure a "complete and final settlement of the Reparations problem" the Young Committee was organised. The inevitable political factors intervened. A run on the Reichsbank reserve ensued. The Committee's deliberations almost came to a standstill. To solve the deadlock the Germans wisely yielded. A lower figure of Reparations was agreed to as fixed by the Young Committee.⁵ A commercialised machinery called the Bank of International Settlements was set up to facilitate the transfer problem without affecting the stability of German currency. The evacuation of the Rhine Province stimulated her economic activity. No statesman in Europe could dream that this flourishing Germany of 1929 would suffer a severe economic set-back as it were within a brief period of two years. But political disturbances aggravated the main economic issue. The grave economic situation of Germany in 1931 can be appropriately summed up in the significant phrase, *viz.*, financial paralysis.⁶ The appalling general demoralisation of German economic

⁴ A clear study of the pamphlet entitled "The Present Economic State of Germany" would reveal the state of agriculture, transportation and banking. My thanks are due to the Consul General for Germany for providing me with a copy of this privately printed book.

⁵ The Young Plan fixed the total Reparations figure at 110'7 milliard gold marks payable according to a sliding scale and ranging roughly over a period of 62 years provided there was to be a permanent improvement in world trade situation enabling Germany to enjoy her share of world prosperity. Neither did this prophecy become true nor did the expected economic co-operation and increase of world commerce as a result of the action of B. of I. S. take place. As subsequent economic events have run counter to the expectations of the treaty the Germans invoke the help of International Law to declare the Young Plan null and void as a result of unforeseen circumstances which render it inoperative.

⁶ There are people who believe that Germany inflated deliberately with a view to secure the abolition of Reparations. Germany's "fraudulent bankruptcy" is often a catchword on the part of the French people who want to exact reparations and keep Germany perpetually weak. But there is no gainsaying of the fact that she loyally carried out the payments and as her present economic resources have been dried up she has rightly appealed for mercy.

life became aggravated into a panic and a catastrophe seemed inevitable.

The Responsibility of America.

It was American capital that unwittingly undid her previous work. The drying up of the American capital loans to Germany during the days of the speculative orgy in Wall Street and the world-wide fall in prices precipitated by this measure gravely affected the internal economy of Germany. With a truncated area,⁷ a dwindling population, lessened industrial resources as coal and iron⁸ nearly wholesale liquidation of German property abroad,⁹ a large number of unemployed amounting to about 6 million, in number arising out of a materially weakened state of industries, a complete breakdown of her mercantile marine, increasing costs of production which could not be adequately covered by sales owing to the adverse fall in retail as well as wholesale prices¹⁰ and the ceaseless outflow of gold following the Hitlerian success in the Reichstag elections of 1930 Germany could hardly afford to pay the political payments.¹¹ President

⁷ It is significant to note that Herr Von Papen has been agitating for the restoration of the lost colonies to Germany.

⁸ A rough idea of the diminished productive efficiency of Germany can be secured by a glance at the following table :—

Reduction in population	10	per cent.	Reduction in zinc ore	66 per cent.
„ „ arable soil	14		Reduction „ lead ore	25 „ „
„ „ live stock	8.16		Reduction „ blast furnace	25 „ „
„ „ hard coal	26		„ „ rolling mill prn	16
„ „ iron ore	75		Loss of merchant marine	90 per cent.

See page 55, Dr. G. E. Hinecke's pamphlet—"No More Reparations."

⁹ It is only in the case of U. S. A. that the confiscated German capital was returned back again after the war.

¹⁰ The business and economic conditions were not entirely prosperous and these became intensified by political disturbances leading to loss of confidence in the basis of German credit.

¹¹ In March 1931 Germany had to disburse 179.15 million Reichsmarks for political liabilities and this is more than double the monthly revenue from wage-discount in the whole of Germany. See Dr. F. Grimm, "The 35th Economic Conference and Germany's Answer."

Hoover's moratorium as regards political payments and the successive Standstill Agreements with reference to commercial debt could give only temporary respite and breathing freedom but it was plain to every member of the Basle Committee of August, 1931, and the Berlin Committee of January, 1932, that things were not shaping well with Germany. The falling prices only led to increased number of bankruptcies, further restriction and demoralisation of economic activity. Falling prices dealt a knockout blow to reeling and groggy Germany as the pugilistic metaphor would put it. Declining international trade¹² ruled out all hopes of heavy export surplus. The disabled banking system made the burden of existing indebtedness almost staggering. Dr. Heinecke aptly summarises the situation when he rightly remarks that "Germany has been crowded to the very edge of economic catastrophe."¹³ All the creditor countries

¹² A glance at the recent report of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations will disclose the great fall in value as well as the volume of international trade. The following percentage figures indicate this tendency are expressed as 100 and the decline of trade in the figures of Jan'y., 1930—Jan'y., 1932—is expressed in percentage figures.

Imports.		Exports.	
Switzerland 21%	Czechoslovakia 48%	Brazil 21%	U. S. A. 48%
Sweden 26%	Belgium 50%	Argentine 31%	Germany 48%
Austria 37%	France 51%	Sweden 34%	Canada 49%
Japan 37%	Italy 52%	Belgium 40%	Switzerland 50%
U. Kingdom 39%	Argentine 54%	Roumania 42%	France 51%
Brazil 44%	U. S. A. 58%	Italy 46%	Japan 53%
U. S. Africa 47%	Hungary 59%	U. Kingdom 47%	Austria 54%
Yugoslavia 59%		Poland 58%	
Canada 60%		Czechoslovakia 61%	
Roumania 61%		U. S. A. 63%	
Spain 62%		Yugoslavia 65%	
Poland 63%		Spain 70%	
Hungary 66%		Hungary 70%	

See L. of N. Report—Off No. C-516-M-255-1932.

¹³ See page 13 of his pamphlet entitled "No More Reparations."

concerned in the matter of receiving Reparations or political payments joined hands together and met in Lausanne to arrive at a satisfactory solution. Fortunately for the world French obduracy was won over. A real lasting peace was forged by the almost entire scrapping away of the political payments. There has been the paving of the way for a satisfactory settlement of the Inter-Allied War debts to America.

Its Conditional Nature.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald performed the hat trick. Like Emperor Caesar of olden times he achieved momentous results which can be briefly summed up in the aphoristic language and phrasology of *Veni, Vedi, Vici*. Although the important Continental newspapers hail this conclusion of L. Conference as an important landmark and view with gratitude and relief the patching up of the agreement—the far-reaching economic consequences of Reparations—free Germany have not been outlined.¹⁴ To envisage this the tangled skein of the different stages of the conversations¹⁵ of all the powers need not be unravelled. To quote the hackneyed phrases “*the clean slate*” or the “*tabula rasa*” in the matter of German Reparations problem bespeaks nothing intelligible to the ordinary reader.¹⁶ The conditional factor that the ratification of the “Gentleman’s Agreement” would become complete only if America reciprocates

¹⁴ France has scented already industrial competition at the hands of Reparations-free Germany. Sir Walter Layton’s figures are often quoted in this direction. After the cancellation of Reparations the per capita German public debt would be £8, that of U.S. £26, that of France £58 and that of Great Britain £156. But the smaller amount of German indebtedness constitutes a large burden for Germany than the larger amount of indebtedness in the case of other countries for the whole of Germany’s debt is foreign-owned. See Paul Einzig-Finance and Politics, p. 135.

¹⁵ See the Economist, June 25, 1932.

¹⁶ As many as 35 Conferences has to be held during a period of 12 years to solve the tangled question of Reparations. Minor alleviations, small concessions and unimportant improvements as in the case of Dawes Plan and the Young Settlement could not avert the chaos.

similar generous attitude towards European Debt robs the significance of the Conference itself. But the voice of reason and higher justice would doubtless prevail over the letter-of-the-law. Quite a disquieting news has been flashed to the effect that America neither consents to the total abolition of the War-Debts nor does she agree to lower her tariff walls. Agitated by political matters such as the impending elections the issues might not have been grasped in real earnest. An appeal from Philip Drunk to Philip Sober would sometimes enable us to secure justice. Similarly the voice of reason and higher justice would doubtless prevail over the American minds when they are free from the torments of domestic political issues. It is not entirely unreasonable to expect that America would forgive her debtors just as Germany has forgiven hers.¹⁷

Its Chief Economic Clauses.

The Conference has been dissolved. Broadly speaking, it may be considered to be a success. As an Economist I am not concerned with the political compensations effected at the same time. The revision of the political clauses of the Treaty of Versailles also falls outside my purview. It is psychologists¹⁸ alone who can properly appreciate the moral consequences of the removal of the famous war-guilt clause, *i.e.*, Article 231 of the superannuated treaty of Versailles.

¹⁷ See Ch. 9, para. 6, of the Young Plan. Germany renounced the credits she has given to her former allies under Article 261 of the Versailles Treaty.

¹⁸ Another inestimable advantage is that the German youths will now realise that justice has been granted to them in the matter of political payments. The current opinion in Germany is that Germany has paid more than what she is entitled to pay. Dr. Grimm estimates that 28·5 milliards Gold marks alone ought to have been demanded in fairness and Germany has already paid 38·25 milliards gold marks.

Another priceless psychological advantage is that the hatred against the capitalist system which is becoming more and more prominent as a result of the bitterness against political payments will be removed. Germany would once again support the capitalistic system of industrial organisation if her credit basis is trusted and loans are made to enable her to improve her economic organisation. Rid of excessive Government control and State interference the acquisitive instinct of the individual capitalist would function and uphold the new financial basis that has been created during the new-era days of 1924-1928.

The fixing of the residual payment at the low figure of 3 milliards of gold marks for the economic reconstruction of Europe payable after a three years' moratorium commencing from 1933 March and the total scrapping away of the huge reparations debt fixed till 1983 and graded according to supposed ability of Germany to pay it to the Allies are the chief economic clauses.

Chancellor Herr Von Papen's arguments that Germany could ill afford to pay anything further than 5 per cent. redeemable bonds worth three milliards of gold marks to the Bank of International Settlements after a three years' moratorium have been amply borne out by present-day circumstances. With civil war, social disintegration and political disturbances inside the country the gathering of economic payments and the balancing of the budgets would be impossible in the near future. It is as a realisation of this fact that the Bank of International Settlements is allowed to fix the date of actual payment on the part of Germany.

With a "strangled export trade" the economic wherewithal to repay even the reduced indebtedness would not exist. A small export surplus¹⁹ no doubt exists at present but it is

¹⁹ See the Economist, June 25 1932, p. 1403.

Millions of Reichsmarks.

Period.	Retained imp. rts.	Domestic exports, excluding repara- tions in kind.	Export surplus (plus) import surplus (minus).	reparations, in kind.
1929 total	13,477	12,663	—783	819
1930	11,393	11,328	plus 935	767
1931	6,727	9,206	„ 2,479	393
1931, October	483	866	„ 383	13
„ November	482	733	„ 256	10
„ December	491	712	„ 221	26
1932, January	425	530	„ 105	12
„ February	441	527	„ 86	11
„ March	364	516	„ 152	11
„ April	427	472	„ 85	9
„ May	351	438	„ 87	9

Prof. Karl Diehl says that "this export surplus is capable neither of long continuation nor of ready mobilisation." "In part, it is due to shrinkage in purchases in part to the anxious selling of goods at sacrifice prices."—*The Economic State of Germany*, p. 89.

doubtful how far it would continue to exist against universally falling prices and high tariff walls of other countries. Hence it has been the granting of bonds alone which may be repaid in course of time that has been the agreed result.

The opening of the venue for the World Economic Conference to be held in London in forthcoming winter is another welcome outcome of the Lausanne Conference. Without monetary stability no country can hope to flourish for quite a long time. An attempt would therefore be made to achieve stable money as a result of the forthcoming World Economic Conference.

Germany's Economic Gains.

She has been freed from the making of further reparation payments which amount roughly to 93 mil. marks. The settled Young plan has been unsettled. The RM. 3 milliards worth of bonds to be paid later on are no heavy immediate handicap.²⁰ Germany which has so long been denounced as the devastator of Europe can now openly proclaim that she has helped the economic reconstruction of Europe with the utmost amount that she could possibly pay just now.

The unfortunate era of exorbitantly high interest rates would soon be changed. But the expected reduction in the discount rate of the Reichsbank below five per cent.²¹ to three per cent. as suggested by the Finance Minister, Herr Dietrich, might not be forthcoming just now for the attenuated gold reserve of the Reichsbank would soon become further depleted.

The relief from heavy and burdensome taxation which had to be imposed in order to pay reparations would be thoroughly

²⁰ Herr Von Hitler who is not satisfied with this agreement openly says, "the agreement which has to-day laid a burden of three milliards on Germany will in six months not be worth three marks." See Economist, July 16, 1932, p. 122.

²¹ On July the Bank rate was reduced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But as there is a great disparity between short-term money rates and long-term interest rates which are roughly 10 per cent, a further reduction of bank rate seems impossible.

appreciated by the German citizens and by German industrial enterprise in particular.

Above all the rebuilding of particular credit connections would enable Germany to secure the much needed long-term capital.²² The German Government would now systematically attempt to secure the willing co-operation of the lender countries. Rid of political payments Germany can now concentrate her efforts in accumulating savings²³ and might perchance find a solution for her economic crisis. A prosperous Germany would lead the procession to better business and a happier world and put an end to international insolvency.

The Gains to Continental Europe.

The united European front, the giving up of French hostility, financial dictatorship,²⁴ avarice and old spite towards Germany and the European front being exerted against financial domination of America²⁵ are distinctly favourable terms and signs in the economic outlook of Europe. Apart from the cancellation of war-debts, what is urgently needed, is the protection against financial and industrial penetration of America. The economic rehabilitation of Europe alone can provide the needed safeguard in this direction and the road towards industrial renaissance has been constructed just at present. If America's financial strangle-hold is released the resultant freedom from indebtedness would enable

²² Even public corporations cannot hope to secure long-term loans without making special provision for amortisation. See Prof. Walter Lotz's paper on Public Finance in the "Present Economic State of Germany," p. 26.

²³ Since 1924 Germany paid annually 2,000 million marks as reparations. It is estimated that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the savings made during 1924-1928 was paid as reparations. See Dr. Heinecke's "No More Reparations," pp. 24-28.

²⁴ The recent Anglo-French entente announced by Sir John Simon means their joint willingness to restore order in Europe. Assured of British help the French people would not mind German aggressiveness. Peace without humiliation has been secured.

²⁵ Since 1915 the U. S. A. lent sums ranging close to Dollars 45,000,000,000 to Europe. See Senator Wm. E. Borah's introduction to Dr. G. E. Heinecke's Monograph, "No More Reparations."

the European countries to strengthen their credit basis and launch on industrial and capital reconstruction programmes. The dangers of continued European particularism in face of the economic power of the U. S. A. are now averted.²⁶

What of Creditor America ?

The United States of America need not feel any compunction in agreeing to this situation.²⁷ It is already stated that "unofficial assent" has been given towards the acceptance of the clean slate solution.²⁸ No creditor country can indeed hope to play the part of an unrelenting Shylock in these modern days of economic interdependence. The quality of mercy yields not only moral but economic advantages at the same time. A merciful creditor country can secure trading advantages if the indebted borrower country is freed from the incubus of deadweight indebtedness. The fall in prices has engendered a world-wide trade depression and it, in its wake, has brought about an acute financial crisis in the case of all debtor countries. The impoverished Austrian finances could somehow be rehabilitated by conjoint action under the leadership of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations. But a defaulting Germany would unbalance the American, the

²⁶ See Dr. Felix Somary, "Changes in the Structure of World Economics since the War."

²⁷ It is indeed true that America has to give up now an "annual claim of 250 million dol. a year now and more later on." But with the cancellation of claims substantially the same amount would become immediately a charge upon the American budget which the Congress is already having difficulty to bring into balance. But the rising tide of business would bring in more money and willingness to pay taxes.

²⁸ On November 17, 1931, the State Department of U.S.A. issued a note that a reduction of Inter-allied indebtedness would ensue as soon as Europe comes to a satisfactory agreement concerning the Reparations problem. America showed her willingness once already in the direction of the reduction of war-debts though she maintained the view that Reparations and war-debts were separate entities. So long as further reductions do not mean additional expenditure on Armaments America would not grudge to show her clemency once again. France for example had 60 per cent reduction of war-debts but she has been liberally spending more on Armaments than before. If this promise were to be assured America would certainly "give the economic life of the world a fresh start."

French, the Belgian and the British banking and financial systems. It is not indeed political payments alone that have to be reckoned with seriously. The mere prolongation of Standstill Agreements in the matter of commercial debts as has been done up to March, 1933, would not alleviate the situation in any telling manner.

Mere Silver-lining to the Cloud.

The Lausanne solution is only a mere silver-lining to the cloud, for it is mere reparations alone that have been scrapped. But a colossal amount of short-term as well as long-term commercial debt exists.²⁹ But without the scrapping of reparations no creditor country would lend Germany any substantial amounts. Even if loans were to be granted further political turmoil and consequent economic disintegration ought to cease. It is then alone that Germany would be able to repay her commercial indebtedness. An economically flourishing Germany would mean a flourishing European Continent and immediate world-wide trade improvement for all nations are bound up inextricably by the silken ties of trade and commerce. Increased world trade, industrial prosperity leading to widespread employment and materially flourishing agricultural countries would be some of the far-seeing results of the Lausanne Agreement. Considering the fact that it is the burden of commercial debt

²⁹ Apart from political payments German debt to other countries is a very significant item.

					Million RM.
		Long-term.	Percentage.	Short-term.	Percentage.
German Debts to U.S.A.		5,626	55.2	1,629	37.1
" " Great Britain		1,100	11.5	1,051	23.9
" " France		1,174	12.3	386	7.6
" " Holland		475	5.0	297	6.5

alone that remains to be solved and as a large part of it is productively invested the German financial system need not be thrown out of equilibrium. War debts were unproductively spent and so long as the debtor countries merely borrowed to repay interest on it there could be no sign of economic recovery. The balance of payments affords the proper key to the situation. If a real surplus were to exist it can be considered as an unmistakable manifestation of economic recovery for it leads to the formation of capital accumulation. The Layton Report to the Basle Committee rightly insists on this economic truth, *i.e.*, that the creditors cannot hope to secure great annual sums from debtors while placing unsurmountable obstacles in the way of free interchange of trade commodities. The economic truth is, there can be no such anomaly as forced partial economic recovery of bad debts from impoverished borrowers.

The Crux of the Problem.

The extensive short-term indebtedness of Germany³¹ has been contracted through the banks for securing the needed working capital for enabling the industrial rationalisation schemes to proceed apace. No ready payment of this can be forthcoming so long as German short-term assets are far lower than the figures of indebtedness.³² The German Banks have made excessive short-term borrowings and lent them for a long period to German industry. Any immediate foreclosure of loans on the part of creditor countries to withdraw these amounts would make her

³⁰ Germany has been given a constitution totally inadequate to her needs and worried by special problems it needs a strong Government at the present moment. See International Conciliation, No. 270 May, 1931.

³¹ The failure of the Danat Bank and the closing of the German Stock Exchange were due to sheer inability to repay short-term loans. The Danat Bank could not repay 650 million gold marks. The reserve of the Reichsbank fell down from 2.57 milliards of gold marks to 1.61 milliard gold marks and of this amount about 630 million gold marks were secured out of the rediscounting facilities granted by the B. of I. S. to the Reichsbank—Dr. F. Grimm—*Ibid.*, p. 50.

³² During the three years 1927 to 1929 the short term foreign borrowings of Germany exceeded short-term lending abroad by RM. 48 milliards.

default and it is only by a successful nursing of the indebted country that anything can be done in the direction of recovery of past loans. The funding of short-term debt and the slow payment of these debts out of real accruing assets is the only safe solution. This is the only feasible remedy so far as short-term commercial indebtedness of German Banks is concerned. Every other help such as reduction of debt and interest rates ³³ would facilitate the process of financial and economic recuperation and reduce the risks to both the lenders and the borrowers.

The Flight of Capital.

While the economic situation was far from encouraging political turmoil and disturbances have aggravated the tendency for the flight of capital from the country and by the end of 1931 roughly 4,900 million RM were sent out of the country. ³⁴ But the excessive withdrawals of capital have aggravated the German foreign exchange situation already rendered unsteady as a result of diminishing exports and dwindling imports of capital into the country. Though the adverse foreign exchange situation was remedied in the first half of 1931 ³⁵ it does not mean that Germany's economic recovery has been facilitated for the mere withdrawal of RM. 2.9 milliards of short-term credits in June and July, 1931, brought about the financial crisis. Although the cancellation of reparations eases the financial situation the funding of short-term indebtedness is an imperative necessity. Apart

³³ There ought to be a revision of rates of interest in consonance with the changes in the level of prices. It is not changes in wages alone that ought to follow changes in prices. Price fluctuations affect the whole series of factors of national income and every factor or economic category ought to be correspondingly changed in order to maintain the *status quo*.

³⁴ See the Estimate of the Advisory Committee quoted by Dr. G. H. Heinecke

³⁵ The following table illustrates the trade balances of Germany :—

		In Millions of RM. Surplus of			
		Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
Average, monthly,	1925-1929	1,051	959	92	...
,	1930	866	1,008	...	187
	Janv.-June, 1931	694	794	...	100

from this facilitating measure the free and continuous grant of long-term loan capital for productive purposes has to be secured. The total savings available in Germany for securing internal economic development and for paying her obligations to foreign countries would not be great. Hence this dependence on the easy and unimpeded flow of capital has to be realised. Equally imperative is the need to prevent the further exportation of capital from Germany. It is clearly manifest that Germany can hardly afford to pursue a policy of driving capital out of the country or inspire lack of confidence abroad. The shortage of capital and the consequent high interest rates are the real impediments to effective economic recovery.

German Government's Measures.

It must however be admitted that the German Government itself have spared no pains to restore economic activity to normal conditions.³⁷ The balancing of budgets by increased taxation

³⁶ Its short-term indebtedness amounts to five or six times the cash reserve of the Reichsbank and it would be impossible to face the creditor's withdrawal with such dwindling resources. Excessive borrowings even for productive purposes are fraught with danger. They tend to induce unfavourable financial conditions.

³⁷ The Emergency Decree of Dec. 8, 1931, has promulgated measures which stand unparalleled in modern legislation. See the Report of the Standstill Committee, Ch. I.

Some important measures of the Emergency Decree are—

- (1) the fixing of domestic commodity prices by agreement at about 10 per cent. lower level,
- (2) the reducing of railway freight rates by 5 to 20 per cent.,
- (3) the reducing of the interest rates,
- (4) the reducing of building rates by a minimum rates of 10 per cent.,
- (5) the reducing of wages and salaries in Government and private undertakings by 9 per cent.,
- (6) the levying of a Federal Sales Tax of two per cent.

One important constructive aspect of the scheme is the mobilisation of 350 million marks for financing German export trade. The compulsory conversion of internal long-term loans so as to diminish the interest on existing debts by one quarter is another facilitating measure for the recovery of German agricultural economy.

German economic recovery might be facilitated if this iron determination to promulgate suitable economic and financial reforms continues through the period of economic recuperation.

The recent emergency decree of Chancellor Herr Von Papen bespeaks something in favour of Germany and is bound to inspire confidence in the minds of external creditors.

and reduced expenditure needs no mention. The economic result has been the happy assurance and guarantee that internal inflation will not be brought about. The long-term interest rates, wages and prices have all been reduced so as to cope with the new economic situation brought about in the latter half of 1931.³⁸

Stability of currency and credit organisation was its main aim and endeavour so that a proper correlation would exist between production and the volume of bank money. The controlling Board of banking concerns³⁹ aims at securing sound credit conditions although the credit machinery is being assailed by gold withdrawals and hoarding of bank notes. Public and private companies are rigidly controlled so that any waste of capital resources does not arise. Foreign exchange transactions are placed under rigorous control of the Reichsbank so that flight of capital from the country might be arrested. The co-operation of the foreign creditors according to the tenour of the Standstill Agreements has, of course, facilitated the successful working of the controlled monetary mechanism established in Germany.

Agricultural economy received special treatment and many farmers have been helped by the granting of moratorium to help their cause.⁴⁰ Such have been the measures⁴¹ that Germany enacted to control her position but she was fighting against tremendous odds. But for Lausanne and all that it implies there

³⁸ Full one-third of the industrial life came to a standstill and the index of Industrial production has fallen from 100 in 1928 to 65 in Sep., 1931. Income from labour has fallen. Wages and salaries are lower. Unemployment is still increasing. Economic conditions have not improved even now. See July, 1932, London Banker's Magazine, p. 38.

³⁹ See my Paper on the Problem of Banking Stability, read before the Institute of Bankers, Mysore Economic Journal, May, 1932.

⁴⁰ The rate of interest exceeds the net profits in agriculture and stands as an effective bar to technical progress.

⁴¹ For example in order to reduce German imports the importation of wheat was given up and German people had to depend on rye bread as a substitute for wheat. It was this low standard of living that enabled Germany to reorganise her industries and secure external markets for goods.

would have been a complete failure of German economy and, through her, world economy. Though fortunately all this has been averted still it does not mean that it is smooth sailing henceforward. Granted respite from internal political conflicts Germany might soon set her house in order to assure herself of the grant of regular and enough long-term loans by the creditor countries. This would undoubtedly facilitate the normal functioning of the economic machine. A recovery of trade and prices would better her economic outlook and improve her economic position. A complete credit scheme of a revolving character and sponsored by the leading creditor countries would strengthen her credit basis and secure her economic improvement. An increase in international purchasing power will enable her to regain her normal economic health.

Salient Lessons from Germany's Example.

Every debtor country placed in the self-same situation as that of Germany should adopt similar financial procedure. The world's greatest "economic blizzard" has encompassed them all. Both the volume and the value of the international trade have fallen to an astonishingly low figure in the second half of 1931 and first half of 1932. The restoration of their credit and currency position is the absolute and immediate necessity ahead. Abnormal state economic activities like exchange control and limitation of imports have to be given up for these would tend to delimit further the economic activity of the borrower country. Normalcy in economic behaviour is needed. The tariff crisis has to be cured. The mere financial disturbance alone leads to restricted markets. If tariffs were to still further reduce this possibility it would be impossible to expect recovery on the part of any debtor country, be it Germany or any other economically well-organised country.

⁴² See the League of Nations Bulletin, Off No. C-516-M. 255, p. 2.

World Significance of Lausanne Conference.

Lausanne points the way and all international debt obligations have to be similarly examined if the world's economic system is not to be thrown out of gear. The sooner it is done the better it would be for this debt-ridden world. Financial soundness is the *sine-qua-non* of economic progress. The torn fabric of international finance should be woven afresh with dexterity and consummate skill.

Lessons to Creditors.

Both creditors as well as lenders have responsibilities to themselves as well as others. Apart from wise capital investment abroad, a creditor country should lend continuously so as to facilitate normal economic activity of the borrower country. Above all she must consent to receive goods and services in lieu of interest and capital from the borrowing country. Insistence on payment in gold alone would be sheer meaningless attitude for all the world's gold mined so far would amount to a mere fraction of the total indebtedness in the world. Some sort of social control in the matter of external capital investment is no less needed. Any trace of Economic Imperialism on the part of the lending country should be checked. Nothing is more important than that the lender should possess the capacity to control his feelings in good as well as bad times.⁴³ Firm and wise checking of the greedy and ever-borrowing tendency on the part of the debtor country is needed. Just as the domestic banking system checks all extravagant claims for undue extension of credit, the international financial system has to be similarly safeguarded against unwise expansion of international credit.⁴⁴ In other words there ought to

⁴³ See Sir Josiah Stamp's Paper entitled "Control or Fate in Economic Affairs," p. 132—Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, May, 1932.

⁴⁴ Dr. B. M. Anderson says that "the basic trouble during 1924-1929 was an excess of loan funds available with lenders seeking borrowers and forcing funds upon them"—Chase Economic Bulletin, Oct. 8, 1931.

be proper correlation between the rate of return or profits from commerce and the rate charged for capital investment. Then alone can it be stated that there has been really secure foreign investment. A system of continuous co-operation of Central Banks can secure this ideal. Perhaps a watchful guidance of a Supernational Bank alone would be able to secure harmony in the interests of international credit situation. Its main duty should be to check undue overexpansion of credit by creditor countries which might be done by the liberal granting of credits, loans and acceptances.

How should Debtor Countries behave?

As the burden of debts tends to be aggravated in days of falling prices no misuse of even short-term credit should be thought of by the debtor countries. Nothing would be so suicidal as to lock up short-term loans in long-term loan advances to internal borrowers. A growing and immense means of export surplus in 'goods and services' would have to be created to ensure proper payment of interest and capital. The export trade might not be able to support the transfer of such large-scale payments. The creditor country would by all means resist such an attempt by feverishly raising its tariff walls. In spite of this the building up of great productive energy on the part of the debtor country would be a better solution than the infructuous and dangerous one of parting with gold resources. This would undoubtedly lead to certain departure from the gold standard. The depreciation of currency would ensue. All the horrors of inflation might be experienced by the debtor country. The other solution of deliberately creating an artificial surplus of exports would mean an effective competition. The creditor country would doubtless tend to stifle it by raising the tariff wall. While the first kind of remedial action is unthinkable the second becomes impossible. So the restriction of imports is resorted to even at the cost of gravely reducing the national

standard of living. Any curtailing of imports would ultimately lead to the curtailing of exports. Import quotas, new surtaxes and exchange controls tend to restrict the volume of trade. Increasing unemployment, diminished trade, increasing taxation, unbalanced budgets and other peculiarly distressing features characterise the national economy of the debtor country. With the reduction of the wealth of the debtor country there would be a diminution of the wealth of the entire world itself.

Conclusion.

Debtors as well as creditors have to realise that it is mutual exchange of goods and services that constitutes the *summum bonum* of economic activity. They must realise their proper and respective places in world economy. Without mutual help there can be no facilitation of the respective duties and obligations towards each other. The present-day disjointed international economy amply illustrates that nations have forgotten their interrelationships.

Chile and Brazil have defaulted. Australia promises to do the self-same thing. India ⁴⁵ and China ⁴⁶ are finding it extremely difficult to repay their heavy international obligations. No economic problem needs better attention than this. Having over-borrowed during days of prosperity they are confronted with fiscal

⁴⁵ Sir Basil Blackett has recently stated before the East India Association that unless a rise in prices were to immediately take place the international obligations of India cannot be paid without great damage to the internal economy of the country. So far as internal debt is concerned the Debt Reconciliation Committees recommended by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees would most probably have to undertake their work as early as circumstances would permit. The mere threat that resort will be taken to the rural Insolvency Act by the debtor will make the creditors more sensible. The persecution of debtors by the creditors is a menace to society. Equity demands that no annihilation of the earning power of the debtors should take place. Nothing can conduce towards this measure as the reduction of debts. At least equity demands the compulsory conversion of all internal long-term loans which will regularly diminish the interest on existing debts by a half at least.

⁴⁶ In both cases the fall in the price of silver has aggravated the problem already rendered difficult by the fall in prices.

difficulties, depreciated exchanges and adverse trade balances. Finding themselves sinking more and more in the mire of indebtedness attempts are made to resist further breakdown of internal economy. Subsidies to increase domestic production, high import tariffs against outside goods and even import prohibitions are resorted to to make the impoverished country absolutely independent even in the matter of food supplies. These restrictions tend to react on the trade position of the world almost leading to a complete strangulation of it.

The forthcoming World Economic Conference is bound to provide a remedy if it were to prevent such recurrent financial crises as the present one in the near future. While the proper regulation of the volume and direction of external or international lending by the creditor countries is essential in the interests of both the lender and the borrower, it is the restoration of world equilibrium in matters of trade and price-level that is the absolute need of the hour.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

RELATIONS IN MODERN INDIAN LOGIC

By Modern Indian Logic I do not mean the sort of logic that is now-a-days taught in the modern Indian Universities. I mean by it the logic which is associated with the names of Gangeśa Upādhyāya and Raghunātha Siromaṇi* and which has been developed almost to its perfection by such later writers as Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa, Jagadīśa Tarkālankāra and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. There have been other distinguished writers on the subject but the writers named above are the best known among them and are still studied in different parts of India in all orthodox seats of Sanskrit learning.

The subject of relations is very important in Modern Indian Logic or *Navyanyāya* as it is called in Sanskrit. From the standpoint of *Navyanyāya* no proposition has any exact significance unless we know in what relation the subject stands to the predicate. According to it, there is not much sense in merely saying that a thing is there or not there at a certain place, because by different relations the thing may be both there and not there at the same time. So we should understand by what different relations a thing may or may not exist at a certain place and in every case we should be clear about the relation involved in our assertion. *Navyanyāya* has been thus led to recognise all sorts of conceivable relations between one thing and another, understanding 'thing' in a very wide sense. I propose to explain in this paper some of the principal relations that are often used in *Navyanyāya* and also to give at the end some broad classifications of them.

We should realise first of all that relations constitute, as it were, the very backbone of logic. Logic is concerned with thought and thought is possible because there are things in relation. If there were only one thing in reality, or many

things unrelated with one another, no thought would be possible. Thinking is essentially thinking 'together' of certain things and we can think of things as together only by asserting relations between them. There seems to be nothing essentially impossible in the idea of there being only one thing in reality or many things without any relation among them, but it seems impossible that we should be able to think of reality without implying some relation or other.

Relations cannot simply fall between the things that are related. Relations have no self-subsistence and cannot be conceived to have any being apart from the terms which are related by them. Even if they could exist apart, they would not then relate. Logicians generally and especially the followers of *Navyanyāya* are realists, they cannot accept the view that relations consist merely in the thinking activity of the mind. Relations have to be found somehow in the things that are related. Since a relation connects at least two terms, we might suppose that the relation exists in the whole constituted by its terms. But there is a difficulty in this view. If the relation between *a* and *b* existed in the whole of which *a* and *b* are the parts and if nothing further about the relation were known, if, that is, all that we knew about the being of the relation were that it existed in that whole, then we should be unable to distinguish the relation of *a* to *b* from the relation of *b* to *a*. For both the relations have the same sort of being and should be identical with one another. But if *a* is the father of *b*, *b* is not the father of *a* and so the relation of *a* to *b* should be distinct from the relation of *b* to *a*. Modern European Logic solves this difficulty by supposing that a relation has a 'sense' or direction.¹ The relation (father), which goes from *a* to *b*, is different from the relation (son) which goes from *b* to *a*. *Navyanyāya* conceives the being of relations a little differently. If *a* is the father of *b*, then fatherhood is the relation which *a*

¹ Russell, *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*, p. 49.

bears to *b*. This relation has its being in *a* and refers to *b*. So *a* is the seat (*anuyogi*) of the relation and *b* is its correlate (*pratiyogi*). Sonship is the relation of *b* to *a* and of that relation *b* is the seat and *a* the correlate (what Russell calls *referrent* would be *anuyogi* in our terminology). When *a* has a relation to *b* or *b* has a relation to *a*, both of them are related and are to be called 'relata' (*sambandhi*) in each case, although in respect of any one of these relations, one of them is the seat (*anuyogi*) and the other the correlate (*pratiyogi*) of the relation. Thus a relation will not be completely determined unless we know what its terms are and how they are related. That is to say, in order to have an exact knowledge of a relation, we must not only know the terms related by it but must also know which of them is the seat and which the correlate of the relation.

The most obvious kind of togetherness or relation that we find in the world is that of actual contact between two substances. It is by this relation that a table may have a book upon it or there may be a pen in my hand. The table and the book may exist apart from each other but they are also brought into a relation when the book is placed on the table. The relation in this case is 'contact' (*samyoga*). Similarly in the case of my hand and the pen. As we say that there is a pen in my hand and not that there is my hand in the pen, we have to suppose that the seat of the contact is my hand and the pen is its correlate. Ordinarily if a thing exists anywhere by a relation, it exists where the relation has its seat. So if a pen is there in my hand it is because the relation which relates my hand and the pen has its seat (*anuyogi*) in my hand and the pen is its correlate. Thus also we find that the relation of my hand to the pen is not the relation of the pen to my hand. In some cases however the relation of contact relates both of its terms in the same sense. When, *e.g.*, two sheep *a* and *b*, come in physical contact with one another, we may suppose that the contact of *a* with *b* is the contact of *b*

with *a*, so that each of them happens to be the seat as well as the correlate of the relation which joins them. But as a rule the seat of a relation is not also its correlate.

There is a strange peculiarity about this relation and it will come out from the following consideration. When a monkey is seen on a branch of a tree, we may say that the tree has the relation of contact with the monkey. But the contact in question is not all over the tree, it is available only in a part of it, *i.e.*, in one of its branches. There is no contact with the monkey at the root of the tree. We may say, therefore, that the tree is in contact, and is not in contact, with the monkey. Thus the relation of contact is compatible with its absence. Such is not the case with other relations. If somebody has the relation of brotherhood to me, we cannot say that there is also the absence of that relation in him. Not only is contact compatible with its absence, we have to go further and assert that its absence always goes with it. Only some parts of a thing can be in contact with another and some parts will always remain outside the contact. If every part of *x* were to be in contact with *y*, then *x* would merge in *y* and we should no longer say that *x* is in contact with *y*. So we say there is contact with regard to the part which is actually in contact and there is absence of contact in respect of the parts which remain outside the contact.

Contact is not merely a relation ; it is also a quality. It is one among the twenty-four qualities accepted by the followers of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. Being a quality, it is available only between substances, because it is substances alone that can have any quality. By quality we do not mean here any abstract attribute that can be ascribed to anything. We mean by it only those qualities of which we are directly aware in external or internal perceptions, such as colour, smell, taste, etc., of physical things and knowledge, desire, etc., of the self. These are qualities in a sense in which the brightness of a colour or the character of being a quality is not a quality. In any case, the *Naiyāyikas* do not believe that anything except a substance can have a quality.

So in their opinion, contact, which is a quality, is possible only in the case of substances.

From the fact that contact which is a quality is also a relation, it would appear that according to the *Naiyāyikas* a relation as such need not be distinct from a quality.

The relation of a substance to its qualities is called *samavāya*. The term *samavāya* is generally translated as inherence. As qualities exist in a substance by the relation of *samavāya* and as we speak of qualities as inhering in a substance, so it is probably thought proper to call *samavāya* inherence. But the term inherence does not seem to bring out the full or the real significance of *samavāya*. Qualities exist in a substance by *samavāya*, because *samavāya* is the relation of the substance to its qualities. Just as a son is related to his father by the relation of fatherhood which the father bears in respect of his son, so are the qualities of a substance related to the substance by the relation of *samavāya* which the substance maintains with regard to its qualities. As we do not speak of a substance as inherent in its qualities, the relation of a substance to its qualities, which is *samavāya*, is not therefore inherence. Moreover the idea of complete possession is implied in the term *samavāya*. If a substance has the relation of *samavāya* in respect of its qualities, it is because the qualities are so absolutely possessed by the substance that they have no being apart from it. The relation of a quality to a substance does not signify any such complete possession, because the substance may very well exist even when the quality disappears. The qualities, however, which exist by *samavāya* in any substance can never exist when the substance disappears.

This relation is not so obviously given in perception as the relation of contact. It is therefore necessary to prove that there is such a relation as *samavāya*; and this is proved in the following simple way. We have experience of qualified substances, that is, we know from experience that there are qualities in a substance. And they can be there only by being related with the

substance by some relation. We also find that qualities do not exist apart from a substance ; so it appears that they must be essentially related with the substance. This relation is not contact, because contact is available only between substances and also because contact is never essential to the terms related by it. We therefore require a peculiar relation between a substance and its qualities which we call *samavāya*. The most important characteristic of this relation is that the terms related by it are not separately available. And it obtains wherever two terms are found in such close intimacy that one is not given apart from the other.

Just as the qualities (*guṇa*) of a substance are not available apart from the substance, so are its actions (*karma*). Therefore actions too are related to the substance which acts, by the relation of *samavāya*.

Similarly a whole (*avayavi*) is not given apart from its parts (*avayava*), a universal (*jāti*) is not found apart from its particular instances (*vyakti*). So the relation between whole and part, universal and particular, is *samavāya*. By this relation a whole resides in its parts and a universal resides in its particular instances.

Samavāya is supposed to be eternal. It may sound strange that a relation should be called eternal, when its terms, substances and qualities, are liable to destruction. Still there is some point in saying that *samavāya* is eternal. *Samavāya* is not produced, like contact, by the action of one or more things. So, not being an effect (*kārya*), it is not liable to destruction. We find only those things perish which, being positive, are the results of some action. *Samavāya* is not a thing of this kind. When we find that a quality is destroyed, we are apt to suppose that the relation by which it existed is also destroyed. But what we actually find in experience is only that the quality is destroyed and not that the relation is also destroyed.

The real point seems to be that as there are eternal entities, which either exist by this relation (*e.g.*, universals) or maintain

their attributes by this relation (*e.g.*, souls), the relation has to be accepted as eternal. At least the relation has to be accepted as not later than the term which is related by it. *Samavāya* does not arise after a quality has come into being. When, therefore, we find that there are eternal entities which exist by this relation, we have *ipso facto* to accept that the relation is also eternal.

This relation is supposed to be one and the same in all different instances. The same contact does not join different pairs of things. The contacts are obviously different. But it is believed that the same *samavāya* relates all different terms which admit of this relation. We cannot detect any difference in the relation of *Samavāya* as such. So we have to accept that it is the same relation which is present in different instances. The relation by which the universal character of cowhood resides in a cow is the very same relation by which the universal character of manhood resides in a man. And yet a man is not a cow, because although the relation is the same, the substrates and the attributes are different (*ādhārādheyaniyamāt*). The modern people however believe that the relation is different in different cases.¹

The *Vaiśeṣikas* think that this relation is only an intelligible relation and is not given in any sense-experience. The *Naiyāyikas* however hold that just as we can perceive the absence of a thing, when the thing, the correlate (*pratiyogi*) of the absence, is perceivable, we can perceive *samavāya*, because its correlate too is perceivable. Since we can sensibly perceive a quality which exists by this relation and which is its correlate, we can also perceive the relation by sense-experience, the perceivability of a thing being always determined by the perceivability of its correlate, as we find in the case of absence. The absence of a spirit is not given in perception, because a spirit is not

¹ "There is *samavāya* of smell in earth and not in water; so the *samavāya* is many,' say the moderns."—Dinakari.

perceivable. But we can perceive the absence of a book, because its correlate, the book in question, is perceivable.

An interesting question is sometimes raised about the relation of this relation to its terms. In the case of contact, it is easy to understand that it is related to its terms by *samavāya*, because contact is a quality. But how is *samavāya* itself related? It cannot be related by contact, because contact is available only between substances; nor can it be related by *samavāya*, because *samavāya* being only one, we cannot have another *samavāya* to relate *samavāya* to its terms. *Prāśastapāda* answers that *samavāya*, being a relation does not require a further relation to relate itself (*vrittyātmakasya samavāyasya nānyā vrittirasti*). So it is related by itself (*tasmāt svātmavrittih*).

There is a characteristic relation by which things are related to time. All things in the world are related to time. In fact existence itself is sometimes defined in *Navyanyāya* as relatedness to time (*kālasambandhitva*). This relation is expressed in such statements as: 'There is a book on the table now,' 'This flower was red in the morning,' 'I was going there yesterday,' etc. This relation cannot be one of contact, because contact is available only between substances, but we refer even quality (e.g., red) and action (e.g., going) to time and there cannot be any contact with them. This relation cannot also be *samavāya*, because the quality which is referred to a time does not exist by *samavāya* in time but only in the thing which possesses this quality. In the above instance, the quality red exists by *samavāya* only in the flower, which is red, and not in time. Yet the quality exists in time, although not by *samavāya*. It is borne in time by a particular relation which we may call 'time-relation' (*kālikasambandha*). By this relation all that exists at a particular time is related to that time. This is also the relation by which things exist in the all-comprehensive time.

What we have said above about time-relation is easy to understand, but it is a little difficult to grasp how this relation

also obtains between any two things of the world that have temporal existence. Only eternal substances (except time) do not admit of this relation. But in any created thing (*janya*), anything else may exist by time-relation, provided, of course, both of them happen to exist at the same time. By this relation the fire in a mountain may be said to reside in the waters of a lake and the treasures of the king may lie in the hut of a beggar. When we say that one thing resides in another by time-relation, we do not simply mean that there is the relation of co-existence in time between them. Co-existence in time between two things would be a complex, indirect relation made up of the separate time-relations of the two things to time. But by their time-relation we mean a simple direct relation between them.

A relation is direct when it is brought about by one thing only. Contact is a direct relation, because one and the same contact relates two objects and nothing else than the simple contact is necessary for the relation. The relation of being a maternal uncle is not a direct relation, because in order to be related by it one requires a mother and then a brother to the mother. Now when two things exist at a time, they no doubt get related to each other and their relation is brought about by time only. Nothing else is required than the time in which they exist, to make them related. So their time-relation to each other is a simple direct relation.

I am not sure whether this interpretation brings out the real meaning of the time-relation as conceived by the *Naiyāyikas*; but some have actually given this interpretation. We may try a slightly different explanation.

The *Naiyāyikas* believe in an all-comprehensive, standing time (*mahākāla*) which is the support of every thing in existence. They also believe in an empirical time (*khaṇḍakāla*) which is of the nature of a process (*kriyātmaa*). This time is represented by things in process in the world. In fact when it is said that every created thing (*janyamātra*) is an attribute of time

(*kāṭopadhi*) what seems to be meant is that empirical time is the process of the world, so that any particular time is nothing but all things at the time in process of change. So when it is said that a thing exists at a particular time it seems to be meant that it exists by time-relation in every thing that has at the time the temporal character of process or change. Empirical time is nothing but the changing things of the world, seeing that any particular time can only be determined by the states of such things. The eternal things (*nitya*) alone undergo no process and have no temporal character and so things do not reside in them by time-relation. Every thing else, which undergoes change, provides a fit locus for any thing in the world to exist by time-relation.

There is a peculiar relation called *svarūpa sambandha*, which for want of a more suitable term, I propose to translate as 'relation by proper being.' Let me explain what I mean by it. In a negative perceptual judgment, we localise the absence of a thing in a particular place. When I do not find any book on the table, I say 'There is no book on the table.' By this judgment I refer the absence of books to a particular place, namely, the surface of the table. The absence is, so to say, located in the table. But how is the absence related to the table? We cannot suppose that contact, *samavāya*, or any other like relation connects the absence with the table, for such relations are possible only between positive entities. On the other hand we cannot deny all relations. We always find that a thing can be a locus (*ādhāra*) of another only by maintaining some relation with it. Here the table is certainly the locus of the negative content, no-book ; so the table must be in some relation with it. A little reflection will convince us that the table is enabled to become the locus of the absence of books by virtue of its own nature as something bare for the time being. When the surface of the table is empty, it becomes by its own nature or proper being (*svarūpa*) the locus of the negative content. The term *svarūpa* means one's own nature ; and when we find that certain

things by their peculiar nature become the locus of certain other things, we say that their relation to those other things is one of *svarūpa* or of proper being. In the above instance the bare character of the table is the relation of the table to the absence referred to it. Thus we say that a thing is related to another by its 'proper being' when nothing else is required to make the former the locus of the latter. This relation is not one of identity, because the properties of the table are not the properties of the negative content referred to it and so they cannot be identified. Moreover here we are conceiving the table as the locus of a negative content; in the case of identity there is no question of one of the terms being the locus of the other.

This relation holds not only between a negative content and its locus (*ādhāra* = the place where the content is referred), but also between anything and its property (*dharma*) when the property is found to reside in the thing by virtue of the proper being of the thing and not with the help of any third relation, such as contact, *samavāya*, etc. Thus, for instance, the property of knowability (*meyatva*) resides in a knowable object, not by virtue of a distinct relation but by virtue of the proper character of the object itself (*svarūpa*). When we cannot think of a distinct intermediary between a locus and what is referred to it, we suppose the proper being (*svarūpa*) of the locus is the relation of the locus to that which is referred to it. We have to accept it as a relation because without some relation we cannot explain our sense of one thing being resident in another.

There are two varieties of this relation that deserve special mention. These are the relations by spatiality (*daiśika viśesanata*) and temporality (*kalika viśesanata*). When we consider any material object in relation to the space occupied by it, we find that the space and the object are not two separate things, joined together by a third distinct relation. The space serves as the locus of the object simply by virtue of its own nature, i.e., spatiality. Similarly in the case of time. When an event or an

object is referred to any particular time, the time in question becomes the locus of the object simply by its own proper character as time (temporality). What relates an object to its time or space is not anything other than the character of time or the character of space. So we say that objects are related to space and time by the proper being (*svarūpa*) of space and time.

Every thing is related to itself by identity (*tādātmya*). There may be some doubt as to whether we should at all have a relation like identity, seeing that in all cases of relation we have at least two things to be related while in the present case we have one thing only. The necessity of such a relation will be evident from the following consideration. We think that a proposition of the form 'A is not A' cannot be true. But it can be false only if it can be validly contradicted by another proposition, which can only be 'A is A.' Thus for the falsity of the proposition 'A is not A,' we require a valid proposition of the form 'A is A.' In this proposition the predicate, A, has to be related to the subject, A, and the only relation possible here is that of identity.

Knowledge (*jñāna*), will (*kṛti*) and desire, positive or negative (*icchā* or *dveṣa*) are intelligible only as referring to some objects. They are related to their objects by the relation of objective reference (*viśayitā*) or the relation of having an object. The objects of knowledge, will or desire are related to the knowledge, will or desire by their objectivity (*viśayitā*).

The objective reference (*viśayitā*) of a knowledge is not intelligible by itself ; there is no such thing as mere objective reference. It is intelligible only as relating to a particular object. Similarly the objectivity of a thing is intelligible only in respect of a particular knowledge which has objective reference to it. So we say that the objective reference (*viśayitā*) of a knowledge is determined (*nirūpita*) by the objectivity of the thing, to which the knowledge refers. We say therefore that the objectivity of the thing which is known in a particular knowledge, has the relation of being a determinant

(*nirūpaka*) in respect of the objective reference contained in the knowledge. Viewed in this aspect, the objective reference in knowledge has the relation of being determined (*nirūpita*) with regard to the objectivity of the thing known. We may take any pair of relative terms and we shall find that the relation of determinant and determined is present there. Such pairs are son and father, husband and wife, etc. If A is B's son, then the sonship of A is determined by the fatherhood of B. This relation of determinant and determined is symmetrical. If the sonship of A is determined by the fatherhood of B, the fatherhood of B is determined by the sonship of A.

A determinandum (*viśeṣya*) is that which is characterised by a determinans (*viśeṣaṇa*). In every determinate knowledge we find that there is a determinandum as well as a determinans which in a proposition assume the forms of subject (*uddeśya*) and predicate (*vidheya*). These terms are intelligible only in reference to each other and so each is determined by the relation of the other. A term has the relation of being a determinandum (*viśeṣyatā*) to that which characterises it and which has, in respect of it, the relation of being a determinans (*viśeṣanatā*). The property of being a determinandum (*viśeṣyatā*) belongs to the object to be determined by virtue of its own proper being, i.e., the relation of the property to the object is that of proper being or *svatūpa*.

The number or the numerical quality of a group of things resides in the group taken together by a relation different from that by which it resides in each member. Number, being a quality, resides in the objects which possess this quality, by *samavāya*. But although each of them may share in the quality by *samavāya*, each by itself is not sufficient to have the quality (number). So we conceive of a relation called sufficiency (*pariṇāpti*) by which a group of things may exhaustively possess any property referred to them. Bothness (*ubhayatva*), e.g., resides in two members of a group, constituted by two things, by the relation of sufficiency, although it exists in each by

sāṃavāya. When we know two or more things in an act of knowledge, the objectivity, defined by this knowledge, resides in them all by the relation of sufficiency, because it is only when we have taken account of all those things that we can say that they are sufficient for, or exhaust, the objectivity of that knowledge. This relation too is a variety of the relation by proper being (*svārūpa*), for the sufficiency of a number of things is not any thing other than the things themselves.

We have already learnt of one sort of correlation (*pratiyogitā*). The correlate we have known is a relatum (*sambandhi*) in respect of a relation and is different from the seat (*anuyogi*) of the relation. There is another sort of correlation which is to be understood in regard to a negation. A negation is intelligible only in relation to that which is negated and which is therefore called the correlate of the negation. When we say 'There is no book on the table,' the term book is the correlate of the negation (*i.e.*, negative content) asserted in the proposition. Thus the relation of being a correlate (*pratiyogitā*) is maintained by a term both with regard to the relation which refers to it (but which does not reside in it) and with regard to the negation which denies it. If A is the father of B, B is the correlate of the relation of fatherhood maintained by A, and so B has the relation of being a correlate (*pratiyogitā*) in respect of the relation fatherhood, residing in A. Of this relation, *viz.*, that of being a correlate, B is the seat (*anuyogi*) and the relation fatherhood, in respect of which it holds, is the correlate (*pratiyogi*). The case is similar with the correlate of a negation also.

There is a very important relation which may be called the relation of a defining character (*avacchedakatā*). By a defining character we mean a character which marks out a thing from everything else. When we say 'There is no cow in the room,' we have the instance of a negation of which the correlate is the cow or whose correlation is defined by the character of cowhood. Cowhood has the relation of a defining character

(*avacchedakatā*) with regard to the correlation (*pratiyogitā*) implied in this negation. Negations are different when their correlates are different and the correlates are different when their defining characters are different.

But sometimes a correlate is not made quite definite by the mention of its defining character. When we say 'There is no cow in the room' we may mean either that no cow is there in contact with the floor of the room or that the room does not possess any cow by *samavāya* (i.e., no cow is inherent in the room). The two negations, one implying the relation of contact and the other that of *samavāya*, are different, because even when there is a cow in contact with the room, it will be right to say that there is no cow in the room in the sense that the room has no cow inherent in it. The body of a cow, a whole, exists by *samavāya*, i.e., is inherent, only in its parts and it cannot so exist in anything else. But the correlates of these negations have the same defining character of cowhood and so from this alone we do not know which of the two negations is really meant in the assertion. So in order to make the correlate absolutely definite, we need to mention the defining relation also. When it is said that there is no cow in the room, what is ordinarily meant is that there is no cow in contact with the floor of the room. So the correlate of the negation in this case is defined by the character of cowhood and by the relation of contact. Thus when in plain language we say there is no cow, we are asserting in logical terminology, a negation (*abhāva*) whose correlation (*pratiyogita*) is defined by the character of cowhood (*gotvāvacchinna*) and by the relation of contact (*saṃyoga-sambandhāvacchinna*). Similarly other logical terms and relations are made exact by the use of defining characters and relations.

We have seen that in the negation of cow, the correlation in respect of the negation is marked by the defining character of cowhood. Cowhood has thus, in respect of the correlation, the property (or the relation) of being a defining character

(*avacchedakatā*). But what is it to be defining character ? Sometimes it is said to be co-extensiveness (*anatiriktavirttitva*). Cowhood is the defining character of the correlation in the above instance, because it is found wherever the correlation of the negation is found, *i.e.*, because it is co-extensive with the correlation. All cows in the world are the correlate of the negation 'There is no cow.' In them all there is correlation and also the character of cowhood. Hence cowhood is the defining character of the correlation.

Or we may suppose that cowhood comes to be regarded as the defining character only by being regarded in certain aspect of its proper being. Its property of being a defining character is nothing but a certain species of its relation by proper being (*svarūpasambandhaviśeṣa*). There is some difference in these two conceptions, and it sometimes leads to certain difficulties when the concept of a defining character is used without any further determination. But we need not pursue the topic any further here.

We may now attempt to explain some broad classifications of relations that are often met with in *Navyanyāya*.

1. Relations may be classified as separable and inseparable. In the case of a separable (*yutasiddha*) relation, the terms suffer no change in their being when they are out of the relation. The relation of contact is a relation of this sort. A table and a book may be in contact with each other but they may also be separated without any prejudice to their being. But the relation of *samavāya* is an inseparable relation, for a quality or an action, which exists by *samavāya* in a substance, has no being apart from this relation. (Separable and inseparable relations are roughly similar to external and internal relations of Western philosophy.)

2. Relations may be pervasive (*vyāpyavritti*) or non-pervasive (*avyāpyavritti*). A relation is pervasive when it refers to the whole of the term related by it and it is non-pervasive when it refers only to a part of it. The relation of *samavāya*

is pervasive. When a substance has a quality by this relation the relation is understood in respect of the whole of the substance and it is of the whole substance that the quality is predicated. But the relation of contact is non-pervasive. We have already explained how contact refers only to a part, and not to the whole, of the thing related by it. A non-pervasive relation is always compatible with its absence.

3. Some relations are existential (*vr̥ttiniyāmakā*) in the sense that they regulate or control the being of things related by them; and others are not so (*vr̥ttiyaniyāmakā*). If something is related by contact, *samavāya* or proper being (*svarūpa*), we know it must exist where the relation exists. A thing related by contact must exist at the place of contact. A quality must inhere in the object which has the relation of *samavāya* to it. But the riches of a man which are related to him by the relation of ownership (*svāmītvā*) may not exist, where the man exists. The seat of the relation, ownership, is the man but his riches are not lying upon him. Indeed they may lie a thousand miles away from him and still they will be his by virtue of his relation to them. Similarly the relation of objective reference (*viṣayitā*) by which knowledge is related to its object does not determine the locus of the object. The object need not exist where the relation exists, *i.e.*, in knowledge which inheres in the self. We never conceive of knowledge or of the self as the locus of the object related to knowledge by objective reference. In fact the terms which are related by non-existential relations, are only *relata* (*sambandhi*) and the relation of locus and what is located (*locatum* ?) (*ādharādheyabhāva*) does not hold good of them at all. Since by an existential relation we mean a relation which determines the place where a thing related by it exists, the seat of such a relation (*anuyogi*) is also the locus of the correlate (*pratiyogi*) of the relation.

4. Relations may be classified as direct (*sākṣāt*) and indirect (*paramparā*). A relation is direct when in the being of the relation no other relation is implied. Contact is a direct relation

bút the relation of having the same locus (*sāmānādhikarṇya*) is an indirect relation inasmuch as it implies two terms which are separately related by contact or otherwise to the same locus. The relation of being a husband is a direct relation; but the relation of being a maternal uncle is an indirect relation as it involves the relations of brotherhood and motherhood.

RASVIHARY DAS

BUDDHISM AND VEDANTA

No thought system of the world in the present age can evade the challenge of modern thought. Latest discoveries of Science and Philosophy have tolled the death-knell of all dogmatism and credalism, traditionalism and ritualism of religions. Bigoted self-sufficiency and superstitious assertions can no longer hold supreme in any religion. The new spirit of universalism has brought about a revolution in the thought world. Every religion, for a new lease of life, must, in the modern age, compare notes with sister faiths and find out grounds of agreement.

Can Buddhism meet the challenge of the New Era without any fear of Truth? The Buddhist scholars, both of the East and the West, unanimously opine that critical studies of Pali Tripiṭaka, the Buddhist Classics, have barely begun with the necessary labour and have not yet advanced far. Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject, who has devoted about forty years of her valuable life to the study of and writing on Buddhism, remarks that the original teachings of Sakya Muni are twisted, deformed or rather smothered so much in the Mantra Ritual and celebrant that we have to winnow in the Buddhist Scriptures the older grain from the chaff of later accretions. So there is yet much to be done in Buddhism in the way of historical elucidation, scientific exegesis and logical interpretation.

It is said, Mahayan in Japan has girded up her loins and been up and doing to revitalise her Religion in the light of Modern Thought. Will Hinayan lag behind in the march of Religions in responding to the call of time, or overlook and denounce the example of the sister faith with derisive smile? But if Buddhism is to live culturally and spiritually as before, and keep pace with the advancement of modern knowledge, Hinayan

and Mahayan must again unite and embrace each other in a bond of mutual co-ordination and co-operation. Otherwise it will become lifeless and static as in the Ceylon Hindus, who are reluctant to co-operate with their elder brothers over the Palk Strait, whence they have migrated to this land with physical, mental and spiritual legacy. Another indispensable condition of life and growth for Buddhism is to join hands in love and respect with her Mother Church, the Hinduism, or more properly called, the Vedic Religion, whence she sprang up as a tributary from a river. Is not Buddhism a part of the grand mausoleum of the Indo-Aryan Religion? It is a matter of painful regret that Buddhism has not only forgotten totally its ancestral heritage but now cherishes a feeling of hatred and competition for the original source. In the course of our present study we shall try to make out the close affinity of Buddhism and Vedanta, for that is the scriptural name of Hinduism as a whole.

According to Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, Buddhism is not the Bon-Po of Vedic Religion as expounded in the Hindu Classics. She says that Buddhism is the fulfilment, the expansion and popularisation of the abstruse Vedic doctrine. Buddha never opposed but fulfilled and widened the religion of the Upanishads where buttress and strengthening were needed. Buddha brought forward quite a new emphasis on the doctrine of man as becoming (Werdend or Bhu), dynamic in manifold ways against the prevailing doctrine of man as static Sat (Divine Being). Buddha followed in his life the Jnana Marga of the Vedanta, but he stood against the degenerating Karma Kanda of the Vedas and in this respect he is a Vedic Protestant.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan in his "History of Indian Philosophy," Volume I, page 360, says: "For a revelation of struggles of spirit and the experiences of soul Buddha had already to hand the supreme work of Indian genius, the Upanishads. Early Buddhism is not absolutely an original doctrine. It is no freak in the evolution of Indian thought. Buddha did not break away completely from the spiritual ideas of his age and country.

To be in open revolt against the conventional and legalistic religion of his time is one thing; to abandon the leading spirit lying behind it is another. Buddha himself admits that the Dharma which he has discovered by an effort of self-culture is the ancient way, the Aryan Path, the Eternal Dharma. Buddha is not so much creating a new Dharma as rediscovering an old norm. It is the venerable tradition that has been adapted to meet the special needs of the age. To develop this theory Buddha had only to rid the Upanishads of their inconsistent compromises with Vedic Polytheism and religion, set aside the transcendental aspect as being indemonstrable to thought and unnecessary to morals, and emphasised the ethical universalism and idealism of the Upanishads. Early Buddhism, we venture to hazard a conjecture, is a reinstatement of the thought of the Upanishads from a new view-point."

Mrs. Rhys Davids says in her "Buddhism," page 83-84, that Gautama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. There was not much in the metaphysics and principles of Gautama which cannot be found in any of the orthodox systems and a great deal of his morality could be matched from earlier or later Hindu books. Such originality as Gautama possessed lay in the way in which he adopted, enlarged, ennobled and systematised that which had already been well said by others. Principles of equity and justice already were acknowledged by some of the most prominent Hindu thinkers. The difference between Him and other teachers lay chiefly in his earnestness and his broad public spirit of philanthropy.

Oldenberg in his "Buddha," page 63, says: "It is certain that Buddhism has acquired an inheritance from Brahminism, not merely a series of its most important dogmas but what is not less significant to the historians, the bent of his religious thought and feelings which is more easily comprehended than expressed in words."

The contempt for Ritualism is common to Buddhism and the Upanishads. Buddhism shared with the rest of Aryan India the belief in the law of Karma and the possibility of attaining Nirvana. That sorrow or suffering is the essential fact of life on Earth is admitted by almost all schools of Indian thought, the Upanishads included. Buddha himself was not aware of any incongruity between his theory and that of the Upanishads. He felt that he had the support and sympathy of the Upanishads and their followers. He classed the Brahmins along with the Buddhist mendicants and used the word as one of honour in reference to Buddhists or Arhats and saints. "Buddhism in its origin at least," says S. Radhakrishnan, "is an offshoot of Hinduism, and the spirit of the Upanishads is the life-stream of Buddhism." Rhys Davids says in his "Buddhism," page 85, that Buddhism grew and flourished within the fold of orthodox Hindu beliefs.

Pessimism, which is the basic doctrine of Buddhism and which occupies a central place in the teachings of Buddha, is foreshadowed in the teachings of the Upanishads. Repeatedly the question is put in the Upanishads to the Rishis by their disciples: "What is the mystery of the existence, what is the secret of Death and how to know it?" "What is there by knowing which everything is known?" In the Sankhya philosophy of Kapila Muni, which is pre-Buddhistic in its origin, and which is one of the six principal systems of Hindu Philosophy, the first enquiry is how to get rid of three-fold miseries, the *Adi Daivic*, *Adhyatmic*, and the *Adhibhautic*, that body and mind are heir to. Before Buddha the Upanishads had already indicated the cause of suffering. To them the eternal is Bliss and the transitory is painful. *Yo vai bhuma tat sukham, nalpe sukham asti*. The eternal, unchanging, immutable and the undecaying is the Truth, Freedom and Happiness, but the worlds of birth, old age and death are subject to suffering. The Real is not to be found in the finite, not-self, which is subject to birth and decease. The fundamental proposition of

Buddhism, that Life is sorrow, is dogmatically accepted in the Upanishads.

For Buddha, as for the Upanishads, the whole world is conditioned by causes. While the Upanishads say that things have no self-existence as such but are products of a causal series which has no beginning or end, Buddha says all things undergo changes indicated in Utpāda (origination), Sthiti (stay), Jarā (growth), and Nirodha (destruction). The Upanishads are as clear as early Buddhism that in this world of unresting change and eternal flux there is no final security for man. The Upanishadic doctrine of impermanence was adopted by early Buddhism and developed into a theory of momentariness.

The fundamental difference between Buddhism and Vedanta lies in the conception of a metaphysical unchanging Reality, which is the true self of man. "The speculation of Brahmins," says Oldenberg, in his "Buddha," page 251, "apprehended being in all becoming and that of the Buddhists, becoming in all apparent being. In the former case, substance without causality, and in the latter causality without substance." Sir S. Radhakrishnan says : "This difference lies in the distribution of emphasis only on the dominant aspects but nothing fundamental, for both believe that Universe is an undivided movement, an indivisible duration. The Upanishads do not posit a mere being exclusive of becoming ; to them the world is an appearance, but it is an appearance of reality. Buddha, agreeing with the Upanishads, hold that phenomena of the world as known to our intellect possess only a conditioned existence. While the Upanishadic teachers posit an absolute being at the root of this relative world of becoming whereas Buddhism does not do that. But Yamakami Sogen in his "Systems of Buddhist Thought," page 134, says that "the substratum of everything is eternal and permanent. . What changes every moment is merely the phase of a thing, so that it is erroneous to affirm that, according to Buddhism the thing of the first moment ceases to exist when the second moment arrives.' Where the Upanishads

assert a reality beyond change or becoming there Buddhism suspends a judgment on the question. However much Buddha tried to refuse to reply to the question of the ultimate reality which lay beyond the categories of the phenomenal world he did not seem to have had any doubt about it. Buddha believed certainly in an ontological reality that endures beyond the shifting appearances of the visible world. For in "Udana" VII. 3 Buddha says there is an unborn, an unoriginated, an unmade, an un compounded world ; were there not, oh mendicants, there would be no escape from the world of the born, the originated, the made and the compounded.

Buddha was neither an agnostic nor an atheist as commonly and widely held even by his immediate and remote followers. Buddha is misunderstood like many other world saviours. His silence as regards ultimate reality was due to fulness of mystic realisation which is inexpressible and in the words of the Upanishads, beyond mind and speech. *Avangmanaso gocharam*. Natalie Rokotoff in his "Foundations of Buddhism," page 28, says : "certainly Buddha's knowledge was not limited to his doctrines, at least to what he was made to say by his later followers, but caution prompted by great wisdom made him hesitate to divulge conceptions which if misunderstood might be disastrous." "One day the Blessed One in a Simsapa Grove," continues the Russian orientalist, "in Kosambi, took a few leaves from the tree above and said, 'As the leaves in my hand are few in number and far more are the leaves on the tree above, even so, oh mendicants, what I have perceived and not communicated to you is far more than what I have communicated to you.' " A tradition of three circles of his teachings was established for the chosen ones, for the members of the Sangha, and for all.

The Buddhist theory of 5 Kandhas, Rupa (form), Vedana (feeling), Samja (perception), Samskara (disposition) and Vijana (reason) which are repeatedly produced and destroyed on every moment is developed out of Nama-Rupa-Karma of the Vedanta. The Vedanta declares emphatically that the Atman of Man which

is also the Reality of the world is not to be identified with body or mental life which grows or changes. The Vedantic Atman is not also the transmigrating soul but what transmigrates is the Sukhsma Sareera or subtle body, which consists of five pranas, five organs of knowledge, and five organs of action, mind and buddhi. It is separate from the gross physical body. The body is called Samskara by the Buddhist, *Sambhati* by the Vedantist, but both mean organization. Though Buddha was silent about Atman enunciated in the Upanishads, yet in "*Puggalapannatti*" we see there is a theory of Atman called Sasvatatva (Eternalism) which holds that the soul truly exists in this life and in the next. Nagarjuna in his commentaries on the "*Prajnaparamita Sutra*" says: "The Tathagata sometimes taught that the Atman exists when he preached that the Atman exists and is to be the receiver of misery and happiness in successive lives of the demerits and merits of its Karma his object was to save men from falling into the heresy of Nihilism."

Buddha compared the doctrine of Pratityasamutpada or Dependent Causation to the wheel. It is interesting to note, a similar view is suggested in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. The word Brahma Chakra or the Wheel of Brahma occurs in the Svetasvatara Upanishad (vi. I). It is called Bhava Chakra or the Wheel of Existence in the early Buddhism. Mr. E. B. Havell says in his "*Ideals of Indian Art*" that Vedic Brahmins used to turn to right a wheel fastened to a post chanting Sama Veda during the performance of sacrifice, from which the Buddhistic expression turning the wheel of law or Dharma Chakra-Pravartan has come.

If, at the right stand-point, we make the connected historical studies of Indian thought to be an organic entity, it will be seen that Buddhism is an unbroken continuity of the Vedic Religion for everything in Buddhism is favourable to the Vedantic Hypothesis. Even the code of ethical duties in the Upanishads and early Buddhism are not different in essentials.

Vedanta says that, as one sun is reflected as many in

many water bubbles, so one Paramatman appears to be many in many Jiva-atmans. So Buddhist writers like Asvaghosha and Vasubandhu explain the individuals as imperfect reflections of the one Universal Mind. Shantideva in his 'Bodhicharyya-avatar' describes the trikaya or three bodies of Buddha, Dharma kaya, Sambhoga kaya, and Nirmana kaya just like Vedantic Brahman (limitless and unconditioned), Iswara and Avatara. He also describes in his 'Sikshasamuchaya' ultimate truth as Sambritti Satya and Paramarta Satya just like Absolute (Paramartika) and relative (Byavaharika) Truth (quoted by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy in his "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism").

When one man is enlightened by true wisdom, the divine soul is called the Buddha, the Knower, in Buddhism. Oldenberg says in his "Buddha," page 51, "here Brahmanical speculation anticipates Buddhism in diction as well as in thought....When he who has come to know the Atman is mentioned in the 'Satapatha Brahman' as delivered, the word then used for 'knowing' is 'Pratibuddha' which also signifies 'awakening,' the word which the Buddhists are accustomed to use, when they describe how Buddha has in a solemn hour under the Bodhi tree gained the knowledge of delivering Truth, or is awake to the delivering Truth, the same word from which also the name Buddha, that is the knowing, the awakened one, is derived"; just as in the Vedanta, one who realizes Brahman becomes Brahman '*Brahmavit Brahmaiva bhavati*' and each man is potential Brahman. According to Suzuki, Shingon, one of the eight great Buddhist sects prevailing in Japan based on Mahavairochan Sutra and Vajrasekhara Sutra and founded by Kobo Daishi, teaches the doctrine of Funishen, that is not two, all are not two but one. This may be compared with the Rig Veda doctrine, *ekam sat vipra bahudha badanti*, the Supreme Being is one, sages call it variously. The Shingon doctrine is just like Vedantic Advaita-vada. It teaches that Buddhahood is latent in us and all things, animals and plants, and each soul is a potential Buddha,

and when man attains Nirvana, he becomes one with the Supreme Buddha, which is Joy Supreme. The Tendai sect introduced in Japan by Priest Saicho and based on Saddharma Puṇḍarīka teaches the absolute Oneness of all things, and Nirvana is realisation of that Oneness with the Absolute One, the Buddha. We add that Buddhistic Nirvana and Vedantic Samadhi are synonyms of a self-same transcendental state of wisdom and enlightenment, and that the implication of Buddhism is Vedanta.

It is impossible for Buddhism to ignore or discard the past link with Indian thought. The life of homelessness, the ideal of Buddha and the Buddhists, according to Jacobi, had the recognised position in Aryan society about the 8th century B.C. From the early Vedic times there have been in India men with an ascetic temperament who had cut themselves adrift from the responsibilities of life and wandered from home to homelessness. Yajñavalkya and other prominent Upanishadic thinkers in their love for the Supreme relinquished the desire for children, the struggle for wealth and the pursuit of worldly weal, and went forth as mendicants. Such a life was the ideal of India in pre-Buddhistic age, and the Brahmanical code recognised the super-social rights of these to sever themselves from the duties of life and the observation of rites. According to Havel, the eight-fold path of good living along which Buddha led his followers was the ancient Aryan way. Even the metaphor of the eight-fold path was borrowed from the fortified Aryan settlement which had generally eight gates. The rules of the Buddhist Sangha were borrowed from the Brahmanical texts. The symbolism of earliest Buddhist *stupas* known to us is entirely borrowed from the sacrificial lore of the Vedas. The *stupa* was the monument of the dead Aryan king and the cult of *stupa* worship, chief ritual of early Buddhism, was no doubt connected with the Sraddha ceremony of the Royalty. Both in the Vedic and the Buddhistic ages the Brahmin (monk) was the leader of the society.

Even Buddha did not interfere with the domestic ritual which continued to be performed according to the Vedic rules. Srigala who was performing mysterious ceremonies to six directions to guard his home was not blamed by him for performance of his father's rites. He taught him the significance of them, that they are the reminders of his good deeds to people. Of course, Buddha was a reviler of the Vedas, but he denounced that part of the Vedas that countenanced animal sacrifices. Buddhism has taken the principles of the Brahminical theory of Karma, or transmigration, as suggested in the Brihadaranyak Upanishad in the conversation between Arthavagha and Yajnavalkya. Buddha shattered the sway of a supreme God-head but He was himself raised to the position of a Hindu Iswara in Buddhism. The new faith could not disturb the authority of the gods in practical life. Buddhism in Mahayan went a step further and allowed to all Brahmanical deities a place in its pantheon. As in Vedic religion Brahma's consort is Saraswati, so in Mahayan Adhi-Buddha has a female counter-part as Prajnaparamita and Avalokiteswar as Manjusri. The Hindu trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were expressed by the Buddhist formula of three gems, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Early Buddhism and Vedic religion were not separate. There was never a religion in India called Buddhism with temples and priests of its own order. The idea was all in Hinduism. Only the influence of Buddha was once paramount and made the nation monastic, said Swami Vivekananda about four decades ago. Supporting his view Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, after her life-long research in the Buddhist thought, in "Sakya Origins," says, that India has ever known him as Sakya Muni, and his men, as their records admit, were spoken of as Sakya sons. It is only when Sakya was lingering in India as a moribund cult, as a decadent quasi-philosophy, that Indian writers mentioned it as 'what the Bauddhas say.' The learned authoress also asserts that in the History of Pali Tripitaka, evolution is not unique or something new but reflects an analogous history in the

development of the Upanishads. The difference between Buddhism and Vedanta, in the words of Swami Vivekananda, is that which is between Judaism and Christianity.

There is no fundamental doctrinal opposition but a temperamental distinction between them. So Buddhism has been accounted by Vijnana Bhikshu as the seventh Darsana of Hindu philosophy. "But if the exponents of Buddhism," says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, in his "Buddhism and the Gospel of Buddha," page 219, "insist on confining the significance of Buddhism on what was taught by Gautama we must point out at the same time that it stands for a restricted ideal which contrasts with Brahminism as a part contrasts with the whole."

Buddhism borrowed constantly from the Sankhya philosophy. Burnouf thinks that Buddhism is only carrying out the principles of Sankhya. Sankhya ideals prevailed at the time of Buddha, and the Buddhists admit that Kapila lived two centuries before Buddha. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her "Buddhism," page 31, remarks, "I am convinced with Garve and Jacobi that Buddha as a philosopher was entirely dependent on Kapila and Patanjali." Asvaghosha in his Buddhacharita says (quoted in the "Foundations of Buddhism" by Natitali Rokotoff) that the city of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, received its name in honour of the great Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya philosophy. All the essentials of Buddhist contemplatives such as Anapana Sati are taken directly from Patanjali. According to Weber, it is not impossible that the Kapila of the Sankhya system and Gautama Buddha were one and the same person. Wilson writes that certain propositions about the eternity of matter, the principles of things and final extinction are common to Sankhya and to Buddhism. Sir S. Radhakrishnan says that the four noble truths of Buddhism correspond to the four truths of Sankhya as put in the Sankhya Pravachana Bhasya. The Buddhistic Avidya, Samskara, Avijnana, Namarupa, Sadayatana, Pratityasamutpada are parallel to, or rather closely resemble, Pradhana, Buddhi, Ahankara, Tanmatras.

Indriyas, **Pratyayasangha** of the **Sankhyas**. Jen sect of Buddhism, one of the six prominent sects of Japan, has originated from **Patanjali** in the time of **Buddha**.

The **Dhayana** of **Patanjali-yoga** was taken up by the early Buddhists as **Jhana** (Pali), from which the Chinese **Ch'an** and the Japanese **Zen** sect has come into being (see "Buddhism and Christianity" by Carpenter, p. 288). The spiritual exercises of the Buddhist meditations are taken over almost unchanged from the Brahminical sources. Sir H. S. Gour says in his "Spirit of Buddhism," that the **Sankhya** and **Buddhistic** systems are like two streams that flowing into **Vedantic** channels have burst its banks and cut for themselves new channels but after taking an independent course for some distance become reunited with the main stream from which they had parted.

Some interpret **Nirvana** of Buddhism as simply extinction, a night of nothingness, a darkness where all light is extinguished, but according to **Buddha**, in "**Samyutta**" III. 109 to think that **Nirvana** is annihilation is a wicked heresy. He said 'to say of a brother that is set free by insight' that 'he knows not' 'he sees not,' that were absurd. The **Nirvana** of the **Vimukta** state is not void or a state of nothingness. It is franchise from the byss and abyss. It is like the **Vedantic** state of super-consciousness which is described in the **Upanishada** thus : "As the rivers run and in the deep lose their name and form, so go, from name and form released, the wise men to the **Brahman**." **Nirvana** is liberation from the fetters of body and mind, but freedom itself in "**Majjhima**," 72, where **Buddha** compares **Nirvana** to the expiring flame which has no more any hay or wood to burn, so the **Svetasvatara** and the **Narasimhauttratapaniya Upanishadas** speak of the **Paramatman** as the fire, the fuel of which has been consumed. Final deliverance is declared by **Buddha** to be nothing other than a flow of faultless state of consciousness. **Nirvana** is an eternal condition of being, beyond birth and death. Mr. **Rakotoff** says : "**Nirvana** is the gate which introduces us into the

rhythm of the highest, fiery, creative and eternally expanding stream of infinite existence. In the Mahaparinirvanasutra it is pointed out that even at the hour of death the thought of the Blessed One was directed towards the beautiful, remembering the beauty of the best places it traversed. Beautiful is Rajagriha, beautiful is Baisali, beautiful are the groves and mountains. Max Müller and Childers, after a systematic examination of all the passages relating to Nirvana, conclude that there is not one passage which would require that its meaning would be annihilation. Dahlke in his "Buddhist Essays," page 258, says: "The world rests upon me (Buddha) only in so far as it, as the known, stands opposed to me as the knower, only the form can be known but not that upon which it is based. Wherefore the world can only be done away with through knowledge—that is, only in so far as it is form. Only so far as it is form does it arise and pass away, is it a Becoming, and Becoming can have an ending. That, however, upon which form is based, the elementary that is Being; and never and nowhere can Being pass into Non-being; never and nowhere can what is eternal come to an end." According to Vedanta also, Being devoid of all super-impositions is the Absolute, whereas Becoming which is in the category of Time, Space and Causation is the relative, and consequently transitory. Nirvana is timeless, spaceless and causeless existence.

Sankara, the Apostle of Vedanta, in his Commentary on the Kena Upanishad, says that the Brahman or the Ultimate Being as defined by Sachchidanada or Absolute Being-Bliss-Wisdom is only with reference to the limitations of body, mind and senses, because of its apparent adaptations to the expansion, contraction, and extinction of them, and not on account of its own essence. According to its essence it is, as the Kena Upanishad says, unknown to those who know and known to those who do not know; it is distinct from the known and above the unknown.

Nirvana is the same as the Vedantic Samadhi and the mystic eternal rest. The Vedanta also defines the Brahman as

Neti-Neti or not so, not so. Christian mystics and Muslim Sufis say that God is not improperly called nothing. The later Mahayan writers describe Nirvan as the completeness of being, an eternal beatitude. According to them what is, is Bhavanga, or the stream of being. The wind of ignorance blows over it and stirs its equable flow causing vibration in the ocean of existence. The sleeping soul is awakened and its calm unfettered course is arrested. It wakes up things and builds an individuality and isolates itself from the stream of being. In deep sleep the barriers are broken. Nirvana is getting back into the stream of Being and resuming an uninterrupted flow. Even as no thought-waves perturb the stream of being when the man sleeps, so also in Nirvana we have eternal rest. In Vedanta also Samadhi or Super-consciousness is compared to Susupti or sound slumber, and Brahman is compared to a windless, calm, pacific and boundless ocean and the rough waves created by the storm over it are the cosmic creation. As the Buddhist psalms describe Nirvana as a state of deep joy and immortal delight surpassing all description, so the Vedantists describe Samadhi as a state of peace that passeth all understanding, the state of Absolute Bliss inexpressible like the dumb's tasting of nectar.

The Upanishads describe the Brahman as *Mouñam* or absolute silence, like the Nirvanic calm of the Buddhists. Sankara also preserves an old story which tells that a man of the name of Bahva was questioned by his disciple on the nature of the Brahman but he kept silent. Being questioned a second and a third time he replied at last, "I teach you indeed but you cannot understand." The Brahman is silence. Buddha took the agnostic attitude indicated in the Nasadiya Sukta or grand hymn of creation in the Rig Veda which runs thus:—
 "When there was no existence nor non-existence, no sky nor air, nor death nor immortality, nor day nor night." The Buddhistic Nirvana and Parinirvana are like Vedantic Jivanmukti and Videhamukti.

The only metaphysics that can justify Buddha's ethical

doctrine is the metaphysics underlying the Upanishads. Buddhism is only a later phase of the general movement of thought of which the Upanishads were the earlier. Max Müller says that many of the doctrines of the Upanishads are no doubt pure Buddhism, rather Buddhism is on many points consistent carrying out of the principles laid down in the Upanishads. Buddha, being a Kshatriya, was trained as a boy in all military exercises and knightly accomplishments, but it is not indicated in the early books that he was accomplished in Brāhminical lore. So we find in point of fact that the essential fact of the Upanishads is not grasped by the early Buddhists. Moreover, the doctrines of the Upanishads were still esoteric truths known only to a few in pupillary succession. So Oldenberg says in his "Buddha" that there is no passage where the Buddhist text speaks of the Brahman of the Upanishads, even for polemical purposes. The Brahman as the Universal One is not alluded to by the Buddhists either as an element of an alien, or of their creed, though there were very frequent mentions of God Brahma. So it has been remarked with perfect justice by A. Worsley in his "Concepts of Monism," page 197, "it is possible that had Gautama chanced to meet in his earliest wanderings two teachers of the highest truths of the Vedas, the whole history of the old world might have been changed." Buddha met no foemen worthy of his steel and was only acquainted with popular Brahminism. "For this reason," says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy in his book (p. 200), "the greater part of Buddhist polemics is unavoidably occupied in beating the air and wasted in ignorant misunderstanding."

"Historical Buddhism," says Sir S. Radhakrishnan, "means the spread of Upanishadic doctrines among the peoples. It thus helped to create a heritage which is still living to the present day. Such democratic upheavals are common features of the Hindu history." The genius of Hinduism is expansion and assimilation and these two forces of the Vedic Sakti are at work from times immemorial to the modern age. Buddha brought

into prominence the neglected truths of the Upanishads. He was not an innovator but only a restorer of the ancient Aryan way. Holmes in his "Creed of Buddha" says, "it was Buddha's mission to accept the idealism of the Upanishads at its best and make it available for the daily needs of mankind."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE DEFENCE MECHANISM OF THE HUMAN BODY.¹

Before I proceed to tell you something about the defence mechanism of the human body, I think it is essential that I should explain to you the reasons that led to the choice of the subject. Some of you who were present on the inauguration day of this Academy will remember what Sir C. V. Ramani, the President, said to us while explaining the objects of the Academy. He said that the primary object of the Academy was to make every member tell the others about the problems he is most interested in. The subject of immunology being the one that is engaging my attention at present I could not think of a better theme for my lecture than the defence mechanism of the human body. The second reason for my choice of this subject is because I consider that for a mixed gathering of scientists such as the one before me, there is perhaps no other medical subject of greater interest than the one I have chosen. For, although originally the science of immunology was studied only by medical men for the purpose of solving urgent problems concerning diagnosis, prevention and cure of diseases, it is now being increasingly recognised that immunology is but an important branch of general biology and that its problems are of interest not only to the medical man and the biologist but also to the chemist, the physicist, and the mathematician. Furthermore it is the one branch of science, more than any other, that has benefited most by the recent advances in the sister sciences and thereby shown that the line of demarcation between the sciences is very faint indeed. The third and last reason for my choice of the subject is because immunology is

¹ Lecture delivered on 27th August 1932, under the auspices of "The Academy of the Arts and Sciences," Calcutta, at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, 210, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta, by Dr. K. V. Krishnan, M.B., D.Sc., M.R.C.P. (Tropical School of Medicine).

a young science of recent development and our knowledge of it consists chiefly of a great volume of insufficiently correlated information, much of which is pure theory. There are more things unknown than known about immunology and this lack of definite and systematised knowledge on several questions connected with it has made the study of the subject all the more alluring. For, after all, you will admit that human nature being what it is, has always a special attraction for things new, for things imperfectly understood, and for things hidden. I, therefore, feel confident that the subject of immunity will interest you all alike.

That a protective mechanism exists for guarding the human body from the ravages of disease was recognised centuries ago. In ancient China and India the people had made the simple observation that a person who has recovered from an infectious disease, such as small-pox, is thereafter resistant to re-infection by the virus of the same disease. Thucydides in Greece had also made somewhat similar observations with regard to the plague. But none of these people tried to explain or understand the nature of the protective mechanism involved in this process. A few centuries later Jenner made the remarkable discovery that inoculation with cow-pox protected against small-pox and introduced vaccination with calf lymph as a method for preventing the disease. Then came Pasteur and his monumental work on rabies. He found that the spinal cords of rabbits dying of experimental rabies gradually lost their virulence when dried, and that emulsions of these dried cords when inoculated into human beings bitten by mad dogs, protected them from hydrophobia and death. These two discoveries in fact laid the foundations of the science of immunology and indicated the far-reaching importance of a study of its problems. Then came Metschnikoff with his phagocytic theory of immunity and Ehrlich with his humoral theory of immunity. While the one claimed that certain cells of the body were responsible for the overcoming of disease, the other maintained that certain

constituents of the blood serum and body fluids were the chief agents of protection. The story of the ardent contest between these two champions is quite familiar to most of you. All that I need to tell you now is that to the modern immunologist, this classical controversy has lost all its pristine interest and significance. To him it is but an important effective stimulus to both experiment and criticism. One direct outcome of this heated controversy was the discovery of a series of new serological reactions such as the agglutination reaction by Gruber and Durham, the precipitation reaction by Kraus, the complement fixation reaction by Bordet and Gengou and several such others. Side by side with these discoveries the value of immune sera in the treatment of certain infectious diseases, like diphtheria and tetanus, were being demonstrated and explanations for the various serological reactions, and beneficial effects of anisera in treatment were being sought. Very soon Ehrlich came forward with his ingenious chemical theory of immunity, with its fascinating side chains and receptors and it was accepted practically by every one with awe and reverence. Then came Bordet. He recognised the close similarity between the immunological reactions and the reactions of colloidal chemistry and put forward his physical theory to explain the various serological phenomena. His experiments showed that immunological reactions followed the laws governing the phenomena associated with adsorption at surfaces and interfaces and as such were subjected to physical rather than chemical laws. This theory has only one great shortcoming and that is, it fails to explain adequately the specificity of the immunological reactions. More recent studies, however, show that a correct explanation for all the serological phenomena noted is possible only by a combination of the physical and chemical theories of immunity and assuming a primary colloidal adsorption and a secondary chemical union. Last of all comes the work of Loeb on the behaviour of protein solutions and the investigations of Landstenier and Pick on the chemical structure of protein

molecules and their relation to immunological specificity. These important researches that are being conducted at the present time bid fair to throw more light not only into our knowledge of immunity reactions but also on the chemistry of proteins which is at present very little understood.

Having outlined the historical development of our knowledge regarding the defence mechanism of the human body let me tell you something about it, from the evolutionary point of view. In the long course of evolution of living beings, it seems probable that the lower forms of life arose far in advance of the more highly differentiated forms. So much so, the latter from the very moment of their first appearance on this earth had to compete for their place in nature with a vast number of microbial forms. In the course of the adjustments necessitated by this complex communal existence various forms of parasitism were established. As a defence against parasitism and the abnormal conditions arising from it, mechanisms of protection of different degrees of efficiency were developed. Even in the most primitive forms of life one or more simple means of self-defence are discernible. Higher up the scale as the needs for self-preservation grow greater the mechanism of defence also becomes more and more complex and when we reach man we find that this mechanism is very intricate and very difficult to understand. By way of illustration let me outline the course of development of the defence mechanism from the lowest to the highest animal.

Take an unicellular animal like amoeba, and give it to eat a red blood corpuscle and a carbon particle. It takes up both, but it very soon rejects the carbon particle, and digests the red blood corpuscle. By repeating this experiment several times it has been shown that the amoeba can be trained not to take the carbon particle at all. This then is the simplest form of defence mechanism and is just an adaptation of the ordinary feeding mechanism.

Next let us take a simple multicellular animal as the hydra or the sea anemones; here we find that certain cells of the

mesenterial filaments do exactly the same thing that the amoeba does. The only difference is that being a multicellular animal, there is division of labour and to certain special cells have been relegated the power to deal with animate and inanimate particles that are swept into the interior of the animal and to dispose of them in a way best suited to the interest of the animal.

Next passing to the *Daphnia* or the water flea which is still higher up in the evolutionary scale, the defence mechanism is found to be principally a phagocytic one. When you place this minute aquatic animal in water containing *Monospora* or yeast cells and observe it under the microscope you can see the spores penetrating the wall of the intestinal canal and making their way into the body cavity of the animal. Here they are attacked by certain wandering phagocytic cells which first engulf them and later digest them completely. This prevents the proliferation of the parasites within the body cavity of the *Daphnia* and the infection is soon overcome. If on the other hand, the arrival of the phagocytic cells to the focus of infection is delayed or their phagocytic and digestive powers are interfered with then the spores rapidly proliferate and a generalised infection results leading to the speedy death of the *Daphnia*. In this aquatic animal again we find that phagocytosis is the principal factor in the overcoming of its infections.

When next we take the lower cold-blooded vertebrates, we find that their mechanism is somewhat similar to that in the *Daphnia*. If, for instance, we inject into these animals a culture of *Bacillus anthracis*, they respond to it by a local accumulation of wandering phagocytic cells which rapidly ingest and digest the bacilli.

Finally when we take up the study of the mechanism of defence in the warm-blooded vertebrates, we find that it is essentially the same as in the less complex forms, but that in addition several other mechanisms are also involved. Details of these mechanisms have been worked out in animals such as the guinea pigs, rabbits, and dogs by injection of various substances into them and our knowledge of the mechanism in man

is to a large extent derived from these experiments. As our chief interest lies in the understanding of the defence mechanism in man let me take it up next for detailed consideration.

The defence mechanism of the human body is something like a motor engine. It is composed of several parts and in order to understand how the mechanism as a whole works one has to know first what the parts are and then how each part functions. Of the component parts there are three that are relatively more important than the rest, namely the phagocytic mechanism, the antibody mechanism and the anaphylactic mechanism and these three alone need be considered here.

In the blood and tissues of man there are certain phagocytic cells usually spoken of as polymorphonuclear cells, and the wandering cells of the reticulo-endothelial system which have retained the primitive capacity for intracellular digestion. Both these cells have a very wide distribution throughout the body and their chief function is to pick up all foreign particles, animate and inanimate, that gain access into the body and destroy or dispose of them in a suitable manner. They are both provided within their cytoplasm with proteolytic ferments that are capable of digesting proteins to the aminoacid stage. Depending upon the nature of the invading organism one or the other of these two cells assumes the rôle of phagocytosis and destruction. For example when the infecting agent is a pyogenic coccus like the staphylococcus, then the polymorphonuclear leucocytes play an important part in their destruction; but if the agent is a protozoa like the malarial parasite then the cells of the reticulo-endothelial tissue play the predominant part. The latter cells appear to be concerned chiefly with the removal of those foreign particles that are somewhat difficult to destroy or digest. This partly explains why we get different types of cell reactions in different infectious diseases and why the medical man studies the number and distribution of blood cells to find out the probable nature of a disease.

It is not to be supposed that in every instance the

phagocytes are successful in destroying the parasites they pick up. At times even growth and multiplication of the ingested organisms take place within the phagocytic cells. When such cells die, the living organisms contained in them are liberated and cause an infection of the tissue in which they chance to be deposited. This shows how infection is carried from one tissue to another and how the phagocytes prove at times harmful instead of helpful. It can be shown by simple test-tube experiments that one of the factors that prevent such occurrences and help the phagocytes to perform their destructive function better and more efficiently, is the antibody mechanism. If, for example, phagocytes are washed free of serum, mixed with certain bacteria, and examined under the microscope, very few phagocytes will be seen to have taken up the bacteria. If next we add to this mixture a small quantity of fresh normal serum then we can see a relatively larger number of phagocytes taking up the bacteria. But if instead of normal serum we add immune serum, that is serum containing specific antibodies for the bacteria, then not only can an enormous number of phagocytes be seen with bacteria in their cytoplasm but several of the bacteria contained within the phagocytes are found to be in various stages of disintegration. This shows that in the presence of antibodies large numbers of bacteria are taken up and successfully destroyed by phagocytes and that phagocytosis represents only one part of the story and to get a complete picture of immunity we will have to consider other mechanisms as well.

One of the interesting problems in connection with the phagocytes is the mechanism of phagocytosis. The question is how do the phagocytes take up particulate matter from their environment? Is it a process analogous to ingestion by the relatively highly developed organisms involving a definite expenditure of energy or is it a process involving decrease of free energy? That is to say does the phagocyte ingest substances because of surface tension or in spite of it. The researches

conducted so far show that surface tension is only one of the factors concerned in phagocytosis and that possibly other factors also play a part.

Next we come to a consideration of the antibody mechanism. This mechanism owes its existence to the fact that certain tissue cells of our body have the power to respond in a specific way when substances of a given chemical and physical structure gain an entrance into the blood or tissues. That is to say when certain protein substances called antigens are injected into our blood or tissues there appears after a time in the circulating blood certain substances called antibodies which specifically react with the injected antigen when the two are brought together. Remembering that the aetiological agents of infectious diseases are composed of protein substances which possess this antigenic property, it can easily be understood how readily they can stimulate antibody production.

When pathogenic organisms gain access to our bodies antibodies are formed. Each antibody produced is specific for the organism that stimulates its production. If in one and the same organism there are more than one antigenic substances then antibodies will be formed against each one of these substances and if the organism is a toxin-producer then antibodies will be produced against the toxin as well. Thus for one organism there may be produced more than one antibody and each one of these antibodies will combine specifically only with the antigenic substance that stimulated its production. It is this extreme specificity of the antigens and antibodies that has made immunology a very interesting subject for study. Recent investigations show that this immunological specificity is a function of the chemical structure of the particular protein antigen.

Efforts have been made to isolate antibodies in a pure state, but so far no success has resulted. Therefore, we do not possess any definite knowledge regarding their chemical nature or structure. All that we know about them is that they are associated with globulins of the blood plasma, and that their presence

can be demonstrated by certain serological tests. For example, if we mix serum containing antibodies with the organism that stimulated its production in the presence of electrolytes in a test tube, then the organism can be seen to clump together and settle down to the bottom of the tube. What happens is, the organism adsorbs the antibody and becomes very sensitive to the presence of electrolytes. The latter brings about a reduction in the electrical charge on the surface of the organism with the result that the cohesive force between the individual organisms is increased, the organisms clump together and finally settle down to the bottom of the test tube. The above phenomenon that occurs in the test tube has experimentally been shown to take place inside the animal body and it is this phenomenon that is responsible for the increased success of the phagocyte in destroying the organisms in the presence of specific antibodies.

Attempts have been made to find out where and how the antibodies are formed. Although there is no definite information on the subject it is supposed that antigenic substances when introduced into the body are picked up by phagocytic cells and taken to the spleen and liver and deposited there. Here certain cells of the reticulo-endothelial system are stimulated by these substances in such a way that specific antibodies are produced. When the amount of antibodies produced reaches a certain concentration, they begin to appear in the circulating blood.

The rôle of circulating antibodies in immunity has also been studied very extensively. Taking the evidence as a whole it appears that whenever a disease is due to the toxins of an organism rather than to the organism itself then an increase of antibody in the circulating blood means an increase of protection. In diseases like diphtheria and tetanus where the damage is caused chiefly by the toxin of the organism, marvellous results can be achieved by the use of serum containing anti-toxic antibodies. This is so because all that is required to overcome the disease is to neutralise the toxin. The anti-toxin does this perfectly and in proportion to the amount available. Greater

this amount better the neutralisation and better the immunity. The relation between anti-toxin and immunity is similar to the relation between the quantity of petrol in a motor engine and the distance travelled. Just as you can go a longer distance with more petrol than with less, you can cure cases better with more anti-toxin than with less.

On the other hand in diseases that are directly due to the multiplication of the invading organisms, it is found that increase of antibody in the circulating blood does not necessarily mean increase of immunity. This is so because the function of antibodies in these diseases is only to prepare the organisms for phagocytosis and other destructive processes, and unless the processes are efficient, antibodies by themselves will not be of much use. For preparing the organism for phagocytosis, etc., only a limited amount of antibody is required and when more than this is present it will not be of any additional benefit. This explains why in diseases like pneumonia administration of serum containing antibodies to the patient is of very limited value. The best way to understand the true rôle of these anti-bacterial antibodies is by taking the analogy of the engine again. Antibodies, as I said before, correspond to the petrol; some petrol in the tank is certainly better than no petrol, but a full tank is surely not better than a half tank. Same is true of this type of antibody.

Finally we come to a consideration of anaphylactic immunity. In some cases the antigenic substances liberated from parasitic organisms within the body, act by increasing the reacting capacity of the body cells in such a way that even when a very small amount of the same antigen is introduced at a later date the body responds by a violent reaction. This form of immunity is best illustrated in connection with tuberculosis. If when a person has a mild tuberculous infection, we inject into his skin a small amount of an extract of tubercle bacilli, he will react with a violent inflammation; but the same dose of extract when injected into a healthy person produces no such reaction

whatsoever. This difference in response in the two persons is because in the first individual the infection with tuberculosis has brought his body cells to a state of great sensitiveness or irritability, and is thereby preventing any further entry of the same organism. This peculiar protective mechanism functions only so long as the primary infection that causes it lasts. It is, therefore, sometimes called "infection immunity" because the immunity is present only when the infection is present. In those diseases where this is the chief type of immunity concerned, it is better to have a mild infection of the disease well under check than to be completely free from it, for in the first case one will be immune to fresh doses of infection and in the second he will not be.

Having explained to you the three chief component parts of the defence mechanism, I wish to point out that every case of cure and immunity cannot be explained away purely on the basis of these mechanisms. There are occasions when one is at a loss to find an explanation for the immunity that has occurred. There are as many cases on record of protection in the absence of demonstrable antibodies as there are of absence of protection in the presence of antibodies. These have naturally led immunologists to recognise that possibly there are other mechanisms concerned in protection as well. Recently Besredka has put forward his new and interesting theory of local immunity in an attempt to explain some of these observed discrepancies. His theory supposes that the cells of the tissues attacked are the cells primarily concerned in protection and not antibodies or phagocytes. Besredka says "the antibodies should be without hesitation stripped of their importance as their function in immunity is in reality entirely secondary or negative in certain cases." He supports this assumption by the following line of arguments. Many pathogenic organisms have a tendency to get localised in some one particular tissue of the body, irrespective of the route of entry of the organisms. For example, the typhoid and dysentery bacilli attack the intestines

and the anthrax bacilli the skin. If these tissues are rendered insusceptible to attack, then the whole animal will be immune. Therefore what is to be aimed at is not the production of antibodies or phagocytes but effective local tissue immunity. He thinks that this can be done by introducing the virus of disease in a particular form directly into the tissues concerned and by stimulating the production of "anti-virus." This anti-virus saturates the tissue cells and renders them insensitive to the toxic action of the organisms. Taking the available evidence as a whole, there appears to be some support for the view that local tissue immunity as opposed to a general cellulo-humoral immunity plays some part in resistance to bacterial infection; but there is little or no reason to believe that the mechanism involved in this immunity is in any way different from what we have already considered. For, when local immunisation is pushed to a point at which general resistance is markedly increased it is always possible to demonstrate the presence of protective antibodies. Therefore, while admitting that the method of vaccination advocated by Besredka is good, most immunologists do not accept his theory of local immunity as sound.

By way of conclusion I may add that in presenting the subject of immunity in the manner I have done, it has been my endeavour to show how the problems of the immunity are of interest not only to the medical man, but also to workers in other branches of science as well. As I told you in the beginning the unsolved problems in immunology are numerous and the subject-matter of these problems lies on the border between different branches of science. No solution of these problems is possible unless it be through team work or the willing co-operation of specialists in the various branches of science. Therefore there is no better way of concluding this lecture than by an appeal for such a co-operation and in doing that I am sure I will also be indirectly appealing for the success of this Academy under whose auspices we have met here to-day.

K. V. KRISHNAN

THE ORDEAL OF MIRABAI

(A Short Story.)

Not very long ago, in the land of Rajasthan, there was a king by name Kumbho Singh. His reign was wise and just. He was very handsome. He was loved by his subjects as a brave, warlike leader. Tales of his bravery and leadership are still prevalent in India. At Chitor, there is a "Tower of Victory" erected by this king which testifies to his generalship. He was a great builder of temples and forts. Besides, he was a learned man and wrote poetry and hymns in honour of Lord Krishna.

At the time when our story begins, Rana Kumbho was sitting in his favourite palace 'Jagajiwan.' He was singing and amusing himself. In the meanwhile, a messenger came and announced the arrival of the queen. The queen was covered with a veil of embroidered muslin. No sooner she came in presence of her lord, she said, "All hail, lord ! Hail to thee, king of Udaipur." He received the queen very courteously and asked her to sit on a couch. She nodded and sat down and their erudite conversation began.

"Yesterday night," the queen said, "when we were sitting together, you did talk something about the stars. What is it ? Please tell me." "I wish to compose some lines of poetry, dear," he said, "on these beautiful stars. I feel, when I look to the sky at night, who has set these precious stones on the blue marble ? Or flowers of paradise are floating on this vast blue ocean. Or who has blown these twinkling flowers all ? Perhaps, Lord Krishna has emptied the pot of celestial jewellery. To me the laughing stars with half-shut eyes appear like young brides; or some tender fairy of Indra's heaven is weaving this blue cloth. Or the master painter of this universe is throwing shining colours to charm his beloved. Or as through the green grass shine glow-

worms, so twinkle the stars through the heaven blue. But, dear queen, my imagination is unspontaneous without you. I cannot sing with full-throated ease. You must be near enough to me. Thou art my inspiration ; without you poetry is useless."

"I am too humble to inspire you, my lord," said the queen. "The Ruler of this great universe is the inspirer of all. Why not try to compose some beautiful lines on Him, so that I may sing to please Him."

Seldom we find such a union of royal couple. How fortunate it is to have a harmony of thoughts between husband and wife. It is a rare blessing belonging to very few. Wherever the ladies are honoured and respected, there dwells Lord Krishna. There He plays and there He rejoices."

The Rana became very glad to hear the above words of the queen. "Let us pray together," he said, "to that Almighty Lord to make us happy for ever." "Doubt it not, my lord," she said, "thou art my all. I am your humble servant. Ask of Him not this material happiness but eternal happiness. Yours shall be the joy in this world. As usual, let us go into the temple of Lord Vishnu to ask for His divine blessings."

So both of them set out towards the temple in a palanquin. To the north of the city, at a distance of few miles, stands this temple of the guardian God of Udaipur—Shri Vishnu. Queen Mirabai went straight up under the domed chamber and stood before the idol. Rana Kumbho stood outside the door. Both of them bowing low prayed to Lord Vishnu. At this time queen Mirabai sang her favourite song in a most attractive tune :

"Where art thou O Sweet Kanhya
Hail, all hail to Thee;
Looks with loving eye on all
Thee, I long to see."

She sang very cheerfully. It was all calm and quiet. After all it was a female voice, melodious and sweet. It is a rare privilege

to hear a woman sing when she is all alone. Mirabai was a born poetess and a gifted singer. It is said, when Mirabai sang cobras in the distant forest danced with folded hoods. Not only that, but the cloud that sailed by in the sky stood still to hear her sing. It is no exaggeration to say, then, that India had such mighty singers that at their sweet voice and will rain poured forth in torrents and in the evening the lamps were lighted.

While she was singing thus, a male voice broke the sacred silence of the temple by crying aloud in amazement, "How fine!" At this the Rana's eyes grew like red-hot iron and his right hand turned to the scabbard. "Whence this voice?" He searched each and every corner of the temple but there was no one, except the maidservants of the queen and four palanquin-bearers who stood outside the temple. Then the royal concert without any trace of the man returned to the palace.

II

At that time Akbar the Great, ruled at Delhi. Indeed he was great. His figure was tall with long arms. His son describes 'his visage full of godly dignity.' Akbar at the end of his reign, like Henry VIII of England, made himself Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith. Later on, he organised a new religion, the Din Ilahi or Divine Faith. This novel creed died with its author. He knew the hearts of men and how to win from foes a loyalty which was a tribute to his genius. Many learned men basked in the royal sunshine. It was India's golden age.

In those days the kings of Delhi used to sit in in "Diwan-i-khas" or in the Durbar Hall. It was a custom with Akbar to receive his courtiers in this hall with special respect and honour. He was eagerly waiting for some one.

Now, at the same moment, a man was walking hurriedly through the "Chandani Chowk" of Delhi. He was richly dressed. He was muttering to himself some song. His gait of

walking showed that he was absent-minded and was quite engrossed in his song. At last he reached the palace royal. His arrival was announced to the king by the messenger. He came and bowing very low sat near the king.

“What’s to about our work, Tansen,” said the king. “Have you some new plan to carry out our proposal.” After this both of them retired into a private chamber for consultation.

Tansen was a famous singer and musician of Akbar’s court. Not only that he was his trusted councillor and intimate friend ; he was one of the nine jewels which adorned his court. After having gone in the private chamber Akbar said, “Well, sir, what is the plan? How to carry it out?” “You know it well, my lord,” said Tansen, “these Rajputs have a strict purda system. Besides, Rajputs of Chitor are like fierce lions and to enter the harem means to enter the lion’s den. How will thy wish be fulfilled ; it is rather a difficult task.” “Difficult as it is, sir,” said Akbar, “I have entrusted to you this work. Even the mountains move and beasts become quiet and gentle when you sing. Master of thy art you are ; so I hope you will effect our entry in the Rajput court by your charming song.” “Right you are, Your Majesty,” said Tansen, “but my song is of no use. I can make my entry in a well-armed place or in a fortified place by my music but much more difficult it is to get an entrance in the Rajput’s harem. Yet I have succeeded in my plan. I cast aside my male dress and dressed myself in woman’s clothings. Thus disguised I went into the temple to hear the song of Mirabai. Her voice is sweeter than that of the fairies of heavens. I was so enchanted by her song that in my reverie I shouted ‘How fine.’ This action of mine caused a strict search of the temple to be made and anyhow I came back.” “Whatever befall, dear Tansen,” said Akbar, “I must hear her sing. I must see that chaste and pious lady.” “Well my ears have been captivated so much,” said Tansen, “I hear her voice, as if it is on the rolling air, I hear her voice in the running waters, she stands before my mind’s eye in the rising sun and in the setting captivates her art.”

“Dearest Tansen, let me hear her at least once in life.” “To see her and hear her song, my Lord,” said Tansen, “is the danger signal of war.”

After a little deliberation both of them came to some definite plan. “But to travel through the country of Rajasthan in this rich court dress,” suggested the king, “would expose us to danger, so let us put on mean and poor clothes like *Sadhus*, and dye our faces with ashes, so that we may be taken for ordinary country *Sadhus* and attract no attention.” “And we shall go more safely,” suggested Tansen, “if both of us are disguised as *Sadhus*.” Accordingly, it was settled that both of them should wear the clothes of *Sadhus*, and that they should enter the temple as such. Having made the necessary preparation, they left the court without being noticed.

III

It was an *Ekadashi*-day of the great God. Men all over India pray to and worship him. Now, it came to pass on that day in the afternoon at Udaipur, monks and nuns came from far off to hear the songs of Mirabai. In this crowd there were two men dressed in the religious wanderer's yellow cloth with matted hair. Each one had a begging bowl and a tall staff in his hand and wandered from door to door, asking for alms. Thus these two *Sadhus* one of whom was rather tall and the other of medium height arrived at the temple.

The temple of the Great God was well decorated. The scene was all magnificence. It was an atmosphere of sanctity. The amphitheatre of the temple was fully packed with men and women. Our two *Sadhus* sat under a lofty arch in front of the idol of Shree Vishnu, so as to have a clear view of everything. At the appointed hour surrounded by her escort the Queen Mirabai entered. After a short and silent prayer she began her songs. She sang continuously for two hours. Particularly, she forgot

herself when she was singing—

“ The time has come, O Lord,
When Thou should'st come to play
And bless our land, O Lord,
Come Thou, O dear I pray
And make us free, O Lord,
Sing once again I say
Thy vital message, O Lord.”

Our Sadhus were completely captivated by her songs. The tall one was about to go and bow at her feet, but the other one prevented him and reprimanded him for his rash and reckless act; anyhow he kept quiet.

At the end of the prayer, according to Aryan custom Mirabai came with the burning fire in a dish to circulate it amongst the audience. This process is known as *Arti*. She came towards the arch where our Sadhus were sitting. The tall one bowed humbly to her and drew from his pocket a valuable garland, studded with gems and emeralds and taking it in his right hand said, “ Mother dear, throw this wreath of beautiful gems round the neck of the Great God.” She was wonderstruck with the dazzling light of the gems and asked him as to how he came by it. “ I got it,” he said, “ while I was playing and swimming along the banks of the Jumna and from that day I have made a vow to throw it round the neck of the Great God. Please oblige me with this much.” Mirabai blessed the man and she went straight up to the idol and adorned it with the precious garland.

The story of the garland spread like wild fire in the city and at last it reached the ears of the Rana. He saw it. He showed it to expert jewellers. One of them said that this garland belongs to Akbar the Great, Emperor of Delhi. When he heard this he felt as if his heart would break. “ What,” he thought to himself. “ Ah, cruel is this deed on the part of the queen; it is worse to me than death.” He forthwith sent the messengers for her. Mirabai came, folded her hands

before her husband and said, "O dear and blessed Lord, suspect me not of evil. Except you, there is no one in the whole world on whom I look as a husband. Let the Gods of the world tell you truly that every thought of mine has been for you."

But the Rana's anger was swelled to a high pitch. He would not listen to anybody. He would not pardon her. At last he ordered her to leave his kingdom and not to return back. She was banished.

She composed herself and said quietly, "Well, my Lord, your orders will be obeyed. We came together in the presence of sacred fire and you took me by the hand and said 'Verily I shall be ever thine.' I am sure, the same sacred fire will bring us together again," uttering these words she left the palace and departed.

IV

Next day in accordance with the Rana's orders and especially to keep the word of her husband Mirabai left the kingdom at mid-night. She was a dutiful wife. Alone, all alone, walking, she remembered her pet birds and things—nay ghost-like they haunted her path. She felt very sorry that she would not be able to see those things again. She was "like a child crying in the night ; a child crying for the light" and with nothing but a cry. On the other hand, like a pious Hindu lady, she pondered over the transitoriness of life and its objects. To her this universe appeared an illusion, a *maya*. One must try to escape from the endless circle of rebirths. At last, in dark despair she began to think. Is this the end of all my life? Is this the end? Is this the end?—Death! On her way she came across a river. It was the Gambhira—really very deep according to its name. She sat on the banks and prayed to the Lord. It was the only way for her to win salvation or *Mukti*—her sweetest prayer. She jumped into the flowing river and wanted to end her life.

Nothing—these seven letters tell us that nothing is the ‘be-all and end-all’ of all things. A life of nothings—nothing on globe. But the Lord of the universe did not will so.

Early on the morrow, to her utter surprise she found herself on the banks of Jumna. It was a pleasant morning. Birds were up in the sky and they were twittering and chirping in sweet notes “good morning;” cowherds and peasants were busy with their work. Ferry-men on the banks were busy carrying men and women to and fro. She rubbed her eyes. She thought she was in a dream. After a while she recollected the incidents of last night and it became quite clear as to how she came floating down in the Jumna river. She prayed, “For all thy blessings, O Lord, I thank Thee.” Further, she sang her own prayer—

“Speak to me from the heaven high,
Lead me, my Lord, with thine own hand,
Do not leave me on Jumna’s sand
Speak to me from the shining sky.”

After her short prayer she looked round for she did not know anybody was near. Beside her stood a bright shepherd lad. He was full of sport. “Keep up your courage, dear mother,” he said, “do not think of dying.” He showed her the nearest way to Brindaban.

Season after season passed. The exiled lady sought refuge in a monk’s cottage at Brindaban. She used to pray day and night. In short she passed a life of penance—pure and simple.

Now, let us turn our attention for a short time towards Udaipur. The people praised Mirabai for her virtues and pitied her on account of the Rana’s banishment. Rana Kumbho’s kingdom became the object of divine wrath. Plague, pestilence and wars devastated the country. For a time, it seemed as if, ‘the whole world yawn’d around him like a hell.’ In the end, the Rana’s ministers and courtiers persuaded him to call back Mirabai from Brindaban. He too was much distressed at her departure

and became sad and silent ; for she was the 'light of his palace.' His sister, Padmavati, persuaded him much to bring back Mirabai. At last, he agreed and set out himself to bring her back.

It so happened that the hermitage in which Mirabai had settled was far away from Udaipur, and one day, before she had been there long, Mira met with a strange surprise

She was engrossed in deep meditation and when it was over, a man appeared before her and asked her pardon for his ill treatment towards her. No sooner she saw him, she bowed to his feet. "God is all merciful," she said; "at last you remembered me. Now, the peace of God came into my life in thy presence, my Lord." "Indeed it is thy ordeal and devotion towards your husband," said the Rana, "which has brought me here to request you to come back to the palace."

"Husband is my all," she said, "what more I want. My desire is fulfilled. I got my love back."

On the auspicious day both of them started back for Udaipur. Dear readers, it was indeed a merry home coming. I have tried to describe her devotion and ordeal but much more difficult is it to give an idea how sweetly she sang. My humble pen is powerless to describe it.

Like a flower fragrant Mirabai's fame spread all over India, and her abode became a place of pilgrimage. To this day her songs round the simple fires are sung and merry rings the temple bell, still echoing her songs in this happy land of India.

—VAMAN H. PANDIT

SAILING

It is a lovely thing to sail...to sail
When there is nothing but the sea ahead,
A sea that heaves a green or bluish trail
On every side when far off oceans spread
New wastes of water, mile on mile. I glance
Deep into sullen green, like bottle-glass ;
Or opals born of pale new moons advance
To vanish : or the tropic sea, a mass
Of indigo, glares brilliantly. And still,
In windless hours, the sea is crystal clear...
So clear that shadows sleep below the sill
Of waves, and curious irised fish seem near.
The winds and sky and sea become the friend
Of those who sail the sea to journey's end.

LOUISE A. NELSON

THE TRAGEDY OF BRAGANÇAS IN PORTUGAL

The recent death of Ex-king Manoel of Portugal at his home at Fulwell Park, Twickenham, brings to mind one of the most poignant tragedies of modern Europe, the tragedy of the House of Bragança. Monarch without a throne, the last king of the House of Bragança lived for twenty-two years at Twickenham, where the Dowager Queen Amelia, the exiled king's mother, was born—a not insignificant fact; for the Princess of Orleans was born at York House, Twickenham, then occupied by her father the Count of Paris driven into exile during the Second Empire. It was to Fulwell Park, that king Manoel, the 'Unfortunate,' as he was named, brought his Consort, Queen Augusta Victoria, a Princess of Hohenzollern, to whom he was married when he was forced to become an exile; and the royal exile died childless.

The Dukes of Bragança were the descendants of Nuno Alvares Pereira, the hero of the victory of Aljubarrota gained over the Spaniards and French by the allied forces of England and Portugal. This memorable battle gave independence to Portugal, and founded the dynasty of Aviz of which King John the First, who married the daughter of John of Gaunt, was the first representative. The Dukes of Bragança, says Oliveira Martins, the Portuguese historian, were really kings of Portugal. They owned almost one-third of the land, and their vassals numbered a hundred thousand. They lived like kings. It is interesting to note that one of their many servants rose to be a Governor of India. He was none other than the avaricious Martim Afonso de Sousa, Governor of India from 1542-45, who when informed that the Conjeveram Temples of Vijayanagram contained a fabulous treasure, thought "it was not un-Christian to spoil the heathen of their ill-gotten gains." The Braganças

were the haughtiest and wealthiest noblemen not only in Portugal but in the whole Peninsula and King John the Second, though he won the surname of the "Perfect King," fearing perhaps, that the Braganças stood in his way, had erected the scaffold on the Praça of Evora, wherein the Duke of Bragança was hanged.

King Manoel the First, the successor of John the Second, was surnamed the "Fortunate" because of the glory Portugal had acquired as the result of her discovery of a new way to India. Lisbon became the entrepot, which the Italian republics had so long held for Eastern and especially Indian trade. And often, as many as four hundred foreign and Portuguese ships, says a writer, anchored in the Tagus. But all at once this ephemeral glory vanished. A century had sufficed to reduce the Portuguese Empire to a pile of rubbish.

Seven candidates, however, disputed the throne of Portugal round the death-bed of Cardinal Henry, the aged and childless last king of the House of Aviz. Philip the Second of Spain was claiming the throne because his wife was a daughter of John the Third, and he himself, a descendant of King Manoel, whose daughter, the wife of Charles the Fifth, was his mother. The Duchess of Bragança was asserting her right to the throne, because she was the daughter of Edward, Manoel's second son. The half Jewish Dom Antonio, the Prior de Crato, was maintaining his legitimacy of birth and fighting for his claims arising from being son by a converted Jewess, of Louis, Duke of Beja, a younger son of Manoel. He had broken his Moorish fetters by the help of a Jew, and his daring escape from the Moors, when taken prisoner after Alcazer-Kebir, had made him a favourite with the masses whom he had reminded that the founder of the House of Aviz was a bastard like himself. Ranucio, the Prince of Parma, and Emmanuel, the Duke of Savoy, putting aside the statutes of Lamego, were also claiming the throne—the first as son of Maria of Portugal, grand-daughter of Manoel, and the latter as son of Manoel's daughter. The Queen Mother of France was

tracing her descent from Mathilda, wife of Affonso the Fourth of Portugal. The Pope claimed because Portugal was once feudatory to the See of Rome, and had no direct male heirs to the throne. Even Queen Elizabeth of England had gone so far as to declare that she had a right to dispute the interests of the House of Lancaster in Portugal. It was clear from the genealogy that if claims were to be decided by consanguinity alone, Philip II's was by far the most powerful. The University of Coimbra, after due consideration, declared in favour of the Duchess of Bragança. But "the Most Catholic Majesty" cared little for the opinion based on the statutes of Lamego. Acquainted Philip of Spain was with the decadent Portuguese, he purchased with Castillian gold, the Portuguese who were at the time guiding the destinies of Portugal; and these men unhesitatingly accepting his bribe, looked forward to a permanent union of Portugal with Spain. The effort put forth during the great era of maritime exploration had led to the inevitable reaction. The inspiring poetry of the old religion of the country—the most prominent of all the national characteristics—was destroyed, and the peaceful message of Christ was turned into a blood-stained law of persecution. Nor had the principle of loyalty, so prominent in the Portuguese character, become less perverted than the religious principle; for rejoicings, instead of opposition, had met the Duke of Alba when he marched upon Lisbon and proclaimed Philip the First, of Portugal.

The Spanish Domination may have been a necessary evil; it may have been the lesser evil in a choice of evils—to quote a cynic; but it was in itself a thing of evil all the same. The sixty years of captivity from 1580-1640 were passed in sullen discontent and exasperation. This created a desire for the means of imparting new vigour to a nation that had distinct traditions, distinct usages and distinct speech. The epic poems, and the historical works, produced under the influence of the Spanish vassalage, were eloquent enough to remind the Portuguese they were worthy of a better fate. Among the men of

letters who encouraged the revival of independence were also the famous Jesuit Antonio Vieira, the intrepid defender of the persecuted Jew and the oppressed Indian of Brazil, and Freire de Andrade who told the life-story of Dom Joao de Castro,—the noblest of the Portuguese Viceroyes of India,—who died, in India, the death of a pauper.

The Revolution of 1640 was a task worthy of patriotic Portugal. It brought the sixty years of vassalage to an end and enthroned the House of Bragança, on which centred the patriotic feelings of the Portuguese. When the eighth Duke of Bragança was chosen to ascend the throne, the edict published on that occasion concluded thus :—" The Portuguese in placing John the Fourth upon the throne, are justified by every incontrovertible right,—the right of succession and the constitutional laws of the kingdom—rights which are more than sufficient to overturn a forced and tyrannical possession of sixty years, established and maintained by force of arms." The accession of John the Fourth, the first representative of the House of Bragança marked, no doubt, a great event in the history of Portugal. But as an expiring lamp throws out a more vivid flame when about to expire, so did Portugal at this time Thrilled with patriotic emotion, the Portuguese began the work of reconstruction by evoking their glorious past. They knew that the reigns of the first kings of the House of Aviz marked the acme of Portuguese power, but were unable to see that all that was great and original in it, proceeded not so much from the personal influence of these sovereigns, but from a kind of general inspiration which revealed itself everywhere in new ideas and a sagacious policy ; and they assumed towards the Crown the attitude of oriental servility. Indeed, the epoch was marked by a disheartening lack of constructive elements. From that time, Portugal rapidly decayed, until the Brazilian mines shed a blaze that for a time concealed her decay.

Brazil proved to Portugal a second India. Portugal inflamed to madness by the wealth of Brazil,—from which one

hundred million sterling were to be drawn, during the first half of the eighteenth century, in precious stones alone—became a nation lost to all self-control and her aberrations drove her to destruction. Anxious to impress the world with Portugal's wealth, King John the Fifth squandered all the gold and diamonds which came from the South American colony, in palaces, monasteries and chapels. The luxury, the waste, and the frivolity of the king, who, in the Convent of Odivellas, had a copy of the *Parc aux Cerfs*, would have made any Eastern Potentate envy the Portuguese Monarch. But nevertheless, John the Fifth was growing enthusiastic about the spirit of past ages. He wanted to "make the past live"; and he founded a Portuguese Academy or an academy of history that was to record the annals of by-gone days of grandeur. But the hired historian could give Portugal nothing better than the "Genealogical History of the Royal House"! The Brazilian mines were soon exhausted. Nine-tenths of the Brazilian wealth had gone to England in exchange for merchandise. It is interesting to recall at this point, that by the Methuen treaty—a treaty prepared by the ambassador of Queen Anne to the Court of King, Pedro the Second, John the Fifth's father—England had agreed "to admit Portuguese wines upon the payment of 33½ per cent. less than the duty paid upon wines from France; and the woollen cloths of England, which had been prohibited in Portugal for twenty years, were to be admitted upon terms of proportionate advantage." The Portuguese found themselves hopelessly insolvent. The Jews, their creditors, were made to abandon the country which, of course, paralysed for ever the Portuguese trade. The king, who in exchange for the title of "most faithful majesty" had forced most valuable presents on the Pope, died in embarrassed circumstances, leaving a debt of three millions sterling. At this moment, Marquis de Pombal, the minister of John the Fifth's successor, appeared, and was hailed as the expected deliverer. "I found," said Marquis de Pombal, "a monarchy destitute of money, weakened by many revolutions, disturbed by various secret sects, and impoverished by its very

riches. A people subject to the grossest superstition, a nation whose manners might be likened to those of barbarians, a state governed by almost Asiatic customs, European only in name, with but the form of kingly government and the shadow of power." The re-building of Lisbon, after the earthquake of 1755, gave Pombal complete ascendancy over Joseph the First, whose prerogative he attempted to raise to an absolute Caesarism; and the famous Portuguese dictator did nothing towards giving the Monarchy its old aspect, and reviving the spirit of the Cortes which, in the best days of Portugal, were a check upon all political degradation. "In order to re-establish a state, it is necessary that it should be destroyed," were Pombal's words. But what remained of Pombal's twenty-seven years' rule, which rested on racks, gibbets, and dungeons? The all-powerful minister of Joseph the First was master, no doubt, and master he remained till the death of the pusillanimous king. Once more, the Portuguese messianic dream had not come true. There were no signs either of another Messiah arising in Portugal, to undertake the duties of "saviour" in such desperate circumstances. Such was the state of affairs, when Napoleon Buonaparte turned his eyes towards this westernmost state of Europe, and declared in the *Moniteur*, that "the house of Bragança had ceased to reign." The French invasion drove Portugal upon strange actions. John the Sixth, then Prince Regent, embarked for Brazil on the very spot whence, three centuries back, the Portuguese had sailed upon their historic enterprize. Once the Prince Regent led the Portuguese to believe that he had preferred being swept out of his kingdom with a broomstick, to being driven from it by the sword,—an action which, we must in fairness admit, was the result of the British Ambassador's counsels—they offered no resistance to the invading army. Junot entered Lisbon proclaiming the sole object of his invasion to be "the emancipation of Portugal from the yoke of England." But very soon Portugal was, according to Canning's words. "the fulcrum for the lever of England to wrench Napoleon from his power."

Meantime, the establishment of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro had accelerated the separatist tendencies of Brazil ; and, strange to say, it was, to quote a Brazilian writer, "the descendant of a long line of European monarchs, who inaugurated the movement which severed the last and most faithful of the great divisions of South America from Transatlantic rule." Indeed, Brazil declared her independence investing Dom Pedro, who was the first-born of John the Sixth, with the title of Emperor of Brazil.

"It being incompatible with the interests of the empire of Brazil and with those of the kingdom of Portugal, that I should continue to be King of Portugal, and the Algarves," to quote the words of Dom Pedro in the Act of Abdication, given at the Palace, at Rio de Janeiro, the Emperor of Brazil abdicated the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter Dona Maria,—a child of seven years—and accompanied the abdication with the grant of a free Constitutional Charter; and the fact deserves mention that the Plenipotentiary of Great Britain was requested by Dom Pedro to be the bearer to Portugal of the new Charter drawn after the British model. This resulted in civil wars,—wars that shed, in torrents, the blood of the nation—between the subjects of Queen Maria the Second and the partisans of her uncle Dom Miguel de Bragança. "I shall constitutionalise them by force," were the words of Dom Pedro, the giver of the Charter of 1826 in a letter to Marquis de Resende. But "a Charter drawn after the British model," we repeat what, years ago, we wrote in the *British Review* (London, January, 1914), could only work under influences that act decisively on a spirit already prepared for it, Puritan discipline of family life, which has been, for generations, the greatest force in English politics ; and amongst the lessons which the eighty years of Constitutionalism taught, perhaps the most important to Portugal was the vital necessity of a moral discipline. Constitutionalism only came to confuse and embitter the Portuguese political development with factional

contentiousness, to fix resentment where there should only be generosity, and insolence where there should be gratitude." Queen Maria the Second died at the age of thirty, having undergone twenty years of unparalleled humiliation at the hands of her politicians, who would neither cultivate their mind nor discipline their character. To her eldest son, King Pedro the Fifth, however, the vocation of a king must have been full of meaning as he tramped the streets of Lisbon,—the city had witnessed the ravages of the cholera and yellow fever—to render his subjects every assistance he could; and the King's personal attention to the plague-stricken, undoubtedly gave a silver lining to the blackness of the cloud that, for nearly four months, hung over the land. King Pedro the Fifth knew the nation and the politicians were not identical, could not be confounded. The interests of the two were totally different, not to say incompatible. He, therefore, omitted no fair occasion of bringing before the mind of the people any bright example of moral excellence; and he earned for himself a reputation the memory of which still lives in the country. For months, his health had been impaired, but he had refused to leave his pestilence-stricken subjects. On the 11th November, 1861, King Pedro the Fifth died of cholera, in his twenty-fourth year of age. His younger brother Dom Fernando died on the 6th of the same month, and he was followed to the grave, soon after, by his brother Dom Joao. Thus in less than two months, three members of the Royal House of Bragança had fallen victims to the pestilence! On the young King's death, his brother Dom Luis—a Prince well acquainted with the writings of Shakespeare, whose *Hamlet* he translated into Portuguese,—was unexpectedly summoned to ascend the throne.

"If I were king, Marshal, I would have you publicly shot to-morrow. Now that you know what I think of your conduct, you can go." Thus spoke Queen Maria Pia, the Queen Consort, when Marshal Saldanha surrounded the Royal Palace and compelled King Louis the First—a King who possessed in an

eminent degree all the virtues of the best Constitutional monarchs—to dismiss the ministry in power. The Portuguese Constitutionalism—the sword was then the only effective power in the State—was nothing more than military despotism ; and “ were it not for Saldanha,”—the hero of the Peninsular campaigns, afterwards Portuguese Minister in London, where he died in 1876—“ the Charter might have fallen to the ground,” says a Portuguese historian. A past that glides from the grave tells its own story in plain language, and turbulence of ministerial warfare could have hardly gone farther under constitutional regime.

To these discordant elements was added another, not less dangerous : The dispute between Portugal and her ancient ally Great Britain, over boundaries in Manicaland and Shire Highlands in Africa, which intensified the Portuguese difficulties. The terms of the *ultimatum* of 1890 were undoubtedly humiliating to Portugal. The evacuation of Shire Highlands under the direct threat of a war declared by a powerful nation was distressing, and hence arose the suspicion that the sovereignty of Portugal was in danger. When Lord Salisbury, lacking that spirit of conciliation of great English statesmen, sent the *ultimatum*, at the very beginning of the reign of King Carlos, who, on the death of Louis the First, ascended the throne, little could the British Prime Minister have suspected that he was giving life to the Portuguese Republican Party that would one day menace the house of Bragança. Indeed, his Government yielding its powers to the Scottish missionaries and the party that represented the Rhodesian interests, fostered an intense spirit of republicanism in Portugal; and the Portuguese Republicans tried to seize the national crisis to attempt the establishment of a republic at Oporto, in January 1891. The King was made a traitor to his country, an accusation to which the Order of the Garter offered to King Carlos by Queen Victoria, when the question at issue had been settled, gave a superficial plausibility. Amid such inauspicious circumstances, King Carlos

began his kingly career. The ill luck which marked his ascension to the throne dogged him throughout the whole of his life.

But whilst the Republicans considered the *ultimatum* of 1890 a fitting opportunity to enlarge the wrongs of Portugal under monarchical regime the politicians, who surrounded the throne, imagined that a "Liberal Monarchy" would roll away the old ills of a nationality. A number of politicians tried the "Liberal Monarchy" year after year, and all of them failed, until their "liberalism" culminated in the notorious *rotativismo* by which opposing political parties shared the spoils of office in rotation, and were known collectively as *rotativos*. "Less liberalism and more character," were words which Eca de Queiroz put into the mouth of one of the personages of his story. No Portuguese writer sounded so profoundly, and so persistently, the Portuguese society, under the Constitutional regime, as Eca de Queiroz; and among the persons whom the distinguished author held up to disdain was the ridiculous Acacio, one of those Portuguese, who has a parrot command of pompous phraseology, but very little thinking power.

Something had to be done in the way of reform, or else it would doom the monarchy. It pleased, therefore, the King to choose Joao Franco,—the leader of a new party, with a programme that promised to appeal to the country,—and call him to his counsels. King Carlos saw things clearly. His intellect was certainly above the level of the country of which he had the singular misfortune to be a king. Eventually King Carlos gave the famous Dictator a special dissolution of Parliament which the King had denied to his predecessor.¹ Unfortunately, however,

¹ King Carlos addressed his Premier, Hintze Ribeiro, the following historic letter :—

Necessidades Palace,

16th May, 1905.

MY DEAR HINTZE,

You came to see me yesterday afternoon in order to inform me of the opinion of your Government as to the best manner of procedure in view of present circumstances. As I consider that the proposed plan—failing the adoption of which you declare yourself and your colleagues unable to continue in office—is a serious one, and one requiring careful considera-

the Portuguese Dictator was a man too anxious for the consummation of his plans. Endowed with a violent imagination, and unable to distinguish noise from numbers, he vented himself in threats, which seemed better suited to a knight-errant than to a statesman. Instead of taming the spirit of revolution and converting it to his own purpose, Franco, to use the very words

tion, I told you that I preferred to think things well over, before giving any answer. I spent the whole night in reflection, and have postponed my reply until now as I was unwilling to give it without feeling myself absolutely justified, by certain information which I had still to receive in answering you as my conscience prompts me.

You and your cabinet consider yourself unable to continue, in the present state of affairs, unless I postpone the opening of Parliament, due to take place at the beginning of next month. Further you wish me to do this by a simple Decree without previously ascertaining the opinion of the Council of State. This postponement once granted, you said that you would take the responsibility of restoring a normal state of affairs in Lisbon, seeing that in the provinces this had undergone no change.

I do not consider it advisable to postpone the opening of Parliament. Apart from other inconveniences, it would cause an immediate revolt of public opinion not only amongst the Republicans,—that would only be natural—but also amongst all the Monarchists who are not supporting you on the present occasion. This would unquestionably be the result, and it is quite useless to harbour any illusions about it. All we should effect would be to add to the number of malcontents—already large enough owing to errors of long standing—a mass of people who have hitherto not been discontented. This does not seem to me the right moment for such a venture, and the responsibility for the decree, although apparently it would be a mere act of executive power, would be thrust once more on the shoulders of the king who would be held by all to be answerable for his signature. Such a step would be more likely in my opinion to disintegrate the Monarchy than to consolidate it, and once taken, the Government would afterwards only be able to keep together by resorting to violence and intimidation. Woe betide those who can only rule in such a manner! I am convinced that there are still other methods to employ for the attainment of the end which we should all of us desire—the well-being of the country. Violent repression may legitimately be used when it is absolutely necessary for the public good, but never so long as any other means remain untried. And I do not believe that we have yet tried all.

You see therefore that for these reasons I am conscientiously bound to refuse the postponement asked for by your Cabinet.

My decision shows no lack of personal confidence either in you or in your colleagues; it merely shows that there is a radical difference in our way of looking at the present state of affairs. You think in one way and I in another which I conscientiously believe to be the better.

Always yours sincerely,

CARLOS R.

P.S.—If you think it advisable you may read this letter in the Cabinet meeting.

he spoke in an interview he gave to a well-known French journalist, "was provoking quarrels in order to test the feelings of the people;" and the unfortunate King seemed to have anticipated that he was signing "his own death sentence," as he remarked to Franco when the decree giving the Dictator the power of transporting to Africa, any political offender, was being presented to him. The King's presentiment—strange to say—was an accomplished fact on the very day the *Diario de Governo*, of Saturday the 1st February, 1908, published the decree! "In our eyes, these men are worthy of admiration and when the formalism which still prevails in Portuguese society is overthrown, it will recognise in them true heroes, worthy sons of Portugal," were the words of the Republican Minister of the Interior, at the Lisbon demonstration held, some years after the regicide, in honour of the murderers of King Carlos. It is psychologically interesting to note these utterances.

The young King Manoel the Second saw his father and brother assassinated before his eyes. Slightly wounded, he escaped with his own life, and within three years of quick kaleidoscopic ministerial changes—five ministries were in power during his short reign—he was forced to become an exile. The royal exile, however, "used his position at the Court of St James for the service of his country"—to quote the verdict which the oldest Lisbon daily pronounced upon the tragic career of the last King of Portugal—"being a veritable Portuguese Ambassador to Britain during the war and in all difficult circumstances." Besides, the whole of his fortune, —the fourth largest in Portugal—is reported to have been left by him to the country of his birth, and his world-famous library of priceless ancient Portuguese books, which the exiled king collected, to the Lisbon National Library. It was, of course, only right that the British cruiser *Concord* escorted by two Portuguese warships, should have brought back to Portugal the remains of King Manoel the Second, to be in

the historic Church of St. Vincent, beside the embalmed bodies of the kings of the House of Bragança.

Years ago, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald undertook to make himself the champion of republicanism in Portugal. We discussed his attitude in the article entitled *Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Portugal*, published in the *New Age* (London, August 3, 1911). "No one doubted that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald believed himself to be influenced only by the purest motives," we wrote, "when he asked Sir Edward Grey why the British Government had not yet recognised the Portuguese Republic. But the sudden retreat of the Labour member gave one the impression that he had introduced a subject with whose conditions and environment he was but imperfectly acquainted..... We are not disposed to question the good faith with which any public man in England, in obedience to his creed of solidarity—which as a rule dissolves when translated from abstractions into realities,—undertakes to use his influence, however small, in favour of a particular cause or country. But we have a right to inquire upon what careful investigation the attitude confidently taken in the affairs of foreign countries is based. Unhappily, however, for the British public, there are prominent men in this country who are in such peculiar danger of talking at random when they move off their own ground into the politics of other countries..... Portugal is not rich in friends. Far from us the idea of discouraging anybody who befriends her in her trials, and helps her to recover the ground she has lost in the arena of international politics." Paradoxical, though it may seem, it was in the well-known Socialist Review¹ *The New Age*,

¹ "Many Englishmen will remember *The New Age*, which often used to be described as the most brilliant journal ever published in London, in whose pages such writers as J. C. Squire, St. John Ervine, Richard Aldington, and the Powys brothers, made their literary debut. Mr. A. R. Orage who edited *The New Age* for fifteen years, but who has for some time been living more or less in retirement, has now returned to journalism as editor of *The New English Weekly*. The first number of this new sixpenny weekly arrived in India by this week's mail. The lively good sense spoken in its editorial columns is a promise of a newspaper which will fulfil a valuable function in the

edited by Mr. A. R. Orage, that we wrote a series of articles on republican Portugal. We have assuredly no pleasure in the fulfilment of our predictions; the speed with which they have been accomplished exceeds our expectations.

Quite recently, Mr. George Bernard Shaw in a speech before the October Club, Oxford, said:—"My recollection of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is of a fire-eating revolutionary Socialist. You may ask me, "Are you talking of the gentleman heard on Empire Day, who did not seem to have an idea in his head which he might not have had in the seventeenth century?" It was in the seventeenth century, we may observe, that Catherine of Bragança, who married Charles the Second of England, brought as a part of her dowry, the island of Bombay, a gift that urged England to a great imperial career. There is indeed, something grimly ironical in the tragedy of Braganças in Portugal!

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

national life. The majority of English daily newspapers are at present very deservedly under a cloud. Only a few weeklies make any attempt truthfully to record and interpret the world's news. So let us welcome another." "Current Topics" (*The Times of India*, May 7, 1932).

A BENGALI FUNERAL RITE

There is a funeral rite prevalent in Hindu Bengal as canonical which attracts the attention of all interested observers. As the result of personal enquiry it can be stated with certainty that the rite can scarcely be traced in Hindu India outside Bengal. It requires the performance of an operation on the dead body of an expectant mother for the removal of the child in her womb irrespective of its maturity. The operation is usually performed on the cremation ground by the husband in or out of public view as circumstances permit. The feeling that overpowers the husband in performing the operation needs no mention. Except in towns where Hindu burial is prescribed the child or foetal growth removed by the operation is not cremated but buried, cremation being the rule in towns referred to. This practice will have to be remembered in examining the religious foundation of the rite. The related religious authority is to be found in Raghunandan's "Ashtabingshatitattva"¹ in the Section headed "Shuddhitattvam" or "the truth relating to purification." The relevant portion of that section together with the commentary on it by Kashiram Bachaspati and the explanatory translation of the latter by Hrishikesh Shastri is literally translated below so far as the difference between the languages permit :

"Thus if an expectant mother dies, by cutting open her abdomen, child or foetus taken out, shall be placed elsewhere and then she should be cremated. In the words of the Brahmapuran the propriety of this course is generally laid down :— 'Ejected contents of women's wombs' and so forth"—*Raghunandan*.

¹ For the originals see Appendix.

“By the cutting open of the womb” and so forth : In apprehension of the child in the womb being alive and cremation of the contents of dead one’s womb being improper it is proper to cremate the woman’s body as enjoined after removal of the contents. The authoritative text is read (as follows) :—“If by accident a woman dies with embryo in her womb by extracting the embryo from within she is to be cremated in due form”—*Kashirqm Bachaspati*.

“There is another statement that when a woman with child dies, cremate her after removal, by cutting open her abdomen of its contents because ‘Bury the contents of woman’s womb thrown out.’ By this injunction of Brahmapuran the burial is the only form of funeral provided for the contents thrown out of the wombs of dead women”—*Hrishikesh Shastri*.

It is to be observed that the only authority referred to by Raghunandan is from Brahmapuran. The text quoted from it is cited in full by Hrishikesh Shastri in his Bengali translation of the commentary. It does not mention the operation at all. It only ordains that human beings up to the age of seven shall not be burnt but buried. The inference drawn from it appears to be that the dead foetus or child must be separated from the body of its mother which must be cremated. But as a matter of fact, as previously observed, in all towns the growth in the womb is not cremated with the mother’s body. This customary rite is so strictly enforced that without the operation mentioned no one will assist at the cremation under penalty of being expelled from his caste. In the present day in Calcutta in some cases the operation is performed at home by an agnate who is a surgeon or at any rate a surgeon of the same caste, the husband being mentally and physically unable to undertake the task. According to popular belief in the absence of the operation the mother’s ghost will haunt the homes of all concerned with her funeral and ask for the child in her womb cremated with her unseparated. The restoration of the child being impossible she will kill a new-born babe and make it her ghost’s baby.

But as all customs originate with some rational purpose it may not be useless to speculate on the origin of the operation mentioned. Most probably in the remote past a Bengali surgeon saved the life of a mature child in womb by what is known as the Caesarian operation. Its connection with the fear of haunting ghost raises the inference that it was of non-religious origin. The attempt to put it on a religious basis was subsequently made with what success the extract from Raghunandan shows.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

APPENDIX

শুদ্ধিতত্ত্বম্—মুমূর্ষু মৃতকৃত্যানি ।

এবং গর্ভবত্যাং মৃত্যাম্ উদরভেদেন গর্ভং নিঃসার্য স্থানান্তরে স্থাপেৎ ।
তত্শ দাহঃ কার্য্যঃ ।

“দ্বীপান্ত পতিতো গর্ভ” ইত্যাদি ব্রহ্মপুরাণেন সামান্যাদ্ গর্ভপ্রতিপত্তি-
বিধানাৎ । রঘুনন্দনঃ ।

কাশিরাম বাচস্পতির টীকা :—

উদরভেদেনেতি । কদাচিদ্ গর্ভস্ত জীবনাদিশঙ্কয়া মৃতস্ত গর্ভস্ত চাগ্নি-
সংস্কারানর্হতয়া উদরং বিদার্য গর্ভং পৃথক্কৃত্য নারী যথাবিধি সংস্কার্য্য ।
এতন্মূলকমেব বচনং পঠন্তি—“অথ চেদ্ গর্ভসংযুক্তা নারী দৈবাধিপত্যতে ।
অন্তঃশস্ত্ৰং পৃথক্কৃত্য সংস্কর্তব্য্য যথাবিধি ॥” কিপেৎ ন তু দাহয়েৎ । ৯০ ॥

হৃষীকেশ শাস্ত্রিকৃত কাশিরামের টীকার বঙ্গানুবাদ :—

আরও একটি কথা এই যে, গর্ভবতী মৃত হইলে উদর চিরিয়া তাহার কিছু
দাহ করিবে । কারণ, “দ্বীপদিগের পতিত গর্ভ পুতিয়া রাখিবে” এই ব্রহ্মপুরাণের
বচনের দ্বারা পুতিয়া রাখা স্বরূপ গর্ভমাত্রেরই এই একই প্রকার অন্ত্যেষ্টি
ক্রিয়ার কথাই বলা হইয়াছে ॥

“ KRISHNA-GOUR-ALCHEMY ”

Dark is my sin, as sable night,
Which Thy relieving hand took upon Thee
And made Thy hue darker still.
Mountain-high and heavy is my load of sin,
Yea, as high and heavy as Gobardhan's self,
Which liftest Thou with finger little.
Protecting the herd from torrential grine,
—Y'-clept thus by the devout
“ Gobardhana-dhari Divine. ”
And by Alchemy divine
 Changed darkness into effulgence bright
Into “ Gora's ” golden hue,
 All for the sinners' particular behoof.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

After all is said and done in praise of Democracy, it must remain as only one form of government studied by Political Science. At the very best if the Rights of Man are postulated too individualistically, Democracy may appear as a form that evolves out of such a proposition. It is doubtful, therefore, whether we in India would have been so obsessed with the necessity for a democratic constitution if our Rulers, the English, had not had a bias in its favour, natural in a nation that has fostered parliamentary government so sedulously. So long ago as in the Age of Aristotle Democracy was not above suspicion, and we need not stand in abject awe before it to-day. Aristotle himself believed it to be a form of government somewhat perverted. The dividing line between a beneficial Democracy and Ochlocracy or mob-rule is thin indeed. Moreover, in practice, the people do not govern themselves directly but by their elected representatives who naturally tend to form a class with probably a more or less typical mentality. So by devious ways class rule again comes into its own. Indeed there has always been something anti-intellectual about Democracy and this tendency has never become so clear as under the difficulties of government in the 20th century. If in a nation with only a reasonable number of warring interests Democracy is unable to retain its halo, what of a country like India where inadequate education, an unsatisfactory franchise and every other conceivable difficulty exists to make Democracy a farce? The backwardness of India is truly a sufficient reason for withholding democratic autonomy from her, but it is no reason to withhold government by her own nationals so long as men exist in this country capable intellectually of ruling her. Enough has never been made of this vivid truth during the acrimonious fight for self-rule, because India's

destiny committed her at a certain stage to democratic government. What burning love can India, with her long training in submission to a higher will and unshaken belief in the inequality of man, have for a form of government which preaches the equality of Man (and, yet protects private property in every form !) ?

However, for India the principal objection to Democracy cannot be her lack of interest in the equality of man, but rather her need for a scientific and enlightened government that can work its will unrestrainedly in the interests of a quick and healthy economic and social development. Our need is not for a government that soothes us into a false security : we need a government to rouse us from our fell sleeping sickness into activity by constant propaganda against all that is scientifically false in the nation's get-up. If we resist scientific ideas and orthodoxy holds sway it becomes the duty of such a government to shake us out of our vice. If it pandered to every superstition and whim, when could we escape from the vicious circle of ignorance and inertia ? A government that is to shake India into an active existence must learn to say " No " vigorously and fearlessly.

Even in the most advanced nations of the West, even amongst those who are best adapted for it, elections in practice are very different to elections in theory. In India enfranchisement is virtually disenfranchisement; a man in India would be more truly enfranchised by passively allowing the proper type of Oligarchy to rule him mercilessly, than by voting in a sheep-like manner for an English-speaking mediocre plebian. What democratic Assembly could conceive and execute a plan for the forced development of India ? A chamber that had on it at least one representative of every important part of the body politic could certainly never decide on a line of action resulting out of a steady regard for ultimate benefit. If money for education has to be provided for then the claim for money by the Orthodox for the provision of a Government department for

prevention of the slaughter of cows must also be provided for, otherwise the representatives of Orthodox Hinduism might fall down in a fit. The Government must provide both for the dissemination of scientific knowledge and religious instruction for Animists. The sword slays once but kindness many times.

MEHER DALAL.

EPITAPH

Through year on year I have filled and filled
my mind with beauty ;
Must it all be spilled one day in earth
and seep away ?
Perhaps a fairer-formed more perfect flower
May spring above me that I knew Greek art,
Perhaps the blades of grass above
will sing more ardently
That I had Italy within my heart.

FREDERICKA BLANKNER

ITALIAN YESTERDAY

There is a breath of sweetness in the air :
Spring from her drooping lids is lifting fragrant hair
And yet I know a land where she is twice as fair.

FREDERICKA BLANKNER

AMERICA AND POETRY

Interview with Dr. Cousins.

[Prior to his departure from America on July 1, 1932, at the conclusion of his year as guest-lecturer on Modern English Poetry in the College of the City of New York (an institution with a thousand teachers and forty thousand students), Dr. James H. Cousins was interviewed by a graduating student on behalf of the Publicity Department of the College. The following is the text of the interview as prepared for the press of New York City, omitting biographical details. The interview contains important hints to Indian educationists in view of coming changes in the educational systems of India.]

Contrary to the generally accepted interpretations of the nature and character of the American people, Professor Cousins advances a most interesting observation.

“ I have found a greater demand on myself, as a poet, in as many months in America as I did in twice as many years before elsewhere.”

Dr. Cousins does not deny that the great part of activity in America is actuated by material considerations. But he refuses to accept what he regards as a temporary drive as being a basic characteristic of our people. He declines to term our activity among the materials of life an *ism*—materialism. There is no deliberate philosophy about it, he thinks: nothing but a natural reaction to circumstances that will pass.

Even as such, we would expect the manifestation of material activity primarily in our commercial system. “ Yet,” states Professor Cousins, “ the demand on me for poetry has come not only from those whom we should expect to be interested in it, such as students and teachers, but from business people and women liberated from former domestic pre-occupations.” These seem to be seeking some higher satisfaction than that which the ordinary activities of life can give them, and they are finding it in poetry.

Formerly, people found such satisfaction in religion. But as a result of the general intellectual upheaval that the modern era has been and still is experiencing, the organized religions has come into considerable disfavor as truth-revealers. It is natural for people, in such circumstances, to turn to poetry, though they themselves do not know the reason why. Poetry at its highest is the poet's intuitive reaction to the reality of the universe. It interprets life both emotionally and intellectually and with the accompaniment of beauty, and contains the stuff of true religion and philosophy. Its dogma assumes no authority save that of the reader's own response.

"Only in India have I found a greater demand for poetical expression and appreciation than in America. But while in India the expression of the aspirational nature in poetry and music is the most prominent and constant feature of the cultural life of the people, in America such expression is undoubtedly rivalled by many diverting interests and circumstances."

All through the Orient, Professor Cousins explained, life moves to rhythmical sound. Clerks in Japan add up their figures in a chant. Chinese coolies at the sea-ports chorus themselves up and down the steamers' gangways. The labors of the day and the recreations of the cool night in India are accompanied by song. But in modern America the creative lilt is lost in the ugly and blatant noises of machinery. All honor, therefore, he says, to those who in America lift up their voices in poetry with the prophetic optimism of a meadow-lark on the edge of a roaring ocean.

And especially would Professor Cousins give honour to the school and college students of America, who seek to answer the impulse to creative expression in poetry, despite the distractions inherent in their present environment. Most of his student-poets in his now concluding year as guest-lecturer in the college of the City of New York have to travel long distances mainly by subway to and from college. They have full schedules of study. They have a minimum of time for finding the mental and

emotional repose and poise in which poetry wells forth. When they do express themselves in verse, the expression frequently tends towards mental clarity within a defined area, and towards dramatic energy. These characteristics are excellent in their own way. But the finest poetical expression is not merely a transcript of a particular idea of feeling, but an interpretation in rhythmical and figurative speech of the poet's poised and undistracted response to life. Transcript poetry is usually hard-edged. The poetry of repose and balance takes its place in human memory because it allows something of the constants of human nature to express themselves through the less closely woven textures of thought and feeling. The best poetry is mellow. Mellowness is not too common in modern American poetry.

But it will come, Professor Cousins affirms. Our educators will recognise, some time in the future, and the sooner the better, that creative expression is at least as important as scientific observation, and they will provide the necessary means for its fulfilment. Students of science have their laboratories and necessary equipment. Why should not the student-poets have their times and places of conducive quietness and poetical suggestiveness? asks Professor Cousins. They cannot be completely isolated from the banalities of common activity. Contact with what is called life is inevitable, perhaps necessary. But withdrawal from it is equally necessary in order to reach the best poetical expression of the poet's emotional reaction to, and contemplation of, life in its largest sense.

When an opportunity for poetical expression does present itself, we find certain students following the experimental ways of Gerard Manly Hopkins and T. S. Eliot. But the tendency is for a substantial majority of the younger student-poets to revert to the more usual verse-forms. This is Professor Cousins' experience of the student-poets in his own classes. The reading public has recognised it in Nathalia Crane who expressed profound wisdom in verse at the age of nine, and in George Dillon whose first volume, published shortly after his graduation year,

won him an immediate place as an authentic poet in the large tradition.

We can understand this return to specific form in poetry if we realize the fact that design is a fundamental necessity in any real entity. Deviations are not, of course, objectionable as such. But, all else being equal, design gives a greater element of endurance.

Verbal design, Professor Cousins continued, is one of the inevitable norms of the verbal art of poetry, in addition to the invisible and inaudible designs of thought and emotion. We may have abnormalities and subnormalities in acceptable poems. But a complete renunciation of form is impossible. Free-verse in an absolute sense is a meaningless term. The best so-called free-verse has just as much verbal design, expressing thought-design and feeling-design, as strictly shaped verse. One sees this in Carl Sandburg's "Monotone" and "At a Window." In these poems arabesques of idea and feeling are rounded into architectural entities. Emotional sincerity cannot escape the necessity of figure, rhythm and pattern. These both intensify and control expression.

The selection of a verse-form is, of course, a matter for the intuitive form-sense of the student-poet. For practice, Professor Cousins has occasionally asked his City College students to write a sonnet. But the creative expression must, he holds, be left free. The teacher may help the student-poet to clarify mentally opaque spots in his poem, where the poet's intention may not have been carried into full expression. He may help to clear obstructions from the flow of the stream, and to readjust the placing of the pebbles of words so that they may resonate more truly to the unheard melodies of the inner song. But any more drastic interference would turn the teacher himself into an obstruction.

Though himself a poet, Professor Cousins is not exclusive in his aesthetical allegiance. He is a strong advocate of the inclusion of all the arts as integral subjects at all stages of education.

He believes that ninety per cent. of the world's troubles both in individuals and nations are due to frustrated impulse to creative expression. As curative agencies he recommends art-crafts, and wisely selected music. But while these arts embody distinctive qualities (form in sculpture, appearance in painting, emotion in music) the art of poetry synthesizes these qualities and adds the capacity of expressing and conveying thought. Of course the the selection of a form of expression by the student must be unforced. And it must, in order to reach its highest artistic value and the artist's highest happiness, be the expression of his full nature and environment, not an overworked repetition of a single phase.

This led us to the matter of the poetry of adolescence and sex. Professor Cousins rejects the psychological formula that art is only the expression of sexual impulse. He recognizes, not merely a sex-complex in art, but a creation-complex in all life. The arts are its finest expression. Given full scope in education, they will normalize the neurotic and erotic phases of the creative impulse. The Victorian "impure hush" on sex has been succeeded by an equally impure "barbaric yawp." Neither represents the true ratio of sex in life and art. A movement towards balance is, Professor Cousins believes, now showing itself. The poetry of the younger generation increasingly expresses the higher nature of humanity. The bulk of a sixty-page book of poems by his C. C. N. Y. students during the year now ending, which he hopes will find publication, is significant in its dignified treatment of other interests than sex. He believes that youth is realizing the hollow sham involved in a spurious liberation that only leads to new slaveries, and is searching for an intelligent discipline that will give the balance and control out of which rise true freedom and happiness. The arts, said Professor Cousins as a last word, are the best agents in this direction, since their very nature is disciplined release into satisfying expression. Hence the need for them in education.

Professor Cousins leaves for Europe on July first. He will

spend a month on Capri Island straightening out his accumulation of materials for books on *The Science and Art of Poetry*, *The Philosophy of Synthesis*, and *The Culture of India*, and for writing poetry. He will spend some time in Geneva, and after a possible visit to his native land, Ireland, he will settle down to a "sabbatical year" of writing either in Europe or India. He may perhaps accept invitations to return to America in the fall of 1933. If so, he will probably return to give lecture and study courses in poetry. He may also make a detailed study of modern American poetry for an interpretative exposition which he feels it has not yet received. If so, the work and personalities of student-poets will receive his special sympathetic attention.

KEVALRAM DAYARAM

THE BHAGAVADGITA OR THE SONG DIVINE

The Bhagavadgita or the Song Divine contains the quint-essence of Knowledge or Wisdom as found in the Vedas. It summarises the Wisdom of the East, as found in the Sacred Books; all being placed within a limited scope. It is a spiritual reference book, containing as it does, rules for the daily conduct of life. Throughout its pages one recognises the great Law of Self-abnegation together with its underlying principles of *Ahimsa*, that is the Law of Love, which constrains us, making us to forbear from doing anything that may affect our neighbour, be it man, bird, beast, or for the matter of that, any other being or substance.

Under the guise of physical warfare, it describes the great battle that is perpetually being waged in the hearts of all mankind, with evil ranged on one side and goodness on the other. The chief actors are superhuman in origin, with little or no reference to historical data. The characters therein described may be found to be historical, but the author merely uses them to drive home his great religious theme. The author has, by no means, established the necessity of physical warfare; on the contrary he has proved the futility of such things for he has made the heroes even when victorious, shed tears of sorrow and anguish over the victims, and has left them in the end with a legacy of misery.

The most important teachings, however, is the delineation of the characteristics of the perfect man; there is nothing to correspond to physical prowess in warfare; the whole design is inconsistent with the rules of conduct governing warring sides. Krishna, the outstanding personality in the Gita, is one who is perfect in his knowledge and supreme in his deeds. He is adored as the perfect incarnation of the Divine. All life is a quest for Reality and all men are potentially incarnations of the Divine; he is the perfect incarnation who comes nearest to the

Deity in thought, word and deed. Man is not at peace with himself till he becomes perfect like unto God. As recorded in the Christian Scriptures, Jesus Christ exhorts the multitude to be so when He says : "Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father, which is in Heaven, is perfect." The object of the Gita is to show the way to that state of perfection, by the attainment of self-realisation. We are a spark of the Divine and God is within us. After we tear away all that is earthy and unworthy in us, we disclose or lay bare within the Atman or God-head. Salvation is not a goal to be sought after as a thing without us, it is rather a perfection to be cultured within us.

There are three ways by which we can approach the Divine : by good actions, by loving devotion and by perfect realisations or wisdom known as *karma*, *bhakti*, *jnan*. Round these three the whole fabric of the Gita is woven, the attainment of the God-head through these path-ways is emphasised even at the cost of repetition; at times the repetition is pleasant to scan.

The first pathway in life is known as *karma* or action, without any hope of reward. An embodied being is bound to labour. Every action is for an earthly need, and be it ever so trivial it is not without taint. How then can action be untainted, that is free from earthly or sinful motive? The Gita answers this decisively : "By renouncing the fruits of action, dedicating all our activities to God, declining steadfastly to receive for ourselves the remotest reward, surrendering all these things, because both body and soul have already been surrendered."

Linked with such desireless action is devotion or *bhakti*. It is not blind faith, nor is it a soft-hearted feeling of effusiveness. Such devotion is not connected with the externals of this world. A person may repeat, if he so prefers, the beads of his rosary, he may make repeated offerings or sacrifices, but these things in themselves do not further the real aim of devotion. He possesses the pure flame of devotion who in himself is a fount of mercy, who regards not self and who treats alike

happiness and misery, either here or hereafter, who is neither attached to his surroundings by love nor removed from them by hate ; who is not afraid nor engenders dread in others, who is free from exultation and has not sorrow nor fear ; who treats friend and foe alike; who is not elated with praise nor is downcast with contempt ; who having disciplined his reason, performs actions for the sake of doing them and all the while renounces the results thereof, whether good or evil ; who has no attachment to bind him, having all things yet possessing nothing.

All beings have to perform some work whether they wish it or not, such actions may be mental or physical, for both are implied in the word, action. How then can one be free from the bondage of action, even though he be acting all the while? The Gita gives the right answer : "Do your work but renounce the fruit of it; have no desire for reward in any form; in other words, do your allotted task but be detached from it ; or with the results it brings." He who gives up action, fails, he who gives up only the reward, succeeds. This is the true spirit of renunciation. It does not mean indifference as to the result. One must follow the means thereto, yet while engrossed in the proper fulfilment of the work before, one must renounce the fruits thereof. This renunciation is the acid test of faith; one ceases to hanker after things, yet all the while one who renounces reaps a hundred-fold and a thousand-fold. Like the Perfect One, he does not seek a whit yet gives and gives abundantly. He who fails to renounce, broods over results and is nervous or impatient in the performance of his duties; this gives vent to dissatisfaction and anger. He leaps from one action to another unsatisfied, without adhering to any. He contemplates only results and soon becomes distracted, yielding not to scruples ; in desperation he resorts to fair or foul means to attain the desired end. Such is the bitter experience of those filled with desire; they pluck at Dead Sea fruit. The Gita shows that renunciation is the one thing that

avoids all these evils; and that desirelessness is the straight path to perfect peace.

Right knowledge or *jnan* is necessary as well. Our desirelessness does not come by merely talking about it. One may recite a hundred or a thousand verses from the Vedas, yet he may be steeped in self-indulgence. In order that knowledge may not run riot devotion must accompany it. Knowledge without devotion is like a gun without powder and shot. The Gita well says: "Have devotion within you and knowledge will follow." Devotion with knowledge enables us to wrestle with the greatest things in life. Hence the knowledge of the true devotee is as great as that of the sage. A learned man may pass for a great teacher in the world, but not according to the true assessment laid down by the Gita. All knowledge is progressive. Knowledge of the One leads to admiration of the One. To admire is to imitate; and to know fully is to be; hence to comprehend fully the One is to be the One. In this manner the Gita leads to the towering height above, till we become one with the Infinite and the Eternal. Herein lies True Salvation or Deliverance from the yoke of bondage.

The common belief is that religion is set apart from the material things around us. There are worldly-wise people who say that there is no place for religion in our daily pursuits, in our business dealings and in the enjoyment of our recreations or pleasures. The Gita dispels this notion. It shows that religion must not only rule over our worldly pursuits in life but must enter into the very warp and woof of our existence, otherwise of what value is religion? What cannot be followed in our day-by-day practices cannot be of any real worth and should not be honoured by the sacred name of religion. Lying, deceit and the thousand and one other evil practices found so common among men in everyday life, which are honoured in us as indicating our cleverness or adroitness are unequivocally condemned. Rivalry, competition and hate, that end in slander, theft and murder cannot but lead to destruction. Man must

live a simple life ; and free from all such taints it is this simplicity of life that will bring him peace.

The outcome of the teaching of the Gita is to follow Truth and *Ahimsa*, or Love and forbearance unto all. Where there is no desire for fruit there is no temptation for untruth. Untruth leads to violence or *Himsa*, which may be traced back in its turn to desire to attain a cherished end. The Law of *Ahimsa* or Love comes down through the ages and is common to all religions. The Gita includes in that Law desirelessness, which in turn makes us refrain or forbear to do anything that may bring harm or evil to another. Why should sacrifices in the slaying of animals be made to appease the Deity ? In the Gita the king of sacrifices is the continuous concentration on God. Sacrifice also consists of loving labour or service. The Gita does not tolerate the complete cessation of all activity. It enjoins labour on our part. Work, however, ceases to be service if it brings with it the feeling that it is drudgery that must be undergone. It is service for which the doer is pleased because there is need of it by him who receives the good work done, hence the greater the need the greater the service. In this sense the Deity provides for us all, expecting nothing by way of recompense from us. Blessings are provided for the evil as well as the good ; and the lower the receiver of our good deeds in the scale of humanity, the greater the demand that is made upon us. Perfect renunciation is then impossible without the highest observance of Love or *Ahimsa* which finds expression in loving service.

It is impossible to realise Truth while we are confined to this mortal frame. Through the instrumentality of an ephemeral body we cannot come face to face with Truth which is eternal. We have then to fall back upon faith and faith finds expression in loving service. *Ahimsa* or Love helps us to discover Truth in the end. Truth which is the object of our quest is not without but within ; hence the more we take to violence or *Ahimsa* the more we recede from Truth. While fighting the

enemy without we lose what is within. We hate and punish people because they harass us ; yet in punishing them, we are punishing ourselves in another form, for after all we are they in a different form. This hatred against them increases their anger against us ; so the vicious circle continues. It is better, then, to endure than to punish, because forbearance brings our enemy to his senses and the enemy is our blood brother. Is it sufficient then to continue simply in bearing the infliction ? That would imply cowardice. Our enemy being our kith and kin, must be made to realise kinship. We must devise ways and means to win him over to our side, so that he may cease from doing evil. This is the path of *Ahimsa* or Love. It may entail continuous suffering and endless patience, but in the end our enemy turns from his evil way altogether and is won over to our side. By so doing we understand what is everlasting and what is not. Our pride melts away, our worldly dislikes and hates diminish and the evil within us shrinks from day to day. Our peace of mind increases in spite of our suffering ; in this way we realise the supreme position of Love and Truth.

The principle of *Ahimsa* or Love is hurt by every evil influence, by thinking or wishing ill of others, indeed, by any untoward thought, word or deed. It is violated also by our clasping, or being attached to, the things we think we need in this world. Eating is a need of this world, but eating involves the destruction of the life of many things. Millions of organisms we destroy as we drink or as we breathe. Should we then avoid these needs of our life and cease to live ? So long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, every destruction of the body must weave another for itself. The body will only cease when all attachment towards it is yielded. This freedom from all attachment is the realisation of Truth. Such realisation, however, does not come in a day. The body does not belong to us ; it is a trust handed over to our charge. If we know to guide ourselves aright while in the flesh, we shall in the end be made free from all cares of the flesh. *Ahimsa* or Love and Truth are

ever combined so that they cannot be separated. They are like the two sides of a coin, one without the other fails to make the coin such ; so is it with *Ahimsa* or Love, *Ahimsa* is the means, Truth is the end. If we take care of the means we cannot but reach the end. In this way is attained Salvation or Deliverance.

The Gita is not merely a book of aphorisms. It is a great religious exposition, enunciating the deepest principles which should guide human conduct and character. The deeper it is dived into, the richer the meanings become. The Gita is not an inelastic collection of Do's and Dont's as is the Mosaic Code ; it is a set of living principles to guide human action at all times. What is lawful for one may be unlawful for another ; what is permissible at one time or place may not be permissible at another time or place, but underlying all is the guiding principle of Love and Truth. The Gita does not merely sing the praises of knowledge and is not a mere exhortation to the intellect. It is essentially addressed to the soul and being so it lifts one out of one's self.

The Gita is not for those who are ignorant and without faith. It is addressed to those who desire to know and whose knowledge can transcend the heights above, where there is freedom from all bondage. In it Krishna well says : " Those who being free from malice and ignorance, with faith absorb this teaching, shall through it attain freedom both here and hereafter."

H. W. B. MORENO

HARBOR IN MOONLIGHT

A moonlit harbor trembles as the bride
Of some dream-city of forgotten days.
The moon throws down a silver scarf and plays
With rustling ruffles on the swirling tide ;
And crinkled sapphire ribbons send sky-dyed
Spray into mist-blown mid-night air. Blue-grays
Of heaven swarm with racing stars' relays.
Skylines flash jewel lights on every side.
Such harbors give a welcome to all ships...
With busy tugs that push and puff along
The sides of liners fresh from ocean trips.
Huge barges shoulder burdens with a song ;
The ferry-boats ply in and out the slips
Where shuttled crowds pour in a restless throng.

LOUISE A. NELSON

KRISHNADEVARAYA

As Poet and Patron of Letters.

Far-famed as a monarch of ancient Andhra country under whose aegis the Hampi-Vizianagar Empire reached astounding summits of repute and renown,—Krishnadevaraya appears on the firmament of early sixteenth century South Indian history with meteoric splendour, and still lives enshrined in the memories of men. What with his vast territorial conquests extending over a sea-coast of nearly thousand miles, what with the Cromwellian glory and grandeur with which he repulsed the rising tide of Muhammadan power and re-instated Hindu supremacy, what with his beneficent administrative reforms, his literary pursuits and his love of letters, his benefactions to temples irrespective of sect distinctions, and his abiding interest in aesthetics,—the twenty years' span of Krishnadevaraya's reign forms a period of inspired influence and sustained splendour.

A conqueror and ruler of tremendous calibre, Krishnadevaraya is remembered not as such, but primarily as a poet and patron of letters, as one whose reign saw the golden age in Telugu Literature. What Augustus was to Latin Literature, Bhoja Vikrama to Sanskrit, and Elizabeth to English, that Raya proved to be to Telugu Literature which in his time rose to its high-water mark. Endowed with a versatile genius and a fertile intellect, and well-versed in three rich languages—Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese and gifted with fine poetic talents Raya was eminently fitted to be the presiding genius of the literary stalwarts of the day. Around him thronged Pandits and poets from far and near, who vied with each other in exhibiting their God-gifted talents. A conflagration like that of intellectual fires sent forth literary sparks and fumes that are the priceless possession of our literature. Not only that, the conglomeration, peculiarly enough, gave birth to a new type

of poetry that marked the birth of a new period in the growth and advancement of Telugu Literature.

Till the advent of Raya early in the sixteenth century, literature was in its swaddling clothes, marked by a complete lack of originality. It was a period primarily of translations and adaptations from Sanskrit, when some of the outstanding poets of five centuries, from the eleventh to the sixteenth, made capital out of the existing Sanskrit stuff, and produced nothing beyond that. The *Mahabharata*, the immortal epic of Kuru-Pandava dynasties, translated by Nannaya, Tikkana and Yerrapragada; the *Ramayana*, that thrilling story dealing with the suffering and sacrifice of Sree Ramachandra, translated and adapted variously by Ranganatha, Hulakki Bhaskara, and others; the *Bhagavata*, that great work of Vaishnavite rhapsody about the loves and laughs of Sree Krishna, translated by Potana; and the several puranas—*Padma*, *Varaha*, *Vasistha*, *Nrisimha*, *Basava*, translated by various authors,—all belong to the period prior to Raya.

Krishnadevaraya's circle of Poet friends, his literary *goshtis* and his personal *debut* on the literary stage widened the intellectual horizon of the age, laid a path to 'fresh fields and pastures new.' The craze for translation and the blind and implicit faith in the forms and fashions of the past received a death-knell. The epic with its gorgeous narrative and its background overcrowded with innumerable heroes and heroines no longer held the pedestal of the ideal. It could not but yield place to the essentially original *Kavya* with its splendid descriptive form, which, intertwined with a variety of robust imagery, romantic setting and character-portraiture ushered in the period of the Prabandhas.

It augured well when Raya the protecting deity and presiding genius was also the patron-saint of this movement for original expression in Telugu Literature. He led off the movement, as it were, with his *Amuktamalyada*, *Madalasacharitra* and *Satyabhama Priranam*, of which only the first work is extant.

This work—*Amuktamalyada* also known as *Vishnuchittiya*—which drew its life-breath from the fountain source of Vaishnavite Bhakti, deals with the spiritual experience of a devotee whose only adopted daughter *Amuktamalyada* loves none but the Lord and who ultimately had to be consecrated to His service. Around this simple yet stately theme of devotion Raya wove a Kavya which won him an esteemed place in the literary pantheon of Andhra. But the style is so extra-stately and the diction so extra-high that we are led to fancy if Raya wrote it with the consciousness of his being a king! None the less, a whiff of fresh inspiration, a glow of new radiance, a wave of original ideas, a luxuriousness of language, and ornateness of phrase, characterise this outstanding work of this poet-prince. It will not be out of place, but on the other hand interesting to know about the romantic setting in which Raya composed this Kavya. He was just sojourning at Vijayavada with his wives, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, after a most strenuous campaign of war in the Northern Circars. There he took a fancy to visit the shrine at Srikakulam, a place of pilgrimage, just a few miles off. It was in that holy place that the idea of *Amuktamalyada* dawned upon the mind of this hero of a hundred battles, and inspired him to finish the work almost while still there.

This inevitably leads us to consider a little about the vexed controversy regarding Raya's linguistic identity. Some regard him as a Kanarese King, while many more esteem him as an Andhra monarch. For my part I regard him as a thorough Telugu prince, who spoke and wrote Telugu. To his grandfather, Saluva Narasimha Raja—the Telugu *Jaimini Bharata* was dedicated; to his father, Narasinga Raja, the Telugu *Varaha Purana* was dedicated; to Raya were dedicated *Manucharitra* and *Parijatapaharana*, while he himself composed *Amuktamalyada* and other works; and finally to his son-in-law Tirumalaraya was dedicated *Vasucharitra*. These facts go to prove very authentically, that not only Raya, but his whole family took a living interest in Telugu and encouraged authors by accepting

dedication of their works, and probably by giving them timely pecuniary aid.

Krishnadevaraya was essentially aesthetic in his tastes and temperament, and highly poetic in intellect and insight. It was this aesthetic impulse that led him to offer fabulous benefactions for the construction of new towns, temples, canals and other works of art. An anecdote recorded in Briggs' *Ferishta* (III, 48-51) reveals to us this great king's interest not only in works of art, but also in words that are beautiful, and how even amidst trying and troublesome circumstances his heart was responsive to aesthetic echoes. Engaged in a war with Adil Shah, Raya led his armies to the banks of the Krishna river and was biding his time. "Some days after his arrival," says the account, "as he was reposing in his tent, he heard one of his courtiers without the tents reciting this verse—

" Rise and fill the golden goblet
With the wine of mirth
Ere the Quaffer
Shall be laid in dust."

The king, as if inspired by the verse, called his favourites about him, and spreading the carpet of joy, gave himself away to the pleasures of music and wine. When the banquet had lasted longer than was reasonable and the effects of the liquor began to exercise their influences, a fancy seized the king to pass the river and attack the king. The officers in vain represented the imprudence and danger of this precipitation, but the king without reply plunged his own elephant into the stream, and was instantly followed by some of his officers and soldiers, on about two hundred and fifty elephants."

Such an impulsive and aesthetic king could not find himself in his element unless surrounded by people attuned to his temperament. Poets and Pandits from far and near flocked to his court for help as well as for inspiration. The following verse in '*Parijatapaharana*—"*Prati varsha vasantotsava*

kuturagata sukavi nikara gumbhita vakya smṛiti romancha visankita chaturanthaspura vadhu prasadana rasika ! "—narrates how each year at spring-time the king celebrated a literary festival in which numerous literary men partook.

But most prominent among such 'sons of muse' who lighted their torches of song at Raya's court must be mentioned the '*Ashtadiggajas*'—the 'eight literary elephants,' who not only distinguished themselves but also reflected glory on the court and the king. Allasani Peddana, the author of *Manucharitra*, Nandi Timmana, the author of *Parijatapaharana*, Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra, the author of *Sakala Katha Sara Sangraha*; Dhurjati Kavi, the author of *Kalahasthi Mahatmya*; Mallana Kavi, the author of *Raja Sekhara Charitram*; Pingali Surana, the author of *Kalapurnodaya*; Ramaraja Bhushana, the author of *Vasucharitra*; and lastly the most witty and popular poet—Tenali Ramalinga, author of *Panduranga Mahatmya*;—were the eight famous poets of Raya's Court, reminiscent of the "eight immortals of the wine cup"—of the Chinese poetic world of the eighth century. To the first and the best by common consent of these poets—Peddana—Raya did a very singular honour, on the occasion of accepting the dedication of *Manucharitra*, by acting for a little while as one of the poet's palanquin-bearers. Yet on another occasion when this same poet burst into splendid impromptu song, the king overpowered with ecstatic feelings, came down from the throne, knelt, and himself fitted on the poet's foot a golden bracelet! It was the sincerest and highest tribute that royalty ever paid to literature in the whole course of Telugu Literature. Instances like these are very rare in other literatures and other lands, but a parallel may be found in the Chinese literary history of the eighth century A.D., when a certain emperor was so delighted with the verses of one of his poets—Sung chih-wen—that he took off his imperial robe and placed it on the poet's shoulder!

Thus we see that in Raya's regime poets flourished under his shady wings and literature rose to startling heights. The

poets who were no doubt drawn from the ordinary ranks of life moved on terms of equality and liberty with the king, because their intimacy was of the intellect : and the republic of letters knows no distinctions of class or creed ! Peculiarly attached to them, Raya revelled along with his poet-friends in all sorts of pranks and poetic fancies, discussed with them things and themes, and was the direct and indirect inspiration of their poetic utterances. A king to his subjects, a patron of Letters, Krishnadeva Raya was a comrade of the poets who flowered at his court which was a spicy grove of poesy, and filliped them to produce works vibrant with inspiration and imagination, that made a landmark in Telugu Literature.

V. N. BHUSHAN

INDIAN IDEAL OF MARRIAGE

It is well known as a fact of history that the Aryans of India were at first forest-dwellers. Then as the dense screen of the forest was lifted off the face of their history, India's plains were converted from sylvan shelters of patriarchal communities into monarchical territories and agriculture became the mainstay of her growing settlement. On the other hand, the close neighbourhood of peoples different in race giving rise to perpetual cultural conflict and on the other the agricultural civilisation claiming co-operation and regulation of stable life—these are the two forces that moulded Hindu society and still steers its way. A society such as this can never exist and do its duties unless peace is maintained amongst its members by a perfect system of mutual adjustment of rights.

At the dawn of Indian History about which we have glimpses in the Ramayana, three different parties are to be distinguished, Aryans, Barbarians and the Rakshasas. When these were at daggers drawn their disturbed state of society constantly precluded the adoption and retention of any common social polity. Then as Kshatriyas extended their sway and popular settlements grew up, the need of peace came to be felt and its merits were exalted and therefore the establishment of relations between these three formed the main theme of the Ramayana.

According to our Law-givers any one making gifts to, or taking gifts from a Brahmin who remains as a householder without marrying, goes to hell. No hospitality should be accepted from an unmarried householder. Shastras compare the household to a great tree; for just as the roots of the latter

support its branches, twigs and foliage so does the life of household maintain the different institutions of society. The Law-giver lays it down that the king should honour him who upholds and helps the estate of the householder. But the mere fact of setting up a household does not constitute that estate according to our Shastras.

The household is made not by the house but by the due performance of the duties incumbent upon the householder; not even by wife and children if the householder be wanting in his own Karma which means only the performance of his specific duties, *i.e.*, the discharge of his obligations to society. To an adequate understanding of the principles that underlie the Hindu system of marriage it is necessary to appreciate duly the principles underlying the Hindu social structure. The Hindu ideal of marriage has no regard or individual taste or inclination, it is rather afraid of them.

Ordinarily speaking, in Europe there is no bar to international marriages; but when the one objective of war overshadowed all other considerations marriage with the subject of an enemy country became a matter of impossibility, so much so, that European society felt no scruple in severing even longstanding marriage ties of this description. These war conditions afford a good parallel to the permanent conditions which govern Hindu society where the encroachment of foreign culture has always remained a constant source of danger which needed guarding against. This vital objective of the Brahmin leaders who practically represented the whole people therefore runs as a steady undercurrent through the framework of our society. The problem of keeping its civilisation pure has been acknowledged as all-important and in its solution thus sought in India her society has had to claim of its members the severe and permanent curbing of their individual liberty of choice and action. Indian society did not reach this stage all at once. It gradually evolved through successive adaptations to changing circumstances. Hence many relics of earlier stages survived into the later ones.

Therefore Manu had to recognize in his treatises other different forms of marriage such as—

1. Gandharvam (by mutual choice)
2. Rakshsam (by conquest)
3. Asuram (by purchase)
4. Paisacham (by taking advantage of helplessness)

In none of these is the social will manifest, but only the desire of the individual; for force, whether of arms or money or circumstances is arrogant and passion refuses to submit to external considerations.

Gandharva founded on mutual attraction was also not favoured by Manu. It long persisted in Indian society. It only shows, however conservatively stable a society may be the principle of stability cannot be equally strong amongst all its classes. In the Kshatriya character cultivation of self-suppression was least likely to attain its fullest development. It is not possible to keep confined a complex net of the warrior spirit which ever seeks fresh fields and scope for expansion. It is for this reason that the Shastras prohibited the crossing of the sea. Any adventurous activity whatsoever that may break loose our mind from its mooring and disturb the fixed habit of our thought and faith and behaviour is bound to undermine the very foundation of our society.

Not only sea voyages, but residence in foreign countries with antagonistic social ideals was prohibited and even penalized. In the West we find nowadays all kinds of forcible attempts being made to prevent the intrusion of Bolshevik ideas. This is comparable with our prohibition of foreign travel. No penalty is looked upon as too severe if only keep in check the propaganda which, it is feared, may destroy elements essential for the stability of the orthodox social system of the West. The liberty of the people to form their own opinion in regulating their own conduct is here no longer respected. The Terrorist organisation called Fascism which seemed to

be daily gaining ground in Europe is the precise counterpart of our rigorous social injunctions. There was a day in India when for the Sudra to aspire to the path of the Brahmin entailed death penalty. The same psychological phenomenon is seen in the West in other forms.

It is no doubt conducive to a certain sort of strength if all the members of the society are in the main moulded in accordance with some uniform standard. That may be an obstruction to the fullest growth of its individuals, but it certainly does not help to keep the society as a whole in a state of stable equilibrium. And if any society on cessation of its growth should come to pride itself on being not like a growing tree but like a temple of which its securely established immovableness is its glory, it will inevitably feel the moving of a single one of its bricks to be a loss. Nevertheless to keep all the members of a society universally bound in such unalterable fixity is a matter of impossibility, *i.e.*, against the nature of man and destructive of the principle of life itself ; some if not all, cannot but keep infringing the rules and violating the prohibitions which the society has imposed.

Anyhow as long as Kshatriyas were so in reality it was found not possible to keep them strictly bound down to the habitual performance of the prescribed rules of daily observance. That is the reason why in the story of ancient India the Kshatriyas were at the bottom of all social revolutions. Buddha was a Kshatriya; so also Madhua. The clan to which Sri Krishna himself belonged did not scrupulously observe the precepts and prohibitions which were held by the Law-givers in high estimation. The Mahabharata, if read through, will put us in mind at every turn that however resolute may have been the endeavours to protect society behind a permanent embankment, there was not a kingly clan of note which did not break through the walls. It was only in comparatively recent times when the Kshatriyas had lost the strength and the Brahmins had gained almost unquestioned supremacy that it became possible to make the social bonds so very inactive.

The Law-giver Manu mentions Gandharyam as marriage by mutual choice and disapproves of the same by speaking of it 'as born of desire'; the way to marriage which is shown by the torch-light of passion has not for its goal the welfare of society but the satisfaction of desire. Even in Europe where the obligations of the individuals to the society is much lighter, it is well known how the mingling of sexes under the impulse of passion often gives rise to anti-social difficulties; but then society being mobile the effects are not so deep as with us. In our Shastras therefore the Brahma form of marriage is considered to be the best. According to this the bride should be given to a man who has not solicited her. If the institution of marriage has to be regulated from the social standpoint strictly, room cannot be found for the personal wishes of the people concerned. So the system which obtained in the Royal Houses of Europe is the system which prevails throughout Hindu Society.

Another way for the better understanding by the European of the mentality underlying our marriage system would be by reference to the discussions on Eugenics which are a special feature of modern Europe. The science of Eugenics, like all other sciences, attaches little weight to personal sentiment. According to it selection by personal inclinations must be rigorously regulated for the sake of the progeny. If the principle involved be once admitted, marriage needs must be rescued from the control of the heart and brought under the province of the intellect. Otherwise unsolvable problems will keep on arising; for passions reck not of consequences nor brooks interferences by outside judges.

The Kshatriyas were not in the habit of strictly observing social rules relating to marriages; but from the poems of Kalidas it becomes clear that there was a struggle of protest in his mind against this laxity of their observance. The poet keenly felt the value of the Eugenic restrictions which were directed towards maintaining the racial ideals pure; and yet his heart could not fail to be moved by the beauty of the play of the

natural love of man and woman against the background of the exuberance of the Universal Life. In most of the works of Kalidasa is treated the conflict of these opposites. The coming of the line of Bharatas was a great event in the history of India. But though the prelude of unbridled desire which ushered in the founder of the line has been viewed by the poet in its aspect of beauty in the first part of the play, he has corrected it from the standpoint of the good towards the conclusion.

Sakuntala's natural beauty blossoms out amid the natural beauty of the forest hermitage. Everywhere in this retreat does Nature beckon; but society as yet has found no loophole through which to obtrude the warning of her uplifted finger. Sakuntala's secret union with king Dushiyanda which takes place amid these surroundings is not in harmony with the rest of her society. So the curse comes on her. She overlooks in her self-absorption the duty of hospitality; for when nature is busy securing any special purpose she throws all other purposes into the background. Society thereupon exacts its penalty and in the king's Audience Hall the inevitable thunderbolt of insult and rejection falls upon Sakuntala.

In the Seventh Act the picture which the poet draws of her hermitage in which is consummated the final union of the two now purified by discipline is everywhere full of the rigour of renunciation eclipsing the life-play of Nature. In the opening scene the king is informed that the Rishi is busy expounding the Dharma of the wifely estate. Sakuntala is here seen as the emblem of devotion, the mother. These two picture the relations of woman to man, the one carrying the bondage of desire, the other the detachment of Dharma.

Motherhood is not essentially different in man and the lower animals so far as concerned the physical nurture of the offspring.

Now-a-days in the West women feel degradation in becoming mothers. They feel it as an insult to have to subject to this

tyranny of Nature over their sex. But the means to avoid the insult is by making it subserve her ideal by bringing it under the control of her intellect and conscience.

In Kumara Sambhava the poet tells the same thing. There he has shown the divine aspect of the Eternal love of man and woman.

In all three of his works the poet Kalidas has looked upon marriage as a state of discipline not intended for gaining individual happiness but of which the method is the control of desire and the object, to bring about the birth of the Slayer of Evil, the Superman who will make possible the achievement of heaven on earth.

The agony of the poet, of which we have glimpses in each of these, springs from his consciousness of the degeneracy which was overtaking society through the flagrant disregard by the Kshatriya kings of the Aryan ideal of marriage.

The Hindu marriage is loveless. The conclusion is very false.....No system can be devised to ensure that its original object shall remain true throughout the period of wedded life of the couple; so law and public opinion have to keep vigilant watch from outside.

But when external compassion unites those whom only mutual love can unite truly it makes their relations inherently impure but civilised man submits even to this for the sake of children. The difficulty has not been solved so far.

In entering the marriage state we all had to plunge into the doubtful and leave it to Providence whether we shall sink or swim through. For the purposes of marriage spontaneous love is unreliable. Its proper cultivation should yield the best result and this cultivation must begin before marriage.

Therefore from earliest years the husband as an idea is held up before the girl in verse and story through ceremonial worship; when at length they get their husbands, he is to them not a person but a principle, like loyalty, patriotism, etc., which owe their

immense strength to the fact that the best part of them is our own creation and so part of our inner being.

There is also the glorification of the *sati* or ideal wife and so a real reverence for woman as the embodiment of housewifely virtues is not rare in our country. The idea was in both cases to replace the natural passions of sexual love by the cultivated emotion of wedded love. In coming to our judgment on the marriage system in India we should recognise that man and woman are not on a footing of equality. This inequality would have humiliated her but for the fact that for the wife the husband is an ideal.

According to India's ideal even the home must be given up in the quest of the Infinite. The household in fact is only to be set up as an important stage in this quest.

The marriage system all over the world from the early stages till now is a barrier in the way of such true union. That is why woman's *sakti* in all existing societies is so shamefully wasted and corrupted; that is why in every country marriage is still more or less a prison-house for the confinement of women.....with all its guards wearing the badge of the dominant male. That is why man by dint of his effort to bind women has made her the strongest of fetters for his own bondage; that is why woman is debarred from adding to the spiritual wealth of society by the perfection of her own nature. The civilisation of man has not up to date loyally recognised the reign of the spirit. Therefore the married state is still one of the most fruitful sources of the unhappiness and downfall of man, his disgrace and humiliation. But those who believe that society is a manifestation of the spirit will assuredly not rest in their endeavours till they have rescued human marriage relations from outrage by the brute forces of society, till they have given free play to the force of love in all the concerns of humanity.

THE ESSENCE OF RABINDRANATH'S POETRY

Rabindranath Tagore to-day is a world figure. From one end of the world to the other, he has travelled as a pilgrim in search of Truth, carrying the message of India and everywhere he has conquered the hearts of the people, with his songs and lyrics. His books have been translated into the principal world languages and people of different lands and different nationalities find in his books, a new message of soul, a new symphony of love and a new gospel for Humanity. To the peoples of the West, he has been the messenger of the mysterious and the mystic East; but that is not all, in his radiant personality and in his works they find a new inspiration, a vibrating life, wherewith to seek the Bliss of Life, the Harmony of the inner Spirit, which the glorious West, inspite of its vaunted conquest of Nature, inspite of its myriad achievements in the domain of Science and Art, has not been able to attain, even after mad pursuits.

Rabindranath is the culmination of the Renaissance, which has sprung from the contact of the Orient with the Occident and which dawned with the advent of the maker of Modern India, Raja Ram Mohan Ray. Rabindranath, therefore, expresses the manifold life of this great awakening of India in bewitching forms of beauty and truth. In him the tree of vision has been a living growth, spreading out its branches and twigs each day of his life in ever fresh tints and colours and with awe and wonder we look upon his mighty genius, which eludes our grasp, because of its infinite varieties. But still in the midst of his variety and manysidedness, we notice two most striking characteristics, which may be called the most significant features of his poetry.

To divide a man's life into periods often leads to faulty conceptions, for our life is a continuous growth. Everything that we feel and see is never lost but on the contrary affects our

subconscious mind and appears and reappears in moments when we least expect it. Periods in life are therefore never distinct from one another; but very often exert reciprocal influences over the rest. Bearing in mind this progressive growth of human life, we may still find two significant and distinct periods in the poet's life. One beginning with the poet's initiation into poetry to the completion of his book "Naivedya" the other commencing with "Gitanjali" and up till to-day.

The first is the period of journey in which his supra-sensitive poetic soul discovered the harmony that exists between man and the outer world, not by means of scholastic reasoning, not by deep meditation but by means of an inner vision all his own or which may be better called as peculiarly Indian. From the earliest dawn of mankind on earth, India, through her great seers and sages, have tried to unravel the mystery of life and has learnt by her Sādhana that the ultimate Truth and Beauty dawns upon the soul of a man, all on a sudden, by a sudden revelation, but it can never be approached by intellect and learning alone. India, therefore, always aspires for spiritual communion and mystic illumination, only keeping the heart of the seeker ready for this sudden flash, which, if ever it comes, in the life of a man, enables him to realise the highest truths, all at once and see into the life of things. India has ever been in quest of this intuitive vision, to realise this unity, in the midst of diversity and to comprehend life and world, in its totality. The poet has tried, by means of his imaginative insight, to discover this key of life in this first period of his career. Through diverse poetic and emotional experiences, this poet-prophet of India realised and assimilated the fundamental unity of life, the essential harmony that reigns behind the apparent chaos.

The second period is a period of dedication, in which the poet offers his soul as an offering to the God of Beauty, Truth and Love, and tries to express in inimitable tunes and words the joy of the Communion. A fervent spiritual ecstasy marks this period. The poet has been able to lift the veil which screens

the abiding Reality from our vision, the veil which brings about the darkness and sorrow of life and in a mood of loving participation in the great symphony of life; he pours forth his full heart in profuse strains of unpremeditated art. The poet drank deep into the fountain of Vaishnava lyrics and Upanishadas, things of the highest realisation and truths, felt and realised by Sadhakas after long years of meditation and search, and then he clothed these eternal verities, in poems of unparalleled sweetness. This rain of melody came upon the modern world, weary with its fever and fret, like a gentle shower, embalmed with the unknown fragrance and the whole world came to listen to his wonderful music to find a way out of this joyless modern life, to seek out that flood of light, which may illumine the cloudy night of modern civilization. The intense spirituality, the inexpressible melody and force of the poetry of this period reveals to the world the message of the age-long culture of India and remains unsurpassed in the literature of the world, for its depth and poignancy.

In his Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, Shelley acknowledged his deep love for an unknown and awful power of loveliness, which would give to this world, things which are beyond all human expression, a love which grew in him in his very infancy and which, he believed, had power to free this world from its dark slavery. Rabindranath, too, felt the presence of this unseen and invisible spirit of Harmony and the poems of this first period, are replete with many instances, which reveal the poet's growing love and intimacy for this unknown Glory of Love. He feels himself to be the lyre in the beautiful hands of this Beauty, giving out melodies which are not his own, but which comes out as it were from the very heart of that soul of Love in an abundance of rich music, which is of the very essence of Heaven. Day in and day out he weaves out beautiful forms to clothe his beautiful experiences with this spirit and we see how his intimacy with Nature ripens through an emotional unfolding of his pure poetic soul and how he slowly realises the unity.

that pervades the world, the harmony that remains unheard because of the turmoil of the world; not through conscious efforts, but through exquisite poetic feelings.

In one of his letters, the poet has said : “ The joy that we feel in nature is due to our feeling of oneness with her. We pulsate, we vibrate with the trees and grass, with the currents of water and air. With the whirl of light and darkness, with the movements of the starry universe, with the myriad orders of living beings. If the atoms and molecules of the world were not our kith and kin, if the infinite space and time had not been vibrating in our souls and joys, we could not have a feeling of joy in our relations with the outside world. We belong to the same genus as what we call the world of matter, is, for had it not been so, we would not have found our homes in the same universe, but there would have been two world systems.”

This is nothing but the introspective intuition of the Upanishad seers, who realised the Infinite in the finite world, the One in the many, the Absolute in the world of change, and sang out in a joyful chorus :—

“ We pay homage to the Lord that is in fire, in water the Lord that pervades the entire universe, the Lord that is within the herbs and the lordly trees.” In his poem “ The Awakening of the Fountain” the first glimpse of this Truth flashed upon him and he went on renewing this acquaintance, as he grew up and tried to grasp this invisible Force sometimes as his Lord, sometimes as his Lady-love, sometimes as his guide and Guru.

The perception of this Infinite Love that dissolves all perplexities is innate in the soil of India and it is for this reason that his own people has never acclaimed him with that note of wonder and awe, with which he has been hailed by the outside world. His individuality consists in the flawless and faultless expression, in which he has clothed the experiences of these moments of mystic Bliss and Joy and to understand him thoroughly and to comprehend his towering genius we

cannot but study the culture and Sādhana that fostered his genius.

If we take the pains to do so, we shall come to see that the immortal melody, the ineffable utterance, is not a sudden growth, but the budding of a flower, the seed of which was sown thirty centuries ago in the forest-hermitage of India. He is our seer of the new age, who feels deeply the abiding Reality and Love that reigns in joy behind the shadow shows of this cruel and hard life. He sings as a prophet :—

“In this my seven-storied house, in this my home of endless lives, I am bound in thousand links with the earth and the water—I am linked knot by knot.”

This love is something more than Wordsworthian. It is inspired by the philosophy of God-consciousness which India has reached through millions of God-seekers.

In the second period, this consciousness of the oneness, the feeling of the totality of things is deepened and widened by the advent of age and on experience of the sad music of Humanity. With his growing piety and love, he saw into the very source of Life-energy and, struck with awe and veneration, he brings his offerings of song, to the blessed feet of the Lord. He became wedded to this Super-Soul and dedicated his fullest energy as a homage to this Inner Ocean of joy. This, the poet did out of his spontaneous cry for Truth and Beauty, by listening to the voice of his own heart. Herein lies the excellence and monumental creation of Rabindranath.

Our Shastras always enjoin this dedication of our soul to the God-soul, this blending of the harmony that is in us, with the Harmony of the Over-soul. It is what has been called Saranapatti or self-surrender to the soul of the universe. The rapture of the devotee finds a new vehicle for the inspiration of the whole Humanity. The poet only reveals it a little more fully, a little more sweetly. The rhythm and cadence captivates our soul and leads us unawares to a region of goodness and Godliness. The intense sweetness sends forth new and

unknown torches of truth, in colours divine and splendours unearthly. The poetry of this period is a store house of nectar, which would nourish the men and women of the centuries to be.

In this poetic mood, in this spiritual ecstasy, the poet speaks up :—

“Let only the little be left of me, whereby I may name Thee, my all. Let only that little be left of my will, whereby I may feel Thee on every side and come to Thee in everything and offer to Thee, my love every moment. Let only that little be left of me, whereby I may never hide Thee. Let only that little of my fetters be left, whereby I am bound with Thy will and Thy purpose is carried out in my life—and that is the fetter of Thy love—”

English Gitanjali, 34.

How similar in tone and spirit with the injunctions of the Song Celestial :—

“Whatever you do, whatever you eat, whatever you sacrifice or offer, whatever penance you make, dedicate everything to me.”

This philosophy of sacrifice has been made into the finest song in the hands of the artist and we are in raptures over the song, without thinking for a moment that it comes out of the highest truth envisaged by the Sages of old. Poems of this spiritual communion, so full of surprise enables us to realise “our voice as in a dream” perhaps for the first time, the voice we are seeking all through life.

It is needless to add instances, for this odour of the mystic world flows out from every line. I would only note one more poem and shall ask the gentle reader to read the rest in the light of the above criticism.

The 76th poem of the *English Gitanjali* runs thus :—

“Day after day, O lord of my life, shall I stand before thee face to face? With folded hands, O lord of all worlds, shall I stand before thee face to face?

Under the great sky in solitude and silence, with humble heart, shall I stand before thee face to face ? In this laborious world of thine, tumultuous with toil and with struggle, among hurrying crowds, shall I stand before thee face to face ?

And when my work shall be done in this world, O King of Kings, alone and speechless, shall I stand before thee face to face ?”

What a glorious lyric. I think it is difficult to find its peer from the literature of the world. This is no idle song of an idle day—it soars above the frivolity of the ordinary life and fills the empty heart with the ambrosia of the other world. In presence of this exquisite outpourings of the inner soul, we join with the poet and our lives take its voyage to our eternal home in one deep salutation to the Lord of Light and Life. Love of God is the abiding source of our culture and Rabindranath brings back to us, even in this age of scepticism, the sincere convictions of a highly sensitive soul. With him we try to look upon life through a new angle of vision and slowly and steadily we realise, little by little, how a life without God is no life at all and the call of our Sages of old to lead a Godly life was the truest call in our life. To quote the words of W. B. Yeats, another poet of great powers, who introduced Rabindranath to the western world : “ We had not known that we loved God, hardly it may be that we believed in Him, yet looking backward upon our life, we discover in our exploration of the pathways of woods, in our delight in the lonely places of hills, in that mysterious claim we have made, unavailingly, in the women that we have loved, the emolian that created this insidious sweetness.” As we go through the poems of Tagore, our hearts are purified of their dross and we become simple and straight, like a flute of reed for God to fill us with music. We are ennobled and uplifted from the sordid plane in which we move, we are saved from the perils of over much desire and thus become worthy of God's full acceptance.

This message of Unity and Love is in Rabindranath and it would not do to judge him as a mere poet, as an artist of rare

creative genius—he is rather the creative evolution of the spirit of India.

To sum up, Rabindranath is the incarnation of the soul of India. He stands pre-eminently as the Messiah of our culture, bringing to the fever-stricken world the message of Love. The essence of his art, which is alike the essence of Indian Life and culture is to see deep into the heart of things and feel in a moment of joy or spritual vision that this life is divine, that the world is divine, that whatever we hear, whatever we touch and taste, whatever we see and smell is from and of God. The rainbow-tints, the golden sunset, the mellow moonlight, the starry heavens all bestow the peace and benediction that is of God, they bring to us to tear up the meshes which entangle us and open our benumbed hearts for the inflow of the divine energy. Realising this Unity, this Oneness with all that is, and all that would be, we are to live the God's life on earth and fulfil His mission. If we try to grasp these underlying principles of his poetry, we shall be able to enter into the deeper meaning and significance of the poet's song :—" I have had my invitation to this world's festival, and thus my life has been blessed. My eyes have seen and my ears have heard. It was my part of the feast to play upon my instrument and I have done all I could. Now I ask, has the time come at last when I may go in and see thy face and offer thee my silent salutation ?"

Here is the gospel of life. Our life should be so tuned that we may find delight in all we see and feel, we are to carry on our work, to do our duty in the best way that we can, for a part best suited to our capacity has been allotted to each of us in His great festival and we are to do it with joy and in the urge of divinity, in one deep salutation to Him.

MATI LAL DAS

MANUEL DE FALLA¹

The name of Manuel de Falla is not new to a good many of us who sally forth seeking adventure and new experiences in the world of music. His works are included in the repertoire of the leading orchestras of this country, whilst a fair percentage of the wireless music is made up of de Falla's Spanish music.

He was born in Cadiz in the year 1876, and had for parents a Catalonian on one side, and an Andalusian on the other; which is undoubtedly the secret or the cause of his Spanish philosophy in composition. He did not have the support of rich and influential parents to help him along the treacherous path of the aspiring composer; all he had was the enthusiasm of a youngster, a great love for music, and the will to win—a combination that no doubt placed him where he stands in the musical life of to-day. Up to the age of twenty-eight he wrote indifferent music for the stage, hoping at the time that this would bring him in some money but it did not. If young de Falla was a musician he was not a salesman also, which, as he was unknown at this time, was essential, and so for a time, the bulk of his zarzuelas remained unsold. In 1905 he

¹ I have proffered the above notes on Manuel de Falla and his musical aspirations, with the hope that it will make fresh desire in the hearts of musically inclined Indian friends, for further knowledge of modern methods of music culture. Nothing will aid them more in this direction than the Gramophone, for with its help they are at liberty to study closely the music of the West. The H. M. V. Gramophone Company, who have branches and dealers in many parts of India, have issued a number of records of de Falla's compositions, and I apprehend herewith the names and English General Catalogue numbers of a few records that I think would reward the earnest student of music who carefully studied them:—"Andaluza" (D 1571), a pianoforte solo by Madame van Barentsen; "Amour Sorcier," a ritual Fire-Dance by Full Orchestra (D 1458); "Danse du meunier," or the Dance of the Three-cornered Hat (E 434), pianoforte solo by Marcelle Meyer; "Seven Popular Spanish Songs" (DA 814), played by Rene Chamet on the violin; and "Jota" (DA 751) sung by that magnificent tenor, Tito Schipa.

won the prize in a national opera competition, with a work that was written absolutely to his own ideas, a victory which convinced him that if he desired success he must in future write to the dictates of his own soul, and not attempt to half-heartedly follow the rest of the crowd and write so-called popular music.

When this was decided, it was a long time before de Falla became aware of the true qualities of his own mind. It required a lot of hard work to get at the realities of the music within him. But he never once wavered, even in the darkest hours of his soulful struggle for self-expression. He went to Paris, where he lived in obscurity for a long time, teaching music to the sons and daughters of neighbouring tradespeople. All the time the struggle was going on within his breast, and at last he was beginning to see light. At this period a theatrical company in Paris approached him with an offer to pay him a handsome commission to write popular zarzuelas for them, but he refused, although he was wretchedly poor at the time.

De Falla was much influenced through his friendship with such musicians as Debussy and Ravel, who had themselves submitted to the high aims of realism and self-expression. De Falla had the highest admiration for a composition of Debussy's entitled "La Soiree dans Grenade," which was truly Spanish, although its composer had never been to Spain, and only knew the country through books, pictures and other composers' music.

"La Vida Breve," the opera that gained de Falla the competition prize in the year 1905, remained unplayed for eight years, none but the composers and the judges knowing of its existence. But it received its first performance in 1913 at Nice, and in a few months de Falla was wellknown to the music world in general. His output, during the last sixteen years, has been fairly large, and so popular has he become in that time, we find that his works are being performed, or have been performed, in all the principal music centres of the world.

De Falla is purely a musical thinker, that is why he is successful. He is the very soul of observation and study; there appears to be no limit to those powers. As the spirit of folk-song, folk-dance, or any kind of folk-music appealed to Chopin with excellent results, so it appealed to de Falla with equally good results. He was influenced in this direction to a large extent by the last of his teachers, Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922).

The world at large has accepted de Falla and his music. To them it is something quite new and engaging in style. So successful is de Falla that it would appear he is the most esteemed of all our modern school of composers. The combined efforts of the wireless and the gramophone companies are giving us an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with the music of a very interesting Spanish Composer.

L. ELAND J. BERRY

LOVE IS LOVE

If Thou not mine and I not Thine
Then how can I be mine,
Am I not all alone in Thee,
Love, in gloom and shine ?
The biting insult of all friends
The cruel gnaw of foes
Contempt and silence of all men
Are thorns of sweet Love-rose.
My tongue be dumb, my ears be deaf,
My eyes for ever blind.
To all that seem or feel unlove
Thou Love my flesh and mine.
—Be Thou my Death, be Thou life-breath
Unlove, forev'r be drowned in faith
Unchanging Truth Thou art
All else are changing lies,
This moment's *is*, that moment's *naught*
Truth masked they fall and rise ;
There lie, detected when they fly
And Love is Truth below, and high
Be I *this* I? Ah no, I love
There's Love alone below above.
To me this I a cruel sting
Be I the tune for Thee to sing.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU'S POETRY

It is a profound truth that poetry, especially lyrical, expresses a philosophy of life. Poetry attempts the emotional appreciation of the universe, while Science tries to understand it through the intellect. The mind explores how a flower springs up on the twig and how it grows and what gives it the colour and the smell. The emotions of man, on the other hand, react to the beauty and sweetness of the flower; and poetry describes the joy experienced by the emotions, so that it revives in the memory. Lyrical descriptive poetry, thus, is an expression of the reactions of man's feelings towards Creation. Man, again, is subjected to an endless series of experiences in life. The person endowed with a keen intellect reflects on the nature of the experiences and of his reactions to them, and then he makes scientific philosophy. The person endowed with keen emotions pours forth, for enhancement of pleasure or diminution of pain, the feelings which the experiences of life moved in him and the means by which he conquered the unpleasant; and then he makes poetry. And as philosophy is no other than an explanation of life, every lyrical poet unconsciously expounds one system of it. His poems set forth an emotional explanation of the Universe and its phenomena. They describe, according to the poet's own experience, how man can conquer his sorrow and attain happiness, and what he has to aspire after, and how.

While, in every age and every clime, numbers of men poets have given expression to their philosophy of life, there have been very few women poets indeed. This is particularly true of India, which passed through a period in which the powers of women were generally confined within the four walls of the home. It is of very great interest, therefore, to study

the work of a great Indian poetess, such as Sarojini, with a view to find her attitude towards life.

From Sarojini we can expect a many-sided commentary. For, full of rich experience is her life. She has moved with the peoples of the leisurely East and the restless West. Fired with the zeal for reform in Society, she has set an example in her own life. Fired with the passion to elevate the millions of her countrymen, she has ever placed herself on the vanguard of all branches of public life. She has moved with the low and the high alike. She has shared the life of men as well as women. Her poems, surely, cannot help giving us a very catholic view of humanity and the universe.

The poetess shows an indomitable desire to taste life in full. She does not, like a coward, beg the Almighty to bless her with a smooth life which knows no pain. In childhood's pride she said :

" O thou who mad'st me of thy breath,
Speak, Master, and reveal to me
Thine inmost laws of life and death."

The Lord did answer :

" Child, I shall hearken to thy prayer,
And thy unconquered soul shall know
All passionate rapture and despair."

The Soul's Prayer.

When, as the years pass, He tests her with sorrow and pain, she gives up not a whit of her courage. She endures the present in the hope of the morrow. In "Transcience," she gives the bright message :

" Nay, do not pine, tho' life be dark with trouble,
Time will not pause or tarry on his way;
To-day that seems so long, so strange, so bitter,
Will soon be some forgotten yesterday.

Nay, do not weep; new hopes, new dreams, new faces,
The unspent joy of all the unborn years,

Will prove your heart a traitor to its sorrow,
And make your eyes unfaithful to their tears."

In the morning of life, the call to Sarojini was one of pure love. To love was very heaven. There was need of nothing else than love to fill the cup of human joy. It was the supreme happiness of woman to give away her heart in worship of one who stood for beauty and virtue, to pass through the sorest trials and offer the greatest sacrifices to make him happy. In the poem "To Love" she explains how she has not withheld the least tittle of her powers in his service :

' O Love; of all the riches that are mine,
What gift have I withheld before thy shrine ?
What tender ecstasy of prayer and praise
Or lyric flower of my impassioned days?
What poignant dream have I denied to thee
Of secret hope, desire and memory;
Or intimate anguish of sad years, long dead,
Old griefs unstanch'd, old fears uncomf'ort'd,
What radiant prophecies that thrill and throng
The unborn years with swift delight of song?
O Love, of all the treasures that I own,
What gift have I with-held before thy throne?"

The "Persian Love Song" expresses with naïve art how the heart of the woman leaps gladly when her lover is happy and weeps wildly when he is sad. "A Love Song from the North" expresses the grief of one who is forsaken of her lover and whom none of the ravishing beauties of Nature is able to comfort.

In later years, the broader problems of the country occupied her attention more and more. But still her love did not diminish. In "The Offering," she says she would offer the treasures of beauty, youth, and greatness, if they were hers. She concludes that she has naught save her heart's deathless passion that asks no recompense and that she is content to wait upon humbly and kiss the shadow of feet. In "The Feast" she says, she needs no fragrant sandal-paste or scented lotus-

wreath or pearls from ravished seas. She is content with the dust honoured with his tread, his foot-prints on her breast, and the priceless boon of his sorrows and tears. In ecstasy, she describes how she has found a sweeter joy in her lover's arms than bees in spring. The "Lute Song" expresses how her lover needs no other minstrel to sing his praise than herself, and no other couch to rest upon than her own heart, and no other atonement for his sin than her own life. In another poem she says that, if he calls her, she will come swifter than the forest deer or the panting dove or the enthralled snake, swifter than desire or lightning, though the chasms of death may divide them. In another poem she begs forgiveness for the sins of her love, which are the fixed gaze of her eye on her lover's face, the longing of her hands to caress his body, the boldness of her mouth in ravishing his lips, and the trespass of her heart in luring his love and solacing his sorrow. In "The Desire of Love," she would brew her soul like wine to make him strong and immortal as a god. The closing stanza of "The Vision of Love" expresses how fully Love sways her destiny :

" O poignant sword; O priceless crown,
O temple of my woe and bliss,
All pain is compassed by your frown.
All joy is centred in your kiss.
You are the substance of my breath
And you the mystic pang of Death."

Some of her poems bear on the repulses of the lover and his neglect. But generally there is neither a spirit of kindled pride nor of retaliation. She is true to the heredity of the Indian woman and believes how, even by being trodden beneath the foot of Love, her life would find its consummation :

" Fierce were the wounds you struck me, O my Love,
And bitter were the blows;.....
Sweeter from your hands all suffering
Than rich love-tokens other comrades bring

Of crimson oleander and of rose.
 Cold was your cruel laughter, O my Love,
 And cruel were your words!.....
 Sweeter such harshness on your lips than all
 Love-crises from tender lips that fall
 And soft love-music of chakora-birds.
 You plucked my heart and broke it, O my Love,
 And bleeding, flung it down!...
 Sweeter to die thus trodden of your feet,
 Than reign apart upon an ivory seat
 Crowned in a lonely rapture of renown."

Not that the poems are entirely without complaint. If they were so flawless, the poetess would have little in common with frail humanity. In "The Menace of Love" she threatens that the ruthless lover will be taunted by the winds of memory in the poignant malice of spring and smitten by the tumult in his own wild heart. She ends in gracefully pretended rage :

"When youth and spring and passion shall betray you
 And mock your proud rebellion with defeat,
 (God knows, O Love, if I shall save or slay you
 As you lie spent and broken at my feet"

"The Slayer" is a keenly ironical arraignment of the cruel lover, cast into a vividly dramatic form with the characteristic skill of the poetess

"Love, if at dawn some passer-by should say,
 'Lo, doth thy garment drip with morning dew ?
 Thy face perchance is drenched with cold sea-spray,
 Thy hair with fallen rain ?"

Make answer; 'Nay,
 These be the death-drops from sad eyes I slew
 With the quick torch of pain'
 If at dusk a reveller should cry,
 'What rare vermilion vintage hast thou spilled,
 Or is thy robe splashed with the glowing dye
 Of some bruised crimson leaf ?'

O Love reply :

' These be the life-drops of a heart I killed
With the swift spear of grief.' "

As has been remarked, Sarojini's most absorbing pursuit of advanced life has been the service of her country. Even the charms of spring could not hold her from the call of the loud world. In "The Fairy Isle of Janjira," she says that, though she would fain dwell in the island of wild doves, burgeoning palm-woods, singing sea-winds, and rhythmic waters, she must go at the call of the urgent drum-beat of destiny into the strife of the throng, where brave hearts carry the sword. The duty and privilege of woman, according to Sarojini, is to keep by the side of man in all his battles for the public good, inspire him with her own courage in the march, heal the wounds in the action, and comfort him in the hours of weariness. Says she—

" 'Tis mine to carry the banner of song,
The solace of faith to the lips that falter,
The succour of hope to the hands that fail,
The tidings of joy when Peace shall triumph,
When Truth shall conquer and Love prevail "

When the scarf borne on the helmet could inspire the knight-errants of old to bring out their best in the cause of their espousing, how invincible man can become, when his very banner is carried in front of him by woman and when his feet rise and fall to the measures of her songs! No less an ideal for woman and no less a blessing for man does the poetess envisage. The gift of song and of faith and hope are essentially the woman's. Where the man, in spite of his brawny strength, would faint and give up the cause, the woman with her measureless faith could hold on in sweet fortitude and give the man solace from her heart. Man seems, by nature, more doubtful and unsteady than woman, who, if she once gives her heart, withholds it not even in the sorest days of trial and suffering.

Till recently the Indian woman was the healer of man in the home. Now Mrs. Naidu calls upon her to accompany him in the

thick of the fight and serve him through the dreary nights with the songs of the dawn. In short, Sarojini holds aloft for the woman no lower an ideal than that of a Roman Volumnia and an Amazonian Hyppolyta combined with the soft and saving Indian Damayanti and Savitri.

With the catholic sympathy of woman, Sarojini discerns the essential brotherhood of all the various peoples, in spite of the countless differences in details. Men have shown the inner unity underlying all religions by a close and illuminating logical analysis of the tenets and revelations. But Sarojini, with the woman's gift of appreciation through the heart, exposes the emotional oneness behind all religions in theory as well as in practice. With her characteristic skill in giving dramatic vividness to any theme, she has sung a beautiful poem, "The Call of Evening Prayer" in which the devotees of Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Hinduism are brought together in the bond of Divine worship. Though the manners and the words vary, the essential brotherhood of man felt by the heart in the presence of the One Father is strikingly impressed on the reader.

The broad and fervid appreciation of the greatness of all religions is one of the most precious messages of Sarojini's poetry as well as her life. With the natural instinct of a Hindu guided, in addition, by the acquired taste of a wide education and culture, she has understood the greatness of the Hindu religion in its purity and sung of it in her poems. What, however, extorts the reader's admiration uniquely is the perfection of her love for the Islamic religion at the same time. Many beautiful songs has she sung in glory of Islam. They show us how harmonious the great religions are and how futile is mutual hatred and strife. The "Prayer of Islam" is one of the most moving among them, weaving into itself some of the beautiful Arabic names of God.

For consoling the sad heart, for revivifying the grief-stricken soul, Sarojini looks up to the glad spring. She emphasizes that Nature is the greatest healer of humanity.

The world offers Life the battle-ground of its destiny ; Nature affords it a refuge in its weariness. When the world tires the poetess with its ceaseless striving, she flies with her Love to summer woods where they can be the companions of the dawn and the night. Even when her heart is buried under a load of sorrow, the happiness of spring is so infectious that the heart leaps up, throwing off its weight of death.

This attitude of looking upon Nature as the comforter of man or woman in grief is characteristic of her later life, when she had borne her portion of human sorrows and when she had entered into the thick of the nation's struggles. In her advanced years, none of the ardent love of Nature during her earlier life has diminished. But she wistfully bids good-bye to it for long intervals, since she must be off to respond to the call of service in the cause of the masses. Nature is a blessing which she is not destined to enjoy uninterruptedly. She does not grieve over that limitation, for she loves to serve humanity and bleed and suffer, if need be.

In early life, however, the poetess enjoyed Nature with the engrossing delight of a Keats. Many are the poems of Sarojini which chant the praises of the spring and the singing birds and blooming flowers. Nature is to her full of the mystic suggestion of harmony with Humanity which it has always had for the Hindu mind. In Nature, as is characteristic of the Hindu, she feels as if she has come into her own natural element. The dawn and the night are living companions, the lotus has hoary associations, and the serpent, mystic suggestions. The revelry of Nature leads her to call her lover, thither, so that love may find the perfection of its happiness in the most harmonious surroundings. Love in the midst of Nature is according to Sarojini, the highest happiness that the Earth can afford.

The poetess' self-fortification against the terrors of life and death is serene and simple, as woman's naturally is. She is supremely grateful to the Lord for the great gifts of the earth and sky which He has bestowed unasked, and firmly believes in

a bright eternity ;

" Men say the world is full of fear and hate,
And all life's ripening harvest-fields await
The restless sickle of relentless fate.

But I, sweet soul, rejoice that I was born,
When from the climbing terraces of corn
I watch the golden orioles of 'Thy morn

What care I for the world's desire and pride,
Who know the silver wings that gleam and glide,
The homing pigeons of Thine eventide ?

What care I for the world's loud weariness,
Who dream in twilight granaries Thou dost bless
With delicate sheaves of mellow silences ?

Say, shall I heed dull presages of doom,
Or dread the rumoured loneliness and gloom,
The mute and mythic terror of the tomb ?

For my glad heart is drunk and drenched with Thee,
O inmost wine of living ecstasy,
O intimate essence of eternity ; "

In Salutation to the Eternal Peace.

• Sarojini is not a great sage. She does not reflect abso-
lutely on the nature of the soul, of its pristine origin, or un-
derlying destiny. Indeed, woman gives herself up unreservedly
to the good of the present, with a simple and complete faith
in the final redemption. The great women of the world have, in
general, gained their immortality by devoting their lives to the
living present and offering up their heart's blood to the relief of
the world before their eyes. They have seldom been distracted
by doubts. Hatred and revenge have never turned their lives
awry. On the contrary, their lives have been fruitful, as a
brimming river, with their inexhaustible love and forgiveness.
This characteristic of women has its own precious lesson for
man. If man were to give up his moods of doubtful cogita-
tion and his hundred considerations of 'for' and 'against'

before and during an act, if he were to think less of the unknown beginnings and uncertain dissolutions of the universe and give of his mind and heart and body more freely to the cause of the world's immediate happiness, surely the change would be a great blessing learnt from the woman. The message of the great women, therefore, is a needed complement and corrective for the life of man. It is this message that Mrs. Naidu's poetry delivers, of a self-surrendering life of love in the midst of Nature or of an indomitable struggle of love on behalf of the poor, the lowly, and the suffering. Hers is a philosophy of giving away one's love and energy in the cause of good in the living present, supremely hopeful of the ultimate destiny and supremely happy in the privilege of giving. Hers is a purpose invincible—

“ O Fate, betwix the grinding stones of Pain,
 Though you 'have crushed my life like broken grain,
 Lo! I will leaven it with my tears and knead
 The bread of Hope to comfort and to feed
 The myriad hearts for whom no harvests blow
 Sav bitter herbs of woe.”

While for man she has the womanly message of a less thought-racked mind and a more loving, brotherly disposition and a greater self-abnegation in the present with a fuller hope in the morrow, she has a message for women, which would make them manly. In this, she has an appeal especially for Indian womanhood, which has till recently mured itself within the cramping walls of the home. To the Indian women as well as the women of the other lands she has the sinewy message that they should come out into the wide world and share the labours of men and take their Heaven-ordained places as healers and inspirers. But hers is not a violent message of obliteration of all differences. Hers is milder, more self-denying and more akin to the land of Sitas and Savitris.

EARLY TALES OF THEOSOPHY IN INDIA

There can be no gainsaying about what is largely claimed for Theosophy in India, viz., that it considerably influenced latter-day researchers for truth and also workers for the uplift of India. Whatever differences of opinion may have raised early regarding the cult and creed, they vanished as the faith progressed. The two founders of the Theosophical Society, Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, landed in Bombay on February 16th, 1879. But even before them, the connection between the Society and India had taken place; from the commencement of her labours, Madame Blavatsky proclaimed openly that the inspiration of her life and the knowledge, which was hers, came to her from the *Rishis* of India, whose disciple she was. From the start of the Theosophical Society at New York in November, 1875, there was associated with her as her colleague, Colonel H. S. Olcott. With H. P. B. alone, certainly there would have been theosophic culture, but without Col. Olcott there would have been no world-wide Theosophical Society. Out of their joint labours to-day have sprung the International Theosophical Society with its Headquarters at Adyar, Madras, and National Societies in 47 different countries throughout the world.

Those who write about the regeneration of India have already noted the striking rôle which the Theosophical Society has played. It was the Theosophical Society that used to invite delegates from the various parts of India to join its annual conferences,—a course which was adopted by latter-day politicians of this country and not the establishment of the Indian National Congress, forty-eight years ago and the Provincial Conferences that followed. Another of the pro-Indian activities of the Society was promotion of what has come to be called the *Swadeshi* movement. On the 25th November, 1879,

when its fourth anniversary (the first of its kind in India) was celebrated in Bombay, the President Founder arranged for a special exhibition of the arts and crafts of India. In this exhibition, as the card of invitation stated, there was "a display of machinery made by native artisans." Of course the exhibition was a small affair compared to what we have to-day at different centres. But the Theosophical Society should be given the credit of initiating the movement in the Bombay Presidency, at least, of *Swadeshi* and, by implication, of "*Buy Indian*." It will not do to forget the services of the *National Mela* in Calcutta to which I have referred in my article on Babu Kisory Chand Mittra in *The Calcutta Review* (March, 1932). By more than a strange coincidence Mr. A. O. Hume, admittedly the father of the Indian National Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, one of its staunch supporters (both members of the Indian Civil Service), and Doctor Annie Besant, for long its life and soul, were and are staunch Theosophists. Mr. A. P. Sinnett, editor of *The Pioneer*, though belonging to the opposite school of politics was also one of its firm supporters. Strange, indeed, are the ways of 'true *Mahatmas*' and *Rishis*' work.

One of the leaders of Indian thoughts in recent times, Babu Peary Chand Mittra, about whom my meagre and insufficient tribute has been appreciated, came largely under the influence of Theosophy. We find the Founders of the society started to correspond with him from as far back as 1877. Some of these letters have been placed at my disposal, by Babu Sukhendralal Mittra whose recent death I very much deplore—and little apology is needed for presenting them to the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, the pages of which were enlivened by Babu Peary Chand's voluminous and valuable contributions. These letters will show how the founders, from far off New York, were eager to do their utmost to free Indian culture from the trammels which an alien civilization was attempting to impose.

In October, 1879, the two founders issued the first number of *The Theosophist*, a magazine which has been published with-

out a break since then. Indicative of the close relation which the Theosophical philosophy has always had in India to the regeneration of all that is the best in the land, are the articles published in this monthly. The first number includes a paper, *The Inner God*, from the pen of Babu Peary Chand Mittra. In this number also appeared a critical note of his book, *Spiritual Stray Leaves*.

In her book *Isis Unveiled* Madame Blavatsky wrote as follows :—“Some of these nobler Vedantic precepts on the soul and man’s mystic powers have recently been contributed to an English periodical by a Hindu scholar” (Vol. II, page 592). She then quotes from an article contributed by Babu Peary Chand Mittra which appeared in the *Human Nature* (U. S.) of March 1877. She also quotes in her book (Vol. II, page 597), Babu Peary Chand’s views regarding *the Buddhists’ opinion of the spiritual status* from a paper which appeared in the *London Spiritualist* of 25th May, 1877, page 246. We do not find the reference of any other Indian of modern times throughout the book.

We publish below some of the letters of the founders of the Theosophical Society but are sorry that the reply to these interesting letters are not forthcoming. We, however, publish one letter from Babu Peary Chand Mittra, written at the time that he resigned the Presidentship of the Bengal Theosophical Society. The letters will speak for themselves and require very little comment.

The Theosophical Society,
New York, June 5th, 1877.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

DEAR SIR,

In November 1875 the Theosophical Society was organised in New York to promote the study of the esoteric religious philosophies of the East. Some of the founders were materialists

and sought evidence of Man's immortality; some Christians wished to know if their cherished religion was indeed born in Hindustan; some spiritualists, who were surfeited with mediumpneumonia and looked to the Indian pagodas for explanation of the dark doings of the American circle rooms. Of this heterogeneous assemblage I was chosen leader, not because of superior erudition, but only because some familiarity with public life and public men seemed to make me available as President:

The results that might have been expected ensued: the majority tired of dry philosophy inspired with novel phenomena; the few found their zeal grow intenser every day and themselves more and more enamoured of India, her people, her wisdom, and her glorious past. Of these few, I believe I may safely say that none has gone farther or deeper than myself into this enchanted domain. I have been highly favored with instruction, theoretical and *practical*,—and it is no exaggeration to say that modern spiritualism, which I had vainly studied for more than twenty years, to discover its secret, has in these last twenty months, become to me almost an open book. I discover that these phenomena are but copies of others that have been witnessed in India from time immemorial, and that man need not wait for death to demonstrate the powers of his immortal spirit.

Your name, respected Sir, is well-known among all intelligent Spiritualists in America. Personally I have heard much of you and your studies from Mrs. Emma H. Britten (a member of the Council of our society) and Mr. J. M. Publis. I have also read what has been contributed by your pen to the London *Spiritualist*. Your views upon the spiritual states which Mr. Calder has inserted in the number for May 25th, so coincide with those of our revered colleague and teacher, Mme. H. P. Blavatsky, that the Council have instructed me to respectfully request the privilege of enrolling your name among our corresponding Fellows. These views of yours are exactly what we are trying to spread throughout this Christian country

(where every precept of Christ is constantly violated, and hypocrisy and sensualism stalk through every church under cover of the priestly robe and the episcopal mitre). ,

We want to combat and help to overthrow this pernicious doctrine of the Atonement, and teach people that Eternal Justice exacts the personal expiation of every offence, even the most trivial, as it rewards the least as well as the greatest action of virtue and benevolence. I go so far as to say that the assurance of divine pardon through the vicarious suffering of the poor Jesus, begets nearly every crime of "civilization," and is dragging all Christendom into the abyss of moral ruin.

Among our corresponding Fellows are the Rev. Stainton Moses, C. C. Massey, and Miss E. Kislingbury of London, Prince Wiltgenslein, Hon. Alex. Aksaloff and Mlle. Fadaieff of Russia, Baron and Baroness Von Vay of Hungary; and other nobles and scholars in various parts of the world. The society is a secret one—its active Fellows are unknown to the world and, mainly, to each other. I only know all and each. It publishes no works as a body, but individual Fellows are known as authors, and several are now about to publish volumes upon Oriental subjects. Among this Mme. Blavatsky's "Isis Unveiled" (2 vols. large 8vo pp. about 1400—to appear in London and New York in September); Mr. Geo. Henry Felt's "The Kabballah of the Egyptians" (large folio in 10 parts, with several hundred plain and coloured engravings); Professor Stainton Moses' "Essays and Reviews," and Professor Alexander Wildar's "Serpent Worship" are the chief. Many of our Fellows are connected, in one capacity or another, with the quarterly, monthly, weekly and daily press. As occasion offers, each in his own sphere and after his own fashion, helps to disseminate liberal ideas about the East, her people and her religious philosophies. If you will join us we impose only these conditions. What facts we give you as arcane, you are to keep yourself; all others you may communicate as you will. In return, we ask you, wherever it may be convenient, to write to us

such things as you know will interest a body of men and women who feel towards your country and countrymen almost a tie of consanguinity. What you wish kept secret, shall be so kept; the rest we wish to employ where and when it may seem likely to advantage a cause dear to your heart as to ours.

You will have intuitively felt, of course, that the one who addresses you and these few others whom he includes in the personal pronoun "we," are not Christians, in the remotest sense of the term. We are—I will not say Brahmanists, I will not say Buddhists, but adherents of that Secret Doctrine, or World Religion that ante-dated both these great sects that now bear those familiar titles. We thoroughly believe that Nirvana does not mean annihilation, all the Max Müllers and Erlangen Pundits to the contrary, notwithstanding. We believe in the Unknowable Deity, from which emanated the Creative First Cause, in the cyclic progression of man's spirit, down into matter and back again up into Nirvana. We feel the wrongs inflicted by Christianity and its Missionaries upon "heathen" peoples, and would arouse here, within the enemy camp, a diversion in your favour. In fact, we have been doing this for many months already. Latterly we have been having a controversy in New York daily papers about Jacolliot. The *Sun* brands him as "a French fraud," and Professor Whitney of Yale College writes me that he regards him as "a humbug of the first water."

Will you, Sir, kindly tell me how this prolific French writer is esteemed by Native scholars, and particularly by the Brahmins? Are his translations accurate, and his general reflections upon Indian affairs accepted as just? I will not ask you if he has told the truth as to certain lascivious *esoteric* rites he pretends to have seen in pagodas. Those I feel sure are unblushing falsehood—attributable to the French lust after sensationalism and sensual indulgences. But do his work, as a whole, tell the truth about your country; and has he accurately and impartially translated your sacred texts?

Our society has not confined itself to words. Last year we

buried a Fellow, the Baron De Poem, with oriental ceremonies including the employment of fire upon an altar, the phallic cross and serpent, hymns, a litany, etc., and in December last we took the body from the receiving vault of the Cemetery and cremated it in public. Both events created great talk, and as you may imagine, the religious press indulged in much indignant protest. One leading organ, the *Presbyterian Banner*, berated me soundly for affirming in my oration at the cremation that the Institutes of Manu were in existence "more than a thousand years before Moses."

You live so far away from here, and it requires so much time to exchange letters, that I will venture to transmit your Diploma without waiting to hear from you; at the same time expressing the hope that it may please you to retain it.

Awaiting your reply, on behalf of my colleagues and myself,

I have the honour to remain,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. S. OLCOTT,

*President.*¹

71, Broadway, New York,
September 14th, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your acceptance of the Diploma of our Society has afforded us all pleasure, for, as I remarked in my letter of 5th June, you are known in this country, and by many appreciated at your full volume. Your essay on the Psychology of the Aryas had prepared us to enjoy the one on the Psychology of the Buddhists which has just appeared in the London *Spiritualist*. I am somewhat anxious to see what will be said of the latter by the critics of Europe, who pretend to know so much about Buddhism, but only

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

succeed in proving that they do not know its alphabet. The time is auspicious, I think, for a thorough exposition of oriental philosophies. Christianity has nearly run its course, the Popish half is lapsing into Fetishism, the Protestant into Nihilism. In a Paris letter I saw, the other day, that France is rapidly becoming Paganised, each district, if not town, having set up its tutelary god or goddess, to whom the most fervent aspirations of the faithful are directed. Sacerdotalism has eaten out the heart of faith, like a hidden cancer working within one's body. Its blight is upon all Christendom. Vice and crime increase daily under the fostering influence of the dogma of the Atonement; the white races are becoming sensualised and brutalised, society is honey-combed with drunkenness, hypocrisy, sexual sin, breach of trust, fraudulent commercial usage. Meanwhile, millions are lavished upon gorgeous churches, the pay of the clergy increases, vast sums are spent to send missionaries to lie to the *Heathen* about the practical benefits of Christianity, the court calendars are burdened with cases of seduction, rape, adultery, by church members and often by pastors; there are poisonings, arsons, forgeries and every other crime of the Decalogue by the same classes of persons. You may boldly say this to your countrymen and say it upon my individual and official authority; I guarantee to make good every assertion if it should be doubted. You will find upon reading Madame Blavatsky's book that one chief object of the Theosophical Society is to make these facts known to the *Heathen*, the better to convince them that it is a thousand times better that they should hold to the pure faiths of their fathers, and exemplify, as they always have, in their everyday life the morality and spiritual-mindedness they inculcate, than embrace a bastard creed, with a patchwork Revelation which offers a premium for crime, and which does actually give the *viaticum* every day and hour to wretches whose violations of law deserve a terrible retribution. I personally descend from one of the "Puritan Fathers" who, bigots and tyrants though they were, at least sacrificed home and all for their religious convictions.

.

I should be recreant indeed were I not ready to do the same now ; and so it comes that what is here written, has been publicly spoken and written by me in this country, and will be repeated until I die. But, as I said to you before, we are few in number and need help. To Indian scholars like yourself we stretch out our hands. We seek neither notoriety, profit nor advantage. We give our time, money, labour—all. You may imagine what it costs in a Christian community to proclaim oneself a heathen—it means just what the conversion of a high caste to Christianity in Northern or Southern India would mean—the degree of social ostracism differing of course with the peoples. Now, sir, will you and your friends co-operate with us? We can do much for each other : you can teach us about your religions, we can spread that knowledge here. We can give you facts that your countrymen ought to know about *practical* Christianity, you can disseminate them among the poor dupes of the missionaries. Give me the names of men whom you can enlist with you in organising a branch of our society and I will send them diplomas. This need not burden your time, for you need not meet regularly. There are young men about you, full of zeal, who would doubtless be glad to take the labour upon themselves under your direction. Give me their names. Stainton Moses and C. C. Mossey and other reforming spiritualists are about organising a branch in London. The pledge enclosed has been taken by *every* Fellow, Active or Corresponding ; please sign one and return to me. What you write to me as President will be kept secret, except as you give me permission to use it with my associates or the public or either. I send you a copy of my official obligation (which so far as designating Fellows, to whom the pledge is given, is varied with the country to which they belong. Thus if I were addressing a French, English, German, Greek or other correspondent, I should say in France, England, Germany, Greece, etc., “or elsewhere”).

Last week I received a diploma of membership in the

“Royal Oriental Order of Apex and of the Sat B’Lai,” and have been given a responsible office in which I hope to do some good for the Truth and the good Cause. One of the most influential editors of this country told me recently that if I could persuade some truly pious Hindoo scholar to come here, and discourse every Sunday upon the oriental religions, we could “sweep the country.” He would have to be a man whose life would bear the closest scrutiny, and who would be competent to debate theological questions with our best divines. He thought the country was ripe for such teachings, for exact science is fast destroying the popular faith in immortality, and the people are falling into materialism for lack of some better refuge. I thoroughly concur in this opinion, but unless your friends in India can find the man and the means we can do nothing. I know the obstacle of caste, and I have to leave the whole subject to your wise discretion. Our society is too poor to offer any pecuniary aid. One such preacher here would do more to rid India of the incubus of missionaries than any other agency. I can ensure him the widest publicity for his teachings, through the press, with the conductors of which I have very extensive acquaintance.

Have you seen anything in Indian journals about the cremation of Baron De Poem’s body last year by our society, or the funeral rites in the “pagan” form that we celebrated? If so, will you not oblige us by sending me a copy or copies of the paper or papers?

Mme. Blavatsky quotes extensively in her book from your essay on the Aryas, and would gladly have done so with your other essay if it had been received before her pages had been stereotyped. Let us have from time to time whatever you give to the public. The American journals have begun to notice the above-named book already in advance of its publication and soon we shall be showered with the abuse of the Christian organs. But this we expected and do not dislike; better abuse and denunciation than silence.

Conveying to you the cordial regards of my associates, and the assurances of my personal high esteem,

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours respectfully,
H. S. OLCOTT.¹

To the BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA,
Calcutta, India.

No. 302, West 47th Street,
New York, 1st October, 1877.

DEAR SIR,

The noble work upon which our erudite corresponding Secretary, Madame H. P. Blavatsky, has for two years been engaged, was published on Saturday last. I rejoice to say that it meets with instant favor; the entire first edition being already sold and orders coming in by every mail from libraries, societies, clergymen and other professionals, and, in fact, from the whole public, as it would seem.

Enclosed I send you a clipping from yesterday's *New York Herald* which contains certainly a most appreciative criticism. Bernard Quaritch is the London publisher, and will, I am told, send circulars to every one of his hundreds of patrons throughout Europe and Asia. Thus, at last, an exhaustive presentation of the claims of oriental thought to the homage of western nations, in conjunction with a merciless analysis of the pretended infallibility of their scientists and theologians, will be made. I esteem it the highest honor that could have been conferred upon me that I am permitted to occupy the Presidential Chair of a Society to which so grand a work has been dedicated.

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

If you shall share our gratitude and enthusiasm upon seeing the book, may I request you as an honoured corresponding Fellow of the Society, to cause the *Herald's* critique to be copied into one or more journals, that circulate among our brethren, the Hindus? I wish them to know that our little corps of allies is working for their interests and honor among the Christians. Who knows but that, in time, through our labors some palpable good may issue to the people of India: in the fable, you recollect, a very tiny mouse gnawed the net that held the lion captive.

We are about to commence immediately the preparation of another work specially aimed at the vices of the Christian clergy. With assurances of great personal esteem,

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours respectfully,

H. S. OLCOTT,
*President, Theosophical Society.*¹

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA

New York,
25, Decr., 1877.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

By this mail I send you copies of five American papers which contain notices of our Secretary, Madame Blavatsky's work, *Isis Unveiled*, and one which speaks of our society in particular, I will be glad to have you put them in circulation among natives who take, or are likely to take some interest in the development of religious philosophy among western people. I want to find, when I come to India,—as my present purpose is

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

to do before many months,—a number of true souls prepared to extend the hand of fraternal welcome to one who loves their land and race. Among your acquaintance either in Calcutta or elsewhere, in or outside the pagodas, there must be some who would find opportunity and the will to correspond with us. Think, my revered Brother, how isolated is our little cluster of Theosophists, among all these millions of materialists and bigots, and judge how we must long to be in frequent communication with those who think, work and pray as we do.

We are doing what we can to bring spiritualists here to realise how little their "guides" and "controls" have taught them in thirty years of the nature, powers and destiny of man, and how much they may learn by studying the records of Indian metaphysics and psychology. The columns of both the *Banner of Light* and the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* now stand wide open for our contributions—a most surprising change of the *status* of affairs. So, too, the *London Spiritualist* offers us its hospitality. I hope you saw the number of Dec. 14th of the latter journal, with Miss Kislingbury's Report of her American observations. Mme. Blavatsky and I will soon go to London, whence we will *not* return, but probably continue on towards India. Just now, at the request of the Government Commissioner-General I am assisting him in organising our National Exhibit at the Paris Exposition; but this will not occupy me very long. With fraternal salutations, I am, Dear Sir and Brother,

Yours respectfully,

H. S. OLCOTT.

Please tell us what you know of the psychological phenomena of fakirs and gurus. We wish to correspond with others who have had like experiences and believe and *know* their possibility.

Editor's Office of the Theosophist,
Breach Candy, Bombay, India.

DEAR MR. PEARY CHAND,

I am always glad to hear from you and to second your intelligent efforts to counteract the deplorable despiritualization of our people. Your new work will of course be noticed in our journal but allow me to suggest that the very best way to introduce it to the notice and secure the interest of our readers is to publish a chapter or half chapter—if too long—in our columns and have it accompanied with an editorial para. from us as to the price, publishers, etc. This plan has proved most successful in America. This is of course to be done in advance of publication and from advanced sheets. If you want to do this send me the matter at once and I will make room for it in our April No.

Please read my lecture on India in the forthcoming March No. and tell me whether I take the right view of the situation. I try my best to get at the truth and rely always more upon my personal observations among the natives than upon any possibly prejudiced foreign authorities. Yesterday I gave my annual public address in Bombay to a large audience which included the leaders of Native Society. From my reception I infer that my remarks were liked, and that the shameful falsehoods circulated about us and our views have not seriously injured our standing. It is a hard thing to have to bear such slanderous attacks as we have had from the people we have so identified ourselves with.

Wishing you health and every happiness, I am, as ever,

Ffly. yours,

H. S. OLCOTT.¹

Babu P. C. Mitra,

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

Colombo, Ceylon,

August 17, 1881.

MY RESPECTED BROTHER,

I am sending off to the *Theosophist* a notice of your excellent pamphlet on the soul, which I hope may not be unsatisfactory, I plead the urgent engagements of my present work as an excuse for not making it longer. With the management of so great a campaign as this upon one's hands, it may be well conceded that one can scarcely do much outside literary work. Your pamphlet, like all its predecessors, testifies to your wide reading, accurate thinking and high motives. I regret, however, to find you accepting so unreservedly the alleged utterances of departed worthies through mediums. Years ago, I lost all my faith in such, and undertook to judge the matter entirely apart from the assumed revelator. As to the pretended outgivings of Professor Mapes (whom Cora Hatch so loves to quote) I can speak by the book. I was a pupil of his and co-editor of his *Agricultural Journal*, I also intimately know his family. They and I agree in saying that every discourse ascribed to him by Mrs. Hatch-Tapper is hers, not his. I hope your brochure will have a wide circulation and that you may long live to publish others.

Ever your attached,

H. S. OLCOTT.¹

BABU P. C. MITTRA,

The Theosophical Society.

302, W. 47th Street,

New York, December 12th. 1877.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA, ESQUIRE,

DEAR SIR,

I am instructed by the "Society" to inform you of the fact that a dispute has arisen for the settlement of which your aid as a Corresponding Member of the Theosophical Society is desired. It involves the correctness of certain statements made by some of our unprejudiced scholars respecting the Brahmanical

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

calculations by the Zodiac They seek to demonstrate that India is not alone the cradle of human race, but also the source of civilization and science.

Some orthodox Christian writers aver that of the great astronomical cycle—the precision of the equinoxes which is completed in 25,868 years—less than one-fourth has passed since the world was created and man appeared upon earth. In short, that not even the first cycle has yet accomplished its revolution. This is the old, ridiculous and exploded notion based upon the pretended Biblical Chronology.

To this, we Theosophists, answer that not only one but many cycles have been passed through—so many that no man can calculate the number, except perhaps in India. For proof we point to the Zodiacs of the Brahmanic pagodas, which we claim to be the nearest infallibility as to correctness; all Christian scorn and abuse to the contrary, notwithstanding. You are in a position to verify our assertions by being upon the spot; and since you have expressed a willingness to labor with us in our researches, the Society will be pleased to hear from you, at your early convenience.

We wish to know, what pagoda contains the most ancient calculations, and at what age its historical records begin. If the records of different pagodas vary in antiquity, we would know how far back the learned Brahmans respectively place the beginnings of their infallible astronomical chronology. We do not ask what age they ascribe to the earth; for, of course, that may be known by the four yugs, and the respective number of years of the four summed up very easily. But when does your *historical* period begin? In what pagodas are the records preserved? Where are these temples situated and what are their names, and how old is each known to be?

The Western world depends for its facts about the Orient upon missionaries, and civilians of various grades interested in supporting Christianity—the gigantic fraud of so-called “civilized” nations. In other words, garbled facts are presented to

a prejudiced court, by interested witnesses. Our work is to show the truth, and to do it, we count upon the help of our affiliated correspondents and the other native scholars whom they can enlist in the good cause.

Hoping for a favourable answer.

I am, Dear Sir, with respect and esteem for yourself (and devoted love for your country),

Yours very truly,

H. P. BLAVATSKY,
*Corresponding Secretary of
the Theosophical Society.*¹

New York,
302, W. 47th Street.

New York,
April 10, 1878.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA, ESQUIRE.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot thank you enough for the various publications you have been kind enough to send me. They have all been attentively read and appreciated. Of them all, the one which treats upon the condition of women in India, has perhaps, pleased me most, though the biography of David Hare has nearly reconciled me with European races, which I most cordially hate, by showing me that they are not altogether contemptible and that there are truly good, *godly* people among my Western countrymen. The disabilities under which the female sex labors among Western peoples spring mainly from the fact that men regard them for the most part as instruments of lust, than as equals and companions. Despising them when gratified in this direction, they of course cannot respect them. And women in their turn accept their degrading position, and busy themselves principally in making their physical charms more alluring. Speak of the Ceylonee and Travancore women going naked, with but a short skirt! An English woman would turn in disgust from her, but at the same time attend the Queens's "drawing room"

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

in a costume so provokingly immodest—wearing but a *sash* instead of a bodice—as to make men themselves blush to their ears for shame! Even the London Court papers have recently protested against such a *naked* exhibition,—the new fashion. In my eyes, your poorest woman, who goes about as God created her, is thousand times more respectable than these European prostitutes of the Courts—the aristocracy of the various kingdoms. The more I see of Christianity and Christendom, the more disgusted I am, with both, and the warmer grows my love and respect for the dark-skinned races. I was myself brought up with the Buddhist Kalmucks, [I was living] in the steppes of Astrachan (Caspian Sea) till the age of ten.

I am sorry that you have not given me the information I wanted about the Brahmanical calculations of the Zodiac, I hope you do not place too great a value upon European science; in my opinion, the greatest of the Tindalls is but a puling babe, beside some of your Brahmans, who, scorn to disabuse Europeans who take them for ignoramuses. What I want is their legends, what they maintain in *their* teachings about the age of the world and *man*. From European Science, the public gets nothing but misrepresentations and crude guesses. Generally slaves of public opinion, they care but for their official positions and wages, and so, stick to the old exploded notions of the Jewish Bible with its 6000 [years] of the world.

Do please tell me, *theosophically* and “on the square,” as Masons say, whether you believed with Publes and other spiritualists, in the so called “materialization” of spirits, of pure disembodied man, I infer from your writings that *you do not*. But Publes would have us all understand, that not only you but all other Hindu gentlemen who justly believe in the soul’s immortality and a *subjective* communication between the two worlds are *spiritualists* like himself. I presume you have seen the controversy between us (theosophists) and the orthodox Spiritualists that has been going on for some months past in the London spiritual papers. Some of the best men have come

round to our side, and we are constantly growing stronger. While the *Spiritualist* and the *Banner of Light* in days past have classed me as a *non-spiritualist*, the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta and various secular papers in other countries abuse me and my book for its author being a "Spiritualist!!!" This is comical and perplexing. *I am a spiritualist*, but of another sort, and I flatter myself of a little more philosophical sort. I will never believe that a pure spirit can reclothe itself in gross matter (which smells at seances like a corpse), nor that all mediumistic communications are of necessity from a "spirit" source or individuality. And on this question, some of your Brahmins are more than other men competent to discriminate. Will you kindly tell us whether we err or not? Will you help us to be enlightened? People (foolish spiritualists) call and believe me an *Adept*. They verily suspect that I *was initiated in the Pagodas*! I, a woman, and a European!! The absurdity of such a notion, is really calculated to make one stare in amazement. I at least never pretended such a flagrant lie. I know too much of India and its customs not to be well aware that no European man—let alone a *woman*,—could ever penetrate into the inner recesses of the Pagodas. But I have had many friends among Buddhists and knew well two Brahmins at Travancore and learned a good deal from them. I belong to the secret sect of the Druzes of the Mount Lebanon and passed a long life among dervishes, Persian mullahs and mystics of all sort. Therefore, I am well acquainted with the phenomena—loosely called Spiritual in every case—and came to the conviction that most of the phenomena can be produced without there being either jugglery and fraud or *Spiritual* manifestations. I have in short, too great a veneration for the Spirit of disembodied man, to believe that he who was a good and pure man on earth, instead of pursuing his progress towards "Nirvana" or "Moksha," will degrade his spirit by returning on earth, to throw guitars and bells at the people's heads for 50 cents the seance! But in *subjective* communication I believe thoroughly

for *I know* it to be true. I believe in the *possession* and *obsession* by spirits, etc.

Hoping you will excuse this uncalled for "profession of faith," which I wanted you to know in case you should read my book, I will now close. I am very sorry to have to deny myself the pleasure of sending you a copy of "It is Unveiled" for the present, but the fact is that *not a single copy* of the 3rd edition remains in the publisher's hands; and of a Bombay order for 100 copies he could send but 34, until he gets out the fourth edition.

Hoping for a reply at your early convenience,

I remain, Dear Sir,
Very gratefully and sincerely yours,
H. P. BLAVATSKY,¹

Please excuse the horrid writing.

Bombay,
March 24, 1879.

Corresponding Secretary of the T. S. A. S., Bombay.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received with gratitude and pleasure the pamphlet on the Aryas which you were good enough to send me. It proves to me, that you have not forgotten my existence and that you heartily welcome us to your native land.

As I told you before, we come here to live and die with the Hindoos. And I hope that sooner or later we may enjoy the satisfaction of personally meeting you.

This will be taken to you by an intelligent young gentleman from Calcutta who has been passing some days here and has been much interested in the work of our Theosophical Society. He will tell you about the magnificent success which we had yesterday on the occasion of the President's (Col. Olcott) address to

¹ Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

the native public of Bombay. Though we are not "inspired prophets," especially delegated by God, Jesus, John and Paul, yet we do hope to do in our own humble way as much good for India as the heaven-sent Legatus of Brahmo-Church—especially as we have no daughters to marry the Râjas.

Hoping this will find you in good health,

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours sincerely and truly,
H. P. BLAVATSKY.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA, ESQ.,
Calcutta.

Girgaum Back Road, 108, Bombay,
21st May, 1888.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

The severe sickness, which confines me to bed, will of course, prevent my personal attendance at the first anniversary celebration of our Bengal Theosophical Society. But as you know, and as the testimony of a life's studies and writings prove, my spirit is present with you and all who work for the moral regeneration of humanity and the spread of spiritual truth. Had I not so full a knowledge of the blessed activities which await man beyond the Vale of the Shadow, I could not, without a pang, face the contingency that my lamp is flickering in its socket at the very time when you are beginning your Theosophical work in India. With all the ardour of perfect sympathy, would I have rejoiced to take a part in that work, and, if it is true, as I know it is, that though dead in body, man's spirit may still share in the labours he loved, then, believe me, dear Brother, that though corporeally separated from you, my soul shall still be with you in all holy desires, aspirations and good works, to the end. So may God give us the true light which we seek for and the desire to make

our lives whether long or short, to be an occasion to perfect ourselves in holiness and wisdom.

Yours affectionately,
PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

To Col. H. S. OLCOTT.

Babu Peary Chand Mittra was by no means solitary in his loyalty to Theosophy. Prominent public men and scholars like Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore (at whose palace H. P. B. and Col. Olcott stayed during their first visit in Calcutta in 1882), Raja Shama Sanker Roy of Teota, Mr. Subba Rao, Justice Sir Subramania Iyer, Babu Sishir Kumar Ghose, Rai Debendra Chandra Ghose, Bahadur (father of Justice Sir C. C. Ghose), Rai Priya Nath Mukerjee, Bahadur, Mr. C. Shanne, Barrister-at-Law, Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt, M.A., B.L., Babu Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Babu Jogendra Nath Mitra, M.A., B.L. (Principal, Uttarpara College), Mr. J. Ghosal, Rai Narendra Nath Sen, Bahadur, Babu Monmotho Mohan Bose, M.A. (of the Scottish Churches College), Babu Bhagwan Das, Babu Promoda Das Mittra, Babu Upendra Nath Bose (the last three of Benares) and other eminent sons of India—for their names are legion—have paid it their life-long homage. It should therefore be of interest to note how a pioneer like Babu Peary Chand Mittra felt and expressed himself about this great organization, that by its publication and preaching have assisted dormant India in the difficult task of self-realization and self-consciousness.

DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

PRE-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN INDIAN CULTURE¹

Sun Worship.

In Part I of this article, contributed to the May 1931 issue of the *Calcutta Review*, we have seen that Early Man was a keen observer of all the beneficial forces of nature. He must have observed what a part the Sun Spirit plays in the cultivation of the soil. It is for this reason that in almost all centres of agriculture we find associated with the cult of the Mother Goddess a cult of the Sun-god. As Indus Valley was a seat of the Mother Goddess cult it is natural that we should also find there the associated cult of Sun worship. An evidence of such a cult has been found in the representation of the *Swastika* and the wheel symbols on certain seals found there. Such seals number more than a score.

In ancient times the Sun was not represented anthropomorphically. He was represented symbolically. His distinctive symbols were a wheel, or a disc, a bull or a conventionalized device known as *Swastika*.

Evidence of the worship of the Sun also come from the pre-Aryan Copper age sites of Gungeria in the Balaghat Sub-division of the Central Provinces. There, associated with numerous copper axes, were found silver Sun discs and schematic representation of the bull's head, which is also a solar symbol.

We all know that Sun worship was also prevalent among the Aryan immigrants of India. There is no evidence in the Vedas to show that the Aryan cult of the Sun underwent any change by pre-Aryan influences. In later times, Sun worship in India was considerably modified by the introduction into India of

¹ This is the second of a series of articles embodying the author's investigations as Research Scholar of the University during 1929-31.

the Magian cult of the Sun worship. But notwithstanding these alien influences the pre-Aryan cult of the Sun survives to the present day in popular Hinduism. The *Chatparab* of the Biharis and the *Itupuja* of the Bengalis—revealing the connection of the Sun worship with the forces of vegetation—and the *Raldurgabrata* of the latter people—revealing the connection of the cult with the mother goddess cult—are instances of this.

. *The Cult of the Linga and Yoni.*

Certain stone *lingas* have been found in the Indus Valley. The chessmen-like objects and the ringstones from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have also been interpreted by Sir John Marshall as symbols of *linga* and *yonis*. It appears from the ubiquitous distribution of these symbols at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro that the cult was a very popular one in the Indus Valley. *Linga* worship in India has a very remote history. It dates back to the Neolithic period. Stone *lingas* have been found from various Neolithic sites in Southern India.

Przyluski in his paper on "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan" has shown that both the words *lāngula* (plough) and *linga* (penis) are of Austro-Asiatic origin and in their origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing. He says that *linga* in the sense of penis has equivalents in the non-Aryan languages of the East whereas it has no equivalents in the Indo-European languages of the West. In accordance with its etymological meaning the word *lāngulam* when introduced into the Sanskrit vocabulary came to mean both the plough and the penis. On the other hand, especially in the Sūtras and the Mahābhārata a form *lāgula* is found to mean both the penis and the tail (of an animal). If the equivalence *lāngula-lāngala* is authorised then the semantic evolution of the word would be easily understood. From penis one can easily pass without difficulty to the sense of plough and tail. There are evident analogies between copulation and the act of ploughing

by which one digs up the earth for depositing the seed. The problem becomes more complicated from the fact that, almost inevitably the word *linga* which strongly resembles the two other words and has the meaning of penis comes in. Some Austro-Asiatic peoples use even to-day not a plough to furrow but a simple pointed stick for digging holes in which they place the seeds (Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, I, p. 348). There the analogy between the penis and the farming instrument is as clear as possible. Profs. Hubert and Maus point out that in Melanesia and Polynesia the farming stick has often the form of a penis. In some Polynesian languages the same word designates the penis and the digging stick (cf. Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary*, under "Ko"; and Violette, *Dictionnaire Samoan-Francais* under "Oga"). It is possible that the aborigines of India at first knew the use of this stick and that the name of the instrument for digging the soil has not changed after the introduction of the plough.

In these circumstances, it seems highly probable that the Aryans have not only borrowed from the aborigines the cult of Linga but the name of the cult as well. That Linga worship was of un-Aryan origin is clearly shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the phallic worshippers in the Rigveda. The rarity of phallic worship among other Indo-European peoples supports the thesis advanced here.

One fact that unmistakably follows from the opprobrious terms applied to the phallus worshippers in the Rigveda is that there were tribes living in the Indus Valley in Rigvedic times who worshipped the lingam and whom the Vedic Aryans hated for their un-Aryan mode of worship. Could not the phallic worshippers of the Rigvedic times be the descendants of the Indus Valley people who worshipped the lingam in the Chalcolithic Age?

In post-Vedic times Linga worship gradually became introduced into the orthodox pantheon and to-day it is an indissoluble part of Saivism.

Totemism and Theriomorphism.

Animals were an important element in the religious ideas of the pre-Aryan peoples of India. This is shown by the evidence of the seals, which have been found in great number in almost every house at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. They bear legends in the script of a language whose meaning and affinities are still unknown.

Immediately under the inscriptions are to be found engraved representation of various animals, such as, humped bull, tiger, rhinoceros, monkey, elephants, etc., and some other queer animals. At the back of the seal there is a knob to hold the seal. There is no doubt that they were used for stamping. The legends probably represented the name of the owner of the seal, the animal, the emblem of the particular totemic clan to which he belonged. "That totems played an important part in the religion of the Indus people seems evident from the statues and other representations of a strange composite animal, partly ram, partly bull, and partly elephant, as well as from a multitude of other animals—real or fabulous—engraved on the seals, among which attention may be drawn especially to a pair of ass-headed creatures singularly like those depicted on a well-known Myzenian gem from Vaphic in Greece." That totemism played an important part in the religion of the pre-Aryan Indian is also proved by the fact that totemism strongly prevails among the various pre-Aryan peoples of the Central Hills and Jungles. In many cases the totems represented on the Indus valley seals are identical with the totems of these peoples. It really looks as if among these pre-Aryan peoples of India cultural development had been arrested at a stage that the Indus valley people had traversed before their history began. From totemism arose a local cult of animals which developed into theriomorphism and ultimately became introduced into Aryan religion.

Totemism had no place in the religious ideas of the Rigvedic

Aryan. The paucity of its prevalence among other Indo-European peoples proves its absence in Aryan religion. But the names of certain deities and tribes in the Rigveda are reminiscent of totemic origin. They thus bespeak inclusion within the Aryan fold of certain indigenous totemic clans. Though these indigenous tribes secured places within the Aryan fold yet they could not influence Aryan thought with their totemic concepts and gradually lost all traces of totemism excepting its survival in their names. If totemism had no hold on the Vedic Aryans, theriomorphism had certainly a fast hold on them. We find theriomorphism in a more developed form in the Atharvaveda than in the Rigveda. This is significant for this shows un-Aryan influence on Aryan religious ideas. This theriomorphism of deities could not have been of Aryan origin, or growth. Had it been the case then we would have found it in a more developed form in the Rigveda than in the Atharvaveda. In the evolution of religious ideas theriomorphism of deities has preceded anthropomorphism and not *vice versa*. This theriomorphism of deities ultimately developed into the idea of the *vāhanas* of Hindu deities.

The Bull Element.

The Bull was the theriomorphic conception of the Supreme Deity of the pre-Aryan peoples. Thus the Father God of the Sumerians was called "the Bull of Heaven." He was represented on archaic Sumerian seals as wearing Bull's horn and pictured as attended by a bull. Asur, the supreme deity of the Asurs, the people of Asur (modern Kal'at Sherghat) was also conceived as a bull. When theriomorphic ideas were introduced into Aryan religion it is natural that Indra, the supreme deity of the Aryans, should be theriomorphised as a bull. Thus, Indra is called "the Bull of Heaven" just as the Supreme Deity of the Sumerians was called. The theriomorphisation of Indra reached

its zenith in the Atharvaveda as evident from the following hymn :—

“ The Bull supports the widespread earth and heaven.

• The Bull supports the spacious air between them.

The Bull supports the Sky's six spacious regions.

The Universal World hath he pervaded.

“ The Bull is Indra ; over the beasts he watches.

• He, Sakya, measures out three several pathways.

He milking out the Worlds, the past, the future,

Discharges all the God's eternal duties.

Being produced among mankind as Indra, the caldron

Works heated and brightly glowing.

Let him not with good sons, pass off in vapour

who hath not eaten of the Ox with Knowledge.”

—A. V. IV. 11.

“ Lord of the clans, giver of bliss, fiend-slayer,

mighty over the foe,

May Indra, Soma-drinker, go before us, Bull who

brings us peace.”

—A. V. I. 21.

“ Foodful and much invoked, at this our calling

may the far-reaching Bull grant us wide shelter.

Lord of the bay courses, Indra, bless our children :

harm us not, give us not as prey to others.”

—A. V. V. 4-8.

“ Thou art the Bull, the Trishtupa's Lord : I hold thee fast.

Happily bear me to the goal of this my Sacrifice. All hail.”

—A. V. VI. 48.

“ Thou governest the North and eastern regions.

Indra, fiend-slayer, thou destroyest foemen.

Thou hast won all, far as the rivers wander.

Bull, called to help, on our right-hand thou goest.”

—A. V. VI. 99.

“ Lord of the clan who brings us bliss, fiend-slayer,
 queller of the foe,
 May he the conqueror never subdue, may Indra
 blind the charm on thee,
 Bull, Soma-drinker, he who gives us peace.
 May he protect thee round about, by night and day on
 every side.”

—A. V. VIII. 6.

In later times the Bull came to be associated with Siva, the Supreme male deity of the Hindus.

Serpent Worship.

Of great importance for the religious history of the pre-Aryan Indians is a fayence plaque depicting a deity sitting cross-legged between two serpent votaries, just as they are portrayed worshipping the Buddha in sculptures three thousand years later. There can be no doubt that these snake-hooded people of the Indus valley are one and the same with the Nagas who appear both in history and in folklore and to whom much speculation has been devoted. Evidence exists to show that the Nagas were in ancient times a very influential people of the Punjab. They now inhabit the mountainous country bordering upon Kashmir, and particularly in the tract between the Chenab and the Ravi rivers. They worship gods in human form with hoods of serpents forming canopy overhead. They are known under various names such as Sessa, Vasuki, Basdeo, or Basak Nag, Taksaka or Takht Nag, Indra Nag (Nohush), etc. They are worshipped neither as dreadful reptiles nor as mere symbols, but as the deified rulers of the ancient people, whose tribal or rather the racial emblem was the Naga or the hooded serpent and whose chief deity was the Sun for the representation of the Sun occupied a prominent place in almost all the Naga shrines. These demi-gods are also said to be descendants of the Sun and ancestors of the race. The name of the tribe, however,

is not Naga. It is Takha. They are called Naga because they worship the hooded serpents. The Takhas were once a very powerful people of the Panjab. Their chief city was probably Taksashila, Taxila of the Greeks. Taxiles, the king of Taxila, allied himself with Alexander when the latter invaded the Panjab. The name Taxiles is significant. As the King of the Puru tribe has been called Porus so the king of the Takha tribe has been called Taxiles by the Greeks. One of the deified heroes of the Takhas was Takshaka Naga. We are all acquainted with the exploits of the Takshaka Naga from the Mahabharata. The Takhas were a very ancient people. Certain traits in connection with the worship of the Nagas prove their contact with the ancient Egyptians. Thus, the Gaja or the Iron scourge which plays a prominent rôle within the worship of these Naga demi-gods is the exact counterpart of that represented in the hands of the Egyptian Osiris (Khons).

Serpent worship was quite unknown among the Rigvedic Aryans. It first appears as an element of religion in the Yajurveda. The Atharvaveda contains numerous charms against serpents and a rite of propitiation on the full-moon day of Margashirsha. In the later vedas the serpents were mentioned along with the Gandharvas and others, as a class of semi-divine beings that dwell on earth, and in heaven; and in the Sûtras we for the first time come across the Nagas, human beings in appearance, but serpents in reality. In the Hindu period serpent worship is found all over India. Since there is no trace of it in the Rigveda, while it prevails widely among the non-Aryan tribes, the conclusion seems justified that when the Aryans spread over India, the land of serpents, they found the cult diffused among the aborigines and borrowed it from them.

Ficus Religiosa.

That *Ficus religiosa* received veneration in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic age is shown by the evidence of one of the

seals. They still receive veneration of various pre-Aryan peoples from Assam to Africa. They are considered as the special abodes of the spirit of the departed men. The Hindus too consider them as the abodes of the departed spirits.

The worship of plants and trees do not play an important part in Vedic ritual and mythology. Meyer lays stress on the fact that Aryan religion pictures the deities as only faintly localised and so unlike other faiths could not develop any strong belief in tree worship. The *Pippala* tree first receives veneration in the Atharvaveda. According to the Taittiriya Samhita the trees Asvattha, Nyagrodha, Udumbura, and Plaksha are the abodes of the Apsaras and Gandharvas. The belief in the presence of spirits in trees is, of course, ethnic, and Buddhist literature has many traces of it, showing the different sets of conceptions which are easily formed; the tree is primarily the spirit, then the spirit with or without its children lives in the trees, and if it perish has to go away, to seek a new abode, while at a further stage the tree becomes more and more remotely connected with the deity. The trees are also the abode of spirits of terrible form and uncanny hostile nature, who may well be of double origin, arising from a direct or animistic conception of the darkness and hostility of the woods and also from the conception of unfriendly spirits which develop from the belief in the hostile spirits of the dead.

In modern Hinduism the Pippala tree is thought to be the dwelling place of the spirits of the dead as well as the abode of the various popular deities, especially deities of fecundity and its boughs are constantly found to be hung with votive offerings by those who desire offsprings.

The Cult of the Dead.

In the disposal of the dead the Indus Valley people of the Chalcolithic age practised burial as well as cremation. It thus disproves the current view that burning of the dead among the

Indians of to-day is an inheritance from Indo-European times. The Indus Valley people of the Chalcolithic age believed that in the spirit world the dead men live a life analogous to the life they have lived here in this world. This is evident from the earthenware vases and other small objects personal to the dead being buried together with the dead. We are also informed that at Harappa certain small brick structures have been found which bear striking resemblance to *Hindu Samadhis*.

Art and Architecture.

In the domain of Art and Architecture, too, the amount of the contribution of the pre-Aryan peoples was also considerable. The prevailing notion that the genius of the Indo-Aryan people was responsible for the mighty structure of Indian art and architecture is utterly erroneous. It is well known that the Indo-Aryans having entered India through the north-west, conquered the indigenous peoples of the Indus Valley whom they either expelled or exterminated. As they advanced eastwards they grew fewer and fewer in number. Hence we find them pursuing a different policy in the midland regions of India. Here they instead of conquering or expelling the original inhabitants, adopted the more prudent or rather the inevitable course of fusing with them, physically as well as culturally, and thus giving birth not only to a mixed race which we find there to-day, but also a hybrid Indo-Aryan-cum-pre-Aryan culture, in which the latter element was predominant. As they advanced farther eastward their influence became still more attenuated till in East and South India their influence practically reached a quite negligible point.

It is thus clear that the Indo-Aryan influence was more predominant in the Panjab than in any other part of India. But when we come to analyse the distribution of Indian art, we meet with an order of things which is exactly the reverse of the order we have indicated above, and which thus at once nails to the counter any supposition or assumption to the effect that the

art and architecture of India is of Indo-Aryan origin. If the Indian art were of Indo-Aryan origin then the decorative charm for which Indian art is always noted would have been more apparent in the Panjab than in any other part of India. But that is actually not the case. It is weakest in the north and strongest in the south. In fact, it reaches its culmination in the Madras Presidency, where in the wonderfully decorative sculptures of the Amaravati School, we find the richest, most rhythmical and most imaginative designs. Moreover, the excavations at Taxila have conclusively proved that before the advent of the Greeks there was not existent in the Panjab any School of Art which we might name as forbear of the later Indian School.

Origin of Indian Mandira.

In ancient Mesopotamia the temples of the Sumerians were built upon an artificial mound which they called "mountain." In the northwest corner of Mohenjo-daro has been found an eminence on which perhaps stood the chief temple of the city. We thus find the same conception of religious structures in Sumer as well as in India. They perhaps show that the original temples of these peoples were built upon hills and mountains. Can we not connect the Indian temple with Mount Mandara? The phonetic similarity between the two words is too striking to be ignored.

Round about the chief temple of Mohenjo-daro were grouped structures of a religious or quasi-religious structures. Outstanding among them is an imposing edifice containing a large bath or tank, which may be assumed to have been used either as for ablution purposes in connection with the adjacent temple, or possibly as a reservoir for sacred fish, crocodiles or the like. Thus, sacred tanks for both purposes, which have been a familiar feature in India, were already in use during the chalcolithic age.

ATUL K. SUR

DEATH AND LOVE

I find defect in all I see
And perfect naught I feel ;
Within, without the moth of pain
None shows of peace the seal.
Ah ! who can tell when at life end,
I lie in Death's embrace ;
O Death, wilt Thou grant peaceful sleep
As Thy unconscious grace.
Or, shalt thou banish me from peace
To waken again in pain
I ask and ask no answer comes
All thought all words are vain.
O Love upon my heart descend
And wash and dry all thought
O make me Thine and Thou mine
In Thee life and death are not.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY'S "BENGALI GRAMMAR. IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE" ¹

It has been truly said that Raja Rammohan Roy was "the first all-round reformer of modern India." ² Every educated Indian now knows that the Raja was not only the pioneer of religious reform in modern India but was also the father of modern Bengali prose. He was certainly the first vernacular writer in India to use the marks of punctuation. ³

In this article we are concerned with only one aspect of his contributions to his mother tongue, viz., his Bengali Grammar. Referring to the Raja's Bengali Grammar (written in Bengali), his biographer quotes a passage from the introduction in which the Raja says that he undertook the preparation of the book because there was no Bengali Grammar at the time. But Ramgati Nyayaratna speaks of the Raja's grammar as the fifth book of its kind. And, Long's Descriptive Catalogue ⁴ gives the names of several Bengali grammars published prior to the Raja's publication. The real meaning of the above passage, therefore, seems to be that when the Raja wrote his book ⁵ other books of the kind had gone out of use. It is a fact that the Raja's Bengali Grammar in Bengali which was published by the School Book Society was the first book of its kind to be widely used in the schools and by private learners of the Bengali language.

This noteworthy Bengali book was, however, mainly a translation of its predecessor in English ⁶ which is the subject-matter of this article. The Bengali Grammar in the English language by Raja Rammohan Roy is the first attempt to teach

Published in 1826.

Rammohan Roy's English Works, Panini Office (1906).

Raja's Life by N. Chatterjee.

1855-*Vide* D. C. Sen's *Banga-bhasa-o-Sahitya* (New Edition).

1832-*Vide* Long's Catalogue.

Raja's Biography—Chatterjee.

Bengali to foreigners through the medium of a foreign language. It was a brilliant attempt, too. The entirely original and eminently practical method in which the subject is treated in the book fully sustains the reputation of this great son of India as a man far ahead of his times. The Raja leaves behind the orthodox pedantic method of treatment of the subject and strikes a new road altogether, converting what would otherwise be a mass of uninteresting profundities into a simple, intelligible and interesting topic. In this respect, his book is on a par with the most up-to-date grammars of continental languages of Europe written on a scientific method for the use of foreigners.

The high motive which prompted the Raja to write a Bengali grammar in English is set forth in the introduction of the book :—

“ It is almost impossible for individuals residing in this metropolis to remain unmindful of the persevering exertions of many European philanthropists in the noble attempt to ameliorate the moral condition of its inhabitants. Some of these gentlemen, with a view to familiarise intercourse between themselves and the natives, have undergone much labour in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the vernacular language of the country; while others are diligently seeking access to it without any expectation of deriving useful information or rational entertainment from any work in the language. This tract.....is intended as a humble present for those worthy persons.”

Now let us turn to the contents of the book so that the reader may have some idea of its characteristic features.

Orthography.

In the first chapter, section 3, “ On the sounds of individual letters,” the following observations of the author on some letters of the Bengali alphabet are interesting :—

“ **ঙ**. is pronounced like a nasal o ; as in **উকারায় নমো** नमः Onkaraya numo numuh.”¹ .

“**অ** is sounded like a nasal *i*; as **অকার**: Inkaruh.”

“**ং**—The mark ‘ng’ called **অনুস্বার** is placed among the vowels.”

“**ঐ**—This mark is also classed among the vowels.”

The following apt comments also indicate that the author was not unmindful of what would appear to less cautious writers as mere negligible orthographical crudities :—

“On variations from the regular pronunciations.” (p. 8)

“**ক** by ignorant writers is frequently used to express the sound of *s* in words of foreign origin ; as in **মোকসমান পাটকা**.”

“**জ** when it forms the first member of a compound with **চ, ছ, ঞ, ঙ** is sounded like soft *n*, as **সন্ধ্যা, বাচ্ছা, পিচ্ছার**, etc. But when it is preceded by **জ** both of them are pronounced like *gn* with a nasal accent, as in **জাঙ্গা**.”

“**য** is found only in Sanskrit words as before observed.”¹

“**য** has the sound of *j* in the beginning of words as in **যম**; as well as in the beginning of syllables, as in **অনুযোগ**. But in all other situations it has precisely the power of the English *y* in *yoke* as in **বাক্য**.”

“**শ, ষ, স**—In Sanskrit these three letters are described as possessing distinct sounds. In Bengali, however, with certain exceptions, they are indiscriminately pronounced as *sh* and as indiscriminately written;² though for the sake of etymology it were to be wished that orthography in this respect were more attended to.”

“**জ** is asserted by grammarians, on etymological grounds, to be a compound of **ক** and **য**; but it is pronounced as if formed of **খ** and **য**, as in **পরীক্ষা** pureekhya.”

¹ In Section 2 Chapter I the following occurs :—

“**য, য, ব, ষ, জ, ঞ, ল, ল, ঞ, ঞ** are found only in words that are originally Sanskrit.”

² An interesting comment on the conduct and knowledge of the scribes of the day ;

The peculiar practice of reading Bengali words is noted thus :—

“ Except in a few cases, in no adjective or noun is the letter **প্র** pronounced at the end of a word, as **উত্তম, সুন্দর, রাম, রামদাস, কালিদাস**. The mark **(হসন্ত)** ought to be in these cases. This nicety in writing Bengali is however frequently omitted.”

Etymology (Substantives and Attributives).

In treating this matter the author follows the method of European grammarians and he gives the following reasons for doing so :—

“ This work is chiefly intended for the use of English students and therefore words are sub-divided according to the system adopted by European grammarians without meaning any preference whatever.”

The definition of substantives (of which the Bengali equivalent given is **বিশেষ্য**) as well as that of attributives (**বিশেষণ**) is extremely ingenious and wholly original :—

“ A substantive is the name of a subject of which we have a notion, either through our external senses, as Ram, man, or by our internal power of mind, as hope, fear, submission.”

In Bengali grammar there is no distinction between a Proper Noun and a Common Noun; neither are there Bengali synonyms for these two English words. The Raja, however, coins very appropriate Bengali words for the purpose :—

“ Some nouns are appropriated only to particular individuals, as Ram, Shyam, John and are called Proper Nouns—**ব্যক্তিসংজ্ঞা**; whilst others are applied to a class of individuals when considered as having some general property in common, as **মনুষ্য হস্তী**; or to the classes of individuals of which each class is considered as having some general property distinguishing it from other classes, as **বৃদ্ধ, পশু** and are called Common Nouns,—**সামান্য সংজ্ঞা**.”

The Raja defines Pronouns as a special class of Substantives and gives an entirely new Bengali name to them :—

“A second class of substantives consists of words which are used to imply particular individuals, though not in themselves significant of any definite object or objects. These are called Pronouns **প্রতিসংজ্ঞা**.”

In this connection the following observations of Whitney will be of interest to the readers :—

“In this universality of their application as dependent upon relative situation merely, and in the consequent capacity of each of them to designate any object which has its own specific name besides, and so, in a manner, to stand for and represent that other name, lies the essential character of the Pronoun. The Hindu title, Sarvanaman, ‘name for everything,’ ‘universal designation,’ is therefore more directly and fundamentally characteristic than the one we give them, ‘pronoun,’—‘standing for a name.’”¹

Division of Attributives.

The Raja divides Attributes into seven classes :—Adjectives, Verbs, Participles, Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, Interjections. His definitions and Bengali equivalents for the above terms are worth quoting in full :—

Attributives that “express the properties or circumstances of nouns without relation to time are called Adjectives **গুণাত্মক বিশেষণ** while those that express the attributes (or accidents) of nouns with absolute relation to time are called Verbs—**ক্রিয়াত্মক বিশেষণ**”

“And those that express the circumstances of nouns with regard to time depending on that noted by another verbal attributive are called Participles—**ক্রিয়াপেচ ক্রিয়াত্মক বিশেষণ**—Ex. **সে প্রহর করত বাহিরে গেল**—He went out continually beating.”

¹ Historical outlines of English Accidence by Morris revised by Kellner and Bradley.

“Such as express the attributes of other attributives are called Adverbs विशेषणोय विशेषण—Ex. तिनि अत्यन्त मृदु इन—He is very mild.”

“Such as when correctly placed before or after a word express the relation of another attribute or noun to that word are called Prepositions—सम्बन्धनोय विशेषण—Ex. रामेर प्रति—Towards Ram.”

“Such as when placed between sentences express the attribute of copulative or disjunctive relation between the thoughts expressed by those sentences, and when correctly used between words express their agreement in accident without governing them are called Conjunctions—समुच्चयार्थ विशेषण.”

But those that express the momentary passions or emotions of the speaker, though uttered alone, are called Interjections अनुभाव विशेषण” (The text gives अनुर्भाव विशेषण—Is अनुर्वि a printing mistake?).

We thus see that, according to the author, there are altogether nine Parts of Speech, to use the terms of modern English Grammar. These parts of speech are divided under two heads,—(1) Substantives—विशेष्य and (2) Attributives—विशेषण. The following table will enable the reader to understand the matter at a glance :—

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|
| I. | Substantives | विशेष्य—(1) Nouns—Proper व्यक्तिसंज्ञा |
| | | —Common सामान्यसंज्ञा |
| | | (2) Pronouns—प्रतिसंज्ञा |
| II. | Attributives | (1) Adjectives गुणात्मक विशेषण |
| | (विशेषण) | (2) Verbs—क्रियात्मक विशेषण |
| | | (3) Participles—क्रियापेक्ष क्रियात्मक विशेषण |
| | | (4) Adverbs—विशेषणोय विशेषण |
| | | (5) Prepositions—सम्बन्धनोय विशेषण |
| | | (6) Conjunctions—समुच्चयार्थ विशेषण |
| | | (7) Interjections—अनुभाव विशेषण |

The above classification of the parts of speech, for example, a verb or a conjunction being classed as an attribute, will certainly appear very odd to those who will judge it by the

principles of classification in the current English and Bengali grammars. By way, therefore, of comparative study, the classification of the parts of speech by Dr. Morris, the famous English philologist, deserves our attention. He divides the parts of speech into five classes:—Nouns, Pronouns, Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions. “Interjections, having no grammatical connection with other words in a sentence, are not, strictly speaking, parts of speech.”¹ Nouns include, according to him, adjectives, and verbs.² Further, English adverbs are at bottom, only Nouns, Adjectives, or Pronouns,—for, “they are derivative forms of Nouns, Adjectives, or Pronouns.” Prepositions are things of the same nature—“the oldest prepositions can be traced to pronominal roots; others are from verbal roots.”³ And conjunctions are “either of pronominal origin or abbreviated forms of expression.” So that, roughly speaking, only Nouns, Pronouns, and Adjectives will suffice for parts of speech, according to Morris.

Cases.

The Bengali word परिणाम, an entirely novel one, is used by the Raja for the English term ‘case’

He limits the number of cases to four: “In Bengali, cases may be reduced to four—Nominative, Accusative, Locative, Genitive.”

The following definitions are indicative of a new view point:—

“The nominative case is that in which a noun stands when coupled with a verb, so that together they convey a meaning though separated from all other words of the sentence expressed or understood.”

“The genitive case denotes a noun having a direct or indirect relation to some other noun in the sentence, limiting really or figuratively, the sense of the noun it is related to. As

¹ English Accidence by Morris, Kellner, Bradley.

² *Ibid.*

³ Whitney.

रामेर घर Ram's house. The word 'house' is restricted from meaning any house to signify the individual house of Ram."

The following are the reasons why the author dispenses with some of the Bengali cases :—

"As instrumental nouns are generally indicated by prepositions but seldom by their terminations, we may perhaps dispense with an additional case called the instrumental."

"When in expressing an accident one subject is represented as proceeding out of or departing from another, the latter is denoted by the preposition **हइते**, added to the nominative forms of nouns in the singular number and to the genitive form in the plural—ex. **ग्राम हइते**। Hence we might perhaps also dispense with the ablative case in the Bengali language."

"When a noun is pronounced with a view of calling, really or figuratively, the attention of the object addressed, the proper of nouns nominative form is used without any inflexion. Ex. **हे राम**—O Ram. The vocative therefore, as a distinct case, appears unnecessary."

The suggestion made above are surely deserving of careful consideration by Bengali grammarians.

As to the naming of the cases, there is nothing new except that in one place he uses the word **उक्त**, **अभिहित** for the English word Nominative.

A Few Other Specialities.

As regards moods, the Raja has his own nomenclature. There are, strictly speaking, no Bengali parallel for what is called "Mood" in English. The Bengali terms he uses are :—

Mode (mood)—**प्रकार**।

Indicative—**प्रवधारण**

Imperative—**नियोजन**

Subjunctive—**संयोजन**

Optative—**Do.**

His Bengali term for Tense is **विभक्तिवाच्यकाल**. In one place he uses the expression **आख्यातिकपद** for "verb."

RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

THE DOCTRINE OF MĀYĀ IN ŚAMKARA

(A Critical and Comparative Study.)

Different Imports of Māyā in Śamkara.

The word "Māyā" finds frequent mention in the Philosophy of Śamkara. This has made his Advaita-philosophy or the philosophy of absolute non-dualism known as Māyā-Vāda. But the term "Māyā" as used by Śamkara, seems to possess three different imports :—(1) cosmological, (2) logical and (3) metaphysical. It may at first sight appear that Śamkara has made a convenient use of the term or that he has 'fashioned' his doctrines according to the needs of the hour at the cost of philosophic consistency. But a careful study of his system as a whole brings into bold relief the fact that every one of these imports has its own philosophical value. They may, with some justice, be regarded as three gradual stages of his philosophy—he begins with cosmogenesis and ends with metaphysics.

Māyā in its Cosmological Aspect.

Māyā, in its cosmological sense, means in Śamkara, a miraculous power of Iswara or the Divine Being by which he has managed to create or rather project this world of manifold (वामरूप) out of His own being. Māyā, thus understood, is the principle of becoming; it is a dynamic principle akin in its nature to Spencerian force. It comes very near to the *prakṛti* of the Samkhyas differing from that only in its being dependent upon Iswara for its own regulation. But this Māyā can create no bondage to Iswara of Vedānta or to the Purush of Samkhya.—

अक्षरमव्याकृतं नामरूपबीजशक्तिरूपं भूतसूक्ष्ममीश्वराश्रयं तस्यैवोपाधिभूतं, *
 * नात्र प्रधानं नाम किञ्चित्स्वतंत्रं तत्त्वमभ्युपगम्यं तस्मान्निदृश्यपदेन उच्यते ।"—
 Śamkara's commentary. Māyā in this sense has been described

by "Samkara as षट्पञ्चदशप्रदीपसो, त्रिगुणाम्बिका, etc., i.e., Māyā can bring into existence what appears to be an impossibility to our vision ; it is the source of knowledge or luminosity, activity and inertia. But this seems to be only an echo of the Upanishadic conception of Māyā. It reminds us of the story of Umā in the *Kenopanishad* and of the utterance of Śrīkrishna in the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

“ देवो ह्येषा गुणमयो मम माया दुरत्यया ।
सामिव ये प्रपद्यन्ते मायामितां तरन्ति ते ॥ ” १४॥

But the philosophical significance of this conception is not far to seek. It is an attempt to explain the problem of becoming which common inquisitive mind wants first to be answered. The importance of the principle of becoming is not, as a matter of fact, ignored in philosophy ; Bergson has gone the length of identifying reality with becoming itself at the exclusion of any principle that becomes. The only positive philosophical value of this conception of Māyā seems to be this that it is a polemic against the theory of creation out of nothing. But its main philosophical value in Samkara seems to be more negative than positive. Its object is not to prove positively the creation of the world by God but it refutes the theories that regard creation as proceeding from unconscious entities, creation is ultimately a myth, in Samkara's philosophy. He makes a concession to the ideas of the man in the street in proceeding to explain it, but in doing this he tries to establish the fact that creation cannot be explained but by the recognition of some conscious agent with infinite power. Thus the significance of the Śūtras “ रचनाशुपपत्तेश्च नानुमानम् ॥ ” etc., as interpreted by Samkara, seems to lie in a negative direction. Thus Samkara, in advocating the cosmological aspect of Māyā, becomes an anti-materialist but not a theist. For philosophy, the fundamental problem is not the problem of creation ; it is that of the determination of the nature of reality as it stands before us. To be more explicit, the

problem of philosophy is not to explain "how this world came into being"—but to think out the nature of the world as it is revealed to our experience.

Māyā in its Logical Aspect.

Māyā in its logical aspect tries to solve this problem of philosophy. It is in this sense an inexplicable, inexpressible and yet undeniable entity. It is :—

“सदसद्भ्यामनिर्वचनीयं भावरूपं यत्किञ्चित्”

It is neither real, nor unreal in the true sense of the term, but yet it cannot be said to be mere nothing. The logical aspect of Māyā seems to be an original contribution of Samkara to philosophy, since in Upanishadic literature it is not, at least explicitly, mentioned, whereas post-Samkarite treatises seldom fail to refer to it. The cosmological aspect of Māyā says that the world is a product of Māyā ; its logical aspect says that it is itself—Māyā—it is मायामात्र and not मायाप्रसूत.

According to Samkara, the world as it stands before us is neither real, nor unreal, but yet is something inexplicable in its nature.

Pringle Pattison, in his book "Idea of God" states that philosophy tries to find out a category under which all empirical facts of the world can be subsumed. Samkara holds the view that the world as it appears to be, can be subsumed under the category of inexplicability or “अनिर्वचनीयत्वं .” He further holds the view that this is the last word about reality which logic or reason can without any other aid utter. Samkara shows that no positive assertion about the nature of reality can be made by the help of the intellect without involving in contradictions. Bradley's "Appearance and Reality" amply shows that all the categories by which we have attempted the explanation of the universe possess inevitable contradictions within. When we proceed to consider the nature of solutions that have been put

forward in philosophy about the problems of relation, of substance and attribute, of the relation between body and mind, of the existence of the content of our perception, we find that as a matter of fact contradictory theories have been proved by equally convincing arguments. Śamkara makes a critical scrutiny of these problems and comes to the conclusion that every one of the solutions has the power of negating the validity of its contradictory one, but it has not the sufficient power of proving its own cogency. Kant's 'antinomy of pure Reason' was evident to Śamkara. It is this rational analysis that has led Śamkara to treat Māyā as *Anirvachanīya*. His Māyā is, thus, not a fiction but a fact, whose existence no serious student of philosophy will probably be able to deny.

Samkara further points out that in our daily life we really come in contact with inexplicable facts. The fact of error, which is too well-known to be exhibited by specific examples, is according to Samkara an inexplicable one. Error is—

“स्मतिरूपः परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभासः ।”

something like स्मृति or memory but not memory itself, something like the perception of one thing in the locus of another but not the real superimposition of one thing upon another. Every one cannot be expected to be at one with Śamkara on this point; the Naiyāyikas, the Mimāmsakas, the Buddhists, the Ramanujists, Modern idealists and realists of the West have tried to explain error in their own way. A critical exposition of them all does not concern us here directly. But, that we have not yet been able to find out a criterion by which we have to distinguish truth from error, Joachism himself admits. Joachism in his “Nature of Truth” says that “error is the inseparable shadow of truth.” He further says that even coherence theory which appeals to him most cannot bear examination. Says he: “If we are challenged as to how such an ideal—a rigid, static system—is related to or implied by the developing human knowledge, we should find ourselves

in an indefinable position." These facts go to show that Samkara's view about error cannot, at least, be easily discarded. Samkara says that when inexplicable facts like error exist then there is likelihood of the whole world being so if there is analogy between the two. It may be argued that erroneous facts are negated as soon as their correction takes place but a negation of the world as a whole we never experience. Samkara precluded the possibility of such a charge by pointing out to the fact that Śruti abounds with the examples of such world-negating experiences. To believe in the authority of Śrutis may be regarded as illogical. But even if it be admitted that it is so, still Samkara's position remains undisturbed, since, it is enough for him to prove that error is an inexplicable fact, and thus refute the Naiyāyika charge of अप्रसिद्धत्वं or unprecedentedness of inexplicability. If a perfect analogy between error and the world is found, it is all the better, if not, it does not matter much. Thus, the charge that Samkara, on the mere authority of Śrutis, has been led to maintain that this world is inexplicable, seems to be superficial. Many say that Samkara proved the existence of Māyā thus. In Mukti or the state of realization, the world of multiplicity does not exist, but as a matter of fact, it does exist, then it must be Māyā. The logic of Samkara is not so easy of refutation as we often think it to be. He himself says :—

“ इह तु वाक्यनिरपेक्षः स्वतंत्रस्तद्व्युक्तिप्रतिषेधः क्रियते ”

“ In refuting other theories, I take my stand only upon reasoning as detached from any authority.”

In advocating the logical aspect of Māyā, Samkara cannot be accused of explaining away facts, though critics have often levelled this charge against him. His rigorous adherence to facts seems to be more far-reaching than that of Bradley. Bradley by a rational analysis of all the categories by which we try to interpret the world, showed that they involve insoluble contradictions. He concluded from this that these are appear-

ances of reality which is self-consistent in its nature. But in drawing such a conclusion, Bradley has probably gone beyond facts. What Bradley has found is that our ordinary way of interpreting the world cannot stand logical scrutiny. But from this, he has no right to assert that there is such a thing as reality, and that it is self-consistent, and over and above that the world as it is cognised is an appearance of reality beyond in which the world exists "somehow" in a "transmuted" form. Bradley himself says, "I am so bold as to believe that we have a knowledge of the absolute certain and real." But a belief can never amount to proof. A rational analysis of facts does not guarantee him in making assertions about reality; he may, by mystic flights, have a cognisance of them. Whereas Bradley says that the world is an appearance of reality since it is not self-consistent, Śamkara's strict adherence to facts led him to maintain that this world as it stands before us is an inexplicable entity, since it is not self-consistent.

It might be urged that Śamkara's theory of inexplicability cut at the root of all future philosophies which may solve the problem of reality with a greater skill. We admit the importance of such a charge and, at the same time, point out that at least a provisional validity which has not been outbalanced by the speculations of centuries may be granted to Śamkara's conception of *Māyā*. Russell, in his "Scientific Method of Philosophy" entertains such a hope. But it is a matter of regret that behind his optimism, there is a note of despair of which sometimes Russell has given free vent. Even in such a treatise as "Scientific Method of Philosophy" which is as if a message of hope to all future philosophies, Russell has been led to admit that "From the point of view of philosophy, the discovery that a problem is unanswerable is as complete an answer as could probably be expected." (Scientific Method of Philosophy, p. 24.) Says the same writer—"Philosophy should be piecemeal and provisional like science, final truth belongs to heaven, not to this world." (An Outline of Philosophy, p. 3.)

Māyā in its Metaphysical Aspect.

But it might be urged 'that, if inexplicability of the world be the last word of Samkara's philosophy, then it ends in scepticism. Samkara overcomes this scepticism or more properly the negative aspect of his philosophy by treating Māyā in its metaphysical aspect. Māyā metaphysically conceived is a non-entity, though logically conceived, it is an inexplicable entity.'

विलक्षणं यथा ध्वान्तं लीयते भानुतेजसि । •

तथैव सकलं दृश्यं ब्रह्मणि प्रविलीयते ॥५६४॥

न निरोधो न चोत्पत्तिर्न बन्धो न च साधकः ।

न मुमुक्षुर्न वै मुक्त इत्येषा परमार्थता ॥५७४॥

—विवेकचूडामणिः ।

Such passages indicate that in परमार्थभा, i.e., in reality nothing excepting Brahman exists; when the world of multiplicity becomes mere nothing, the Anirvachaniya Māyā which is the nature of the world as a whole vanishes automatically. The previous conception of Māyā has its origin in a logical scrutiny over the nature of the world; the present one has its origin in a world negating intuition; the former is a logical perspective of reality, the latter is an intuitive perspective carried to its highest limit. In this intuition there are no facts, so the problem of other interpretation is a superfluity here. Critics urge that Samkara cannot answer such questions as how Māyā came into being. But this charge cannot fairly be levelled against Samkara since he says that when Māyā exists, it is a fact, it might come anyhow; when Brahman exists there is no Māyā. A similar misunderstanding has led critics to remark that Samkara by maintaining the existence of Māyā side by side with Brahman has not been able to overcome the inner dualism of his system. But we have already pointed out that when Samkara speaks of Māyā he does not speak of Brahman; when he speaks of Brahman he does not speak of Māyā. It is by a simultaneous juxtaposition

of two perspectives of reality taken by Śamkara from the logical and intuitive standpoints, that we create a dualism in his system. Sureshwarāchāryya, a disciple of Śamkara, states it thus :—

“ अक्षमा भवतः केयं साधकत्वप्रकल्पने ।

किं न पश्यसि संसारं तद्वैवाञ्चानकल्पितम् ॥”

It is urged that the metaphysical aspect of Śamkara's Māyā has not been able to overcome the negative aspect of his philosophy, 'since it fails to show a relation between the principle of being and that of becoming. This charge is also not fair ; since it is also based on a confusion of Śamkara's procedure. The world, as analysed by reason does not point to a reality beyond, the reality as seen through the spectacle of the highest intuition entirely negates the world. Śamkara cannot transform these facts, still if you press him to insert a connection between these two orders of reality, he had no answer but to say that the only relation which exists between these mutually exclusive realities is that of ignorance or *Ayīdya*, superimposition or *Adhyāsa*. Russell in his “ Scientific Method of Philosophy ” defines reason as a “ harmonising and controlling force rather than a creative one ” and urges that philosophy should submit to facts instead of interpreting it in a manner that suits our temper. Śamkara did this in a pre-eminent manner. As a matter of fact, those philosophies which have tried to relate the world of experience with the world of reality have not generally been able to retain logical consistency up to the end. L. Morgan admits to some extent his inability to solve this problem. He says, “ For better or worse, I acknowledge God as the *Nisus* through which emergents emerge and the whole course of evolution is directed.” Bradley admits his ignorance of the fact by saying that “ somehow ” the “ appearances ” exist in the breast of the absolute. But it cannot be understood how appearances which have inevitable contradictions in them, be devoid of their apparent character

and still have some sort of separate existence in the absolute life. Logic cannot understand it, an intuition may or may not.

Māyā, not a Surrender of Philosophy.

Is the recognition of Māyā as an unreality on the basis of intuition, a surrender of philosophy? If we define surrender of philosophy as a recognition of intuition in philosophy, then of course, not only Śamkara but other great philosophers of the West surrendered philosophy; but if we define it as a fear for rational analysis or as dogmatism then certainly Śamkara cannot with fairness be accused of such a charge. But it is not fair to interpret surrender of philosophy in the above sense. Philosophy should not be so logically biased as to shut its eyes to perspectives of reality gained through faculties other than reason. Intellect is not all of human existence. It is enough for philosophy if it be not illogical or antilogical, but it may be superlogical. Bradley admits this; Bergson also shakes hands with Śamkara on this point.

As a matter of fact, logic itself carried to its furthest limit substantiates its own inadequacy. Logic must either be deductive or inductive; but both have its own assumptions which are called first principles. Logic itself assumes the validity of those first principles in order to validify itself. When we proceed in our metaphysical query we generally proceed to prove reality by the help of logic, instead of proving the validity of those first principles, thus ultimately we cannot dispense with assumptions. It is often said that these principles are self-evident. But this is an ingenious way of hiding our ignorance. If they are self-evident, why is there a diversity of opinion over their veracity. Supposing that they are self-evident, still it may be argued that self-evidence is relative. What is self-evident to a higher intelligence is a problem to a lesser one.

Self-evidence is, thus, not above incomprehensibility. This has led Couerat to remark :—

“Paradoxical as it may appear, it is impossible to have a logical exposition of these principles of logic ; we are condemned in advance to *Petitio Principii* or to a vicious circle.” (Encyclopedia of Phil. Sciences, Vol. I, Logic, p. 138.)

In this connection Samkara's utterance about the efficacy of reasoning is worth mentioning :—

“तथाहि कैश्चिदभियुक्तैर्लेनोन्नेक्षितास्तर्का अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैराभास्यमाना दृश्यन्ते । तैरप्यन्नेक्षिताः सन्तस्ततोऽन्यैराभास्यन्त इति न प्रतिष्ठितत्वं तर्काणां शक्यमाश्रयितुं, पुरुषमतिद्वैश्वर्यात् ।”

In brief :—

Logicians always differ and intellect carried to its furthest limit gives rise to a never-ending series of controversies.

But we should be very careful in distinguishing *Māyā* from illusion and appearance. Samkara's *Anirvachaniya Māyā* does not tell us that the empirical world is an illusion, but it says that both the empirical world and the cases of illusions are alike inexplicable entities. The explicit distinction between *व्यावहारिक* or empirical realities and *प्रातिभासिक* or illusory realities abundantly shows that they are not on a par with each other. But if we give up the empirical standpoint and consider it in its metaphysical aspect, then, of course, the question of existence of both the empirical world and illusions does not arise at all. *Māyā* in its logical aspect does not tell us that the empirical world is an appearance of some reality beyond, it acquaints us simply with its inexplicability. From the metaphysical point of view, we however may say that this empirical world is an appearance or *लोका* of the reality beyond. But we should be cautious in that case in distinguishing it from its Bradleyan sense. Bradley maintains that these appearances have some sort

of 'transmuted' existence even from the side of the absolute, but Samkara holds that these have no reality whatsoever from the transcendental standpoint.

Ethical Implications of Māyāvāda in general.

It is urged sometimes that Māyāvāda has no ethics. According to many philosophers, ethics has no vital connection with philosophy. So this charge of unethical character of Māyāvāda will not be accepted by all. But, Māyāvāda never abolishes ethics. Morality is essentially humanistic and is connected with personality. It originates essentially in the conception of value. So it is inconsistent with the absolute life; so the absolute is above morality. According to Māyāvāda, one that is one with the absolute, has on the same ground, gone beyond morality. Bradley also admits that the absolute is super-moral. But Māyāvāda never removes the morality of the initiate. It is sometimes urged that the unreality of the world on which Māyāvāda ultimately rests is a charter for immorality, because if the world is false, what is the harm in committing theft, and in killing others. This charge has its origin in a superficial understanding of Māyāvāda. An analysis of our motives shows that all selfish activities are guided by a firm belief in the existence of the empirical world; as a result of this the more a man realises the apparent character of this world, his unselfishness knows no bounds, and finally his moral growth reaches its culmination in a negation of this individual ego for ever. It is because of this that we find the Upanisadic sages who realised the truth were highly moral. It is because of this that Māyāvāda demands that its aspirant (अधिकारी) must be नितान्तनिर्मलस्वतः सार्धनवः, इत्यस्य च— in brief, one who has reached such a height of morality as the common mass cannot even conceive. Superficial understanding only tries to reduce Māyāvāda to a charter for selfishness. If your body is unreal, as well as mine, why do you

not give up your body in the service of others, instead of killing mine simply because both are unreal. Thus, properly understood, it is a charter for love, for equality, for immortal bliss. The world is false, Brahman alone is real and bliss in itself; so hate none because it is all Brahman, seek not because you are itself the object that is to be sought. Declares Māyāvāda :—

“ विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ॥
 शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥
 इहैव तैर्जितः स्वर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।
 निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ॥”

Consequently, if Russell's statement that “if philosophy can help us to feel the value of these things (love, beauty, knowledge and joy of life), it will have played its part in men's collective work of bringing light into a world of darkness” be true, then we may say that Māyāvāda has the potency to play this part very well.

The ethical aspect of Māyāvāda deserves a separate treatment. We consider our task finished by simply quoting the following words of Deussen in this connection.

“Tattvamasi” thou art that, in these three words Vedanta gives morality and metaphysics both in one.

One conversant with the so-called charges that are generally put forward against Māyāvāda, perhaps knows that the western critics of Saṃkara generally consider Māyā in its cosmological aspect, neglecting its other two aspects. Even Rāmānuja has been very unfair in his searching criticism of Māyā and seems to treat it mainly in its cosmological aspect. We refrain from a detailed treatment of the *unsoundness* of the Ramanujistic comment on Māyā as discussed in his commentary to the Brahma-Sūtras. It would be enough for our purpose to point out that when Saṃkara considers Māyā to be a mere metaphysical

non-entity, Ramanuja should not bother about the impossibility of its locus in Brahman or Jiva.

These considerations have led us to maintain that *Māyāvāda* should not be taken on its face-value.¹

GOVINDA CHANDRA DEB-PURKAYASTHA

¹ Read at the Post-Graduate Philosophical Seminar of the Calcutta University in 1981, by the writer.

BELLS OF CALCUTTA

There are temple bells a-ringing in Calcutta.
Bells that jangle in the wind across the Hugi ;
Winds that softly sweep over Maiden Esplanade,
Bells belonging to Calcutta and now to me.

Bells that ring their joyous peals on memory,
Bells that join their silver tones with Howrah,
Temple bells of both in throated harmony
With blooming Eden Gardens, ever and alway.

Bells are ringing in Calcutta, wild and sweet.
Bells, I know your honied tones, ever and alway
I that dallied where worn highways cross and meet.
In Calcutta I dallied on an unforgotten day.

Bells are ringing in Calcutta, leagues and leagues away.
Skies transluscent (skies of Bengal) skies pink and blue
In my heart I hold you—hold you safe alway.
I left my heart in pledge there; in pledge to you.

Wind-rung bells of Howrah, over mile-wide Hugi
Now and ever ringing in my ears as yesterday.
I forget not. I know your call—your call for me.
Around the world a silvery cadence calls alway.

Ever temple bells are ringing in Calcutta,
In Calcutta where no journey ever starts or ends.
Bells are ringing softly, ringing the years away;
Calling to old mornings, calling back old friends.

DAVID W. CADE

THE HOOVER DOCTRINE

“ Above all, I have projected a new doctrine into international affairs, the doctrine that we do not and never will recognise a title to possession of territory gained in violation of peace pacts ” (President Hoover’s *nomination address* on August, 11, 1932).¹ Some of the fundamental conceptions of International Law have undergone a new orientation since the outbreak of the Great War. According to accepted canons of International Law, war was perfectly legal irrespective of the justness or otherwise of the cause; the rules of International Law concerned themselves in defining the legal incidents of rights and duties arising out of war. During the cataclysm of 1914 to 1919 the best minds on either side of the Atlantic began to devote themselves to a new problem—to remove war from the domain of International Law as a just and lawful act, and thereby to ensure maintenance of perpetual peace. Various rules have been postulated with this end in view, and various treaties and covenants have been entered into. But in spite of them, the world has been startled more than once with the thunder of cannon, and the bursting of bombs; and the recent events in Manchuria and Chaco have once again set the world a-tremble. The Hoover doctrine, therefore, as the latest contribution to the problem of world peace deserves earnest thought and consideration.

It is impossible to appraise the merits of the new doctrine without a just regard to the existing machinery for the preservation of peace. For, any fresh policy that is projected into international affairs that merely perpetuates the incidents and infirmities of the present system is bound in the end to prove of doubtful value and utility.

When the great statesmen of all nations gathered round the ashes of the old world at Versailles in 1919 all their enthusiasm and hope lay in the creation of the League of Nations that would guarantee future security. They forged Art. 10 into the Covenant of the League to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League, though, as President Wilson stated later, "every Imperialistic influence in Europe was hostile to the embodiment¹ of that article. By Art. 11 any war or threat of war was declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League was enjoined to take any action to safeguard the peace of nations after mutual consultation. Art. 12 provided for arbitration or enquiry by Council of the League of any disputes likely to lead to a rupture, and in no case to resort to war until three months after the award of arbitrators or report by the Council. Any party to a dispute that had not been so referred to could submit the matter to the Council by Art. 15 for settlement. Finally by Art. 16 it was stipulated that should any member resort to war in disregard of its covenants it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial regulations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and further to protect the covenants of the League by armed forces to be severally contributed by the members.

To all intents and purposes no better provisions could possibly be devised to safeguard the future peace of the world. The weakness of international law had hitherto lain in the difficulty of enforcement of its rules. Here was the covenant heavily loaded with sanctions largely due to the efforts

¹ President Wilson's letter to Senator Hitchcock on 8th March, 1920.—Congressional Record, 66th Congress, Second Session, pp. 4354-4355.

of lacerated France; and the world rejoiced that at last the rule of law was going to reign in international affairs, in form and in substance.

But soon the old order of diplomacy began to assert itself. The United States refused to ratify the Covenant and disowned her President, the principal architect of the League who had striven so nobly and successfully in its cause. The nations of Europe discovered that their commitments to the Covenant were incompatible with their independence and sovereignty. Art. 10 which to President Wilson seemed "to constitute the very backbone of the whole Covenant," and without which "the League would be hardly more than an influential debating society"¹ was sought to be deleted by Canada. It aroused opposition largely from the smaller states. Amendments to the Covenant are a hard process since they require unanimity. Then began the ingenious method of introducing amendments in the guise of interpretative resolutions devitalising the soul and substance of the Covenant. The interpretative resolution to Art. 10 runs: "It is in conformity with the spirit of Art. 10 that in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall be bound to take account, more particularly of the geographical situation, and of the special conditions of each State. It is for the constitutional authorities of each State to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the Member is bound to assure the executions of this obligation by employments of its military forces ..."² This resolution, due to the opposition of the small voice of Persia stands in the unique position of being recorded as neither adopted nor rejected. Art. 16, the

¹ A History of the Peace Conference, Vol. VI, p. 445.

² Records of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations, 13th Meeting, pp. 79-80.

sanctions clause, has similarly undergone a change. The International Blockade Committee constituted for the drafting of details for its enforcement recommended, and the Assembly adopted resolutions interpreting Art. 16: "Each State retains the right to decide for itself when a breach of the Covenant has been committed..... The unilateral action of the defaulting State cannot create a state of war. It merely entitles the other members of the League to resort to acts of war."¹ But the greatest anomaly in operating the sanctions under Art. 16 lay in the fact that it was dependent on the declaration by the Council that a resort to war had taken place, a declaration that required for its validity a unanimous vote including the vote of the delinquent. It may be of interest to note in this connection that the proposal of the Blockade Committee to amend the Constitution by excluding the accused from voting in the Council under Art. 16 has been rendered ineffective for want of ratification by the several Members.

The result, therefore, has been lamentable. In few, very few cases where small powers have been engaged in conflict as in the Greek invasion of Bulgaria in the Autumn of 1925, or in minor differences to which a Great Power is a party, the League has been able to intervene with effect. But on many occasions—Vilna and Carfu, not to mention others,—the authority of the League was neither acknowledged nor respected, and the League regrettably proved its impotence.

The necessary consequence was again a search for security, when the nations were faced with the problem of reduction of their armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety under Art. 8 of the Covenant. Everyone recognised that the existing rates of armaments were eating into the vitals of every State. Further, there could be no security without disarmament. But there could be no disarmament

¹ International Blockade Committee's Report. League of Nations, A. 14, 1927, V, pp. 17-21.

without security. Having undermined the foundations of its authority by the interpretative resolutions, the League naturally could not be looked to for security. In 1923 a Treaty of Mutual Assistance was drafted. It was rejected. Then came into being the Geneva Protocol which, in the words of Prof. Raffard, "was an attempt to promote disarmament by creating security, to create security by outlawing war, to enforce the outlawry of war by uniting the world against the would-be aggressor and to base this union of mutual protection upon the fundamental principle of universal compulsory arbitration."¹ But the Geneva Protocol shared no better fate, largely due to the grave objections raised by Great Britain. But the problem was pressing. A series of regional alliances known as the Locarno Agreements were concluded between the States in Central Europe on two basic principles—a guarantee of territorial integrity, and a guaranteed process of arbitration.

The Locarno pacts may have had a distant bearing on the subsequent initiation by Mr. Kellogg of a multi-lateral treaty between the nations of the World, which was formally signed on 27th August, 1928. This treaty called the Briand-Kellogg Pact is a definite landmark in the history of peace. The Covenant of the League, it may be noted, did not altogether interdict war. Apart from war in self-defence, under the Covenant four or even five situations may be imagined in which war is legally possible. But the Kellogg pact renounces war as an instrument of national policy; the High Contracting Parties agree never to seek the settlement of any international dispute among them except by pacific means. War in self-defence is not prohibited by the treaty; but by the interpretative note sent by His Majesty's Government of Great Britain, any interference in "certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest"²

¹ Prof. Raffard, *International Relations viewed from "Geneva,"* p. 156.

² Cmd. Paper, 8109, 8153, 1928.

to Britain, presumably Egypt and the Persian Gulf, could be resisted by war by Great Britain in "self-defence" without violating the terms of the treaty. No sanctions were provided in the pact. Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary of State, stated with reference to the pact in 1930: "Its sole sanction lies in the power of public opinion in the countries constituting substantially the entire civilised world whose governments have joined in the Covenant."¹ Many of the signatories to the pact leave it perfectly clear that the terms of the Pact in no way affect their obligations under the Covenant or the Locarno engagements.

Be that as it may, the terms of the Kellogg pact are so wide and far-reaching and definite in outlawing war, that one would have expected it to reinforce the provisions of the League Covenant and thereby lay the foundations of everlasting peace, "without again having the necessity of inventing fresh formula and new doctrines. But events have happened which have shown with uncanny clearness the limitations and shortcomings of the present guarantees of safety, and these events have incidentally led to the enunciation of the Hoover doctrine.

Both Japan and China were parties to the Covenant. When Japan invaded Manchuria and violated the territorial integrity of China the League Council and Assembly were in session in Paris. Did the two bodies enforce the solemn obligation of the Covenant? When they assembled the next month, in October, Japan had advanced much further. Japan was ordered to withdraw from Manchuria by December. What happened? Japan advanced further, and occupied the whole of Manchuria. The Council again met; it knew that Japan had not complied with its demands; nevertheless the only thing it did was to send a commission to Manchuria. The Special Assembly that was convoked by China ended

¹ Press Releases, Department of State, Feb. 20th, 1930.

by passing a series of platitudinous resolutions affirming in all but one respect merely the principles of the Covenant.

Japan violated not only the Covenant but also the Kellogg pact at the same time. America, as well as every other signatory to that treaty, knew perfectly well that Japan had resorted to war in defiance of the terms of her solemn engagement. But they did nothing to stop the invasion or check the advance, and when at last Japan had occupied the whole of Manchuria, America sent her note of 7th January, 1932, to both the Powers, embodying therein for the first time the Hoover doctrine which was later grafted into the resolutions of the Special Assembly.

"With the recent military operations about Chinchow," the note ran, "the last remaining administrative authority of the government of the Chinese Republic in Southern Manchuria, as it existed prior to September 18th, 1931, has been destroyed. But in view of the present situation, and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto*, nor does it intend to recognise any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments or agents thereof which may impair treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the 'Open door' policy, and that it does not intend to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris, of August 27th, 1928, to which treaty both China and Japan as well as the United States are parties."¹

Manchuria is now the new state of Manchuko with a government set up by Japan.

The Hoover doctrine of non-recognition was again repeated after the forts of Paraguay were captured by Bolivia. It need hardly be added that in spite of the declaration of non-recognition the forts are still in the hands of Bolivia, and hostilities in Chaco have not yet ended.

It is apparent however that by the insistence of that declaration by America on both these occasions, and the adoption of that policy by the League in its resolution in the Special Session on the Sino-Japanese dispute, the doctrine of non-recognition has now been definitely postulated by all the nations of the world as the only active and enforceable sanction behind the Covenant and the Pact of Paris. It is therefore necessary to investigate into the potentialities of this new Doctrine as an effective substitute for the express Sanctions of the Covenant.

Recognition is necessary for a newly-formed State to enable it to enter into diplomatic relations with other States who are already members of the Family of Nations: On recognition the State acquires all the privileges and immunities of international law in the recognising States. Non-recognition therefore would imply the withholding of these privileges by the non-recognising State, with the result that there is no official intercourse between the two States. Recognition is of great importance when a new government is formed in an old state by revolution or *coup d'etat*. But when a firm and stable government is established recognition follows as a matter of course. In a world which is beginning to realise the interdependence of nations in modern times, non-recognition might easily prove itself a double-edged policy. Oppenheim says, "The interests of the Old States must suffer quite as much as those of the new State, if recognition is for any length of time refused, and in practice these interests in time enforce either express or implied recognition." ¹

¹ Oppenheim, International Law, Vol. I, pp. 146, 147.

The policy of recognition by the United States has undergone different changes with different Presidents, especially in its relation to the Republics of Central America. Once it depended on the form of the new government; at another on the constitutionality of the means followed in setting up the new government. It is now admitted that "the recognition of a new government is simply an acknowledgment that it exercises the sovereignty of the nation, and speaks and acts for it with authority. If this is the primary meaning of recognition, the origin, form and character of the new government are of secondary importance."¹

But what is important to notice is that a State is not dependent for its continuance on recognition by other States. A State exists whether it is recognised or not. "Much misconception prevails concerning 'Recognition.' As its name implies it is only evidence of the existence of the State or government. It does not create it. Either a state exists, or it does not exist; the opinions of other people on the subject do not alter the fact."²

The Soviet Republic has not been recognised by the United States, presumably because, Mr. Hughes is reported to have stated, of its repudiation of the debts of the old government of Russia. But the Soviet Republic still exists and has official relations with many nations; she is a signatory to the Kellogg pact in spite of non-recognition by the United States and her open recognition by that country is only a matter of time. •

Is the Hoover doctrine of greater efficacy in the case of acquisition of territory in breach of the Covenant and the Pact of Paris? Would non-recognition by third States prevent the acquisition of title to occupied territory? International Law recognises subjugation as a mode of acquiring new territory.

¹ American Journal of International Law, 1926, p. 596.

² Baty, Canons of International Law, pp. 204, 205.

Such act may give rise to a right of intervention when the balance of power is affected. "But it must be emphasised," says Oppenheim, "that the validity of the title of the subjugating State does not depend upon recognition on the part of other Powers. Nor is a mere protest of a third Power of any legal weight."¹ The same writer is also of opinion that Art. 10 of the Covenant in no way alters this statement of law.²

The principle of the law of prescription in private law applies with equal weight to International transactions. A person can acquire a valid title in law to property he has been in adverse possession for the prescribed period of time irrespective of the breach of law committed at the time of occupation or the withholding of recognition by third parties or the aggrieved party; and it would be strange indeed if it were otherwise when the person in possession is an independent sovereign State.

The inherent weakness of the Hoover doctrine therefore lies in this, that the doctrine of non-recognition is essentially a doctrine of inaction. It is passive, without the power of resistance. It seeks to escape actualities by firmly shutting the eyes to their existence. It rests on the foundation that facts could be altered by texts. It takes no consideration that non-recognition in the long run is tantamount to acquiescence.

If it is implicit in the declaration of President Hoover that intervention is a necessary resultant of the doctrine, it would certainly be a different matter. But America had, and every other nation had, that right of intervention irrespective of the doctrine, the moment the territorial integrity of China or Paraguay was violated, and the Covenant and the Treaty broken; and the man in the street would naturally recall the proverbial attempt to close the stable after the

¹ Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. I, pp. 466 and 467.

² *Ibid*, p. 467.

horse's flight and ask why President Hoover did not deem it America's duty to exercise the right of intervention before "the last remaining administrative authority of the government of the Chinese Republic in Southern Manchuria" had been destroyed?

The Hoover policy was expounded at length by Mr. Stimson, the Secretary of State, in a dinner speech to the Council of Foreign Relations in New York on 8th August.¹ Referring to the Covenant and the Kellogg pact, Mr. Stimson said they signalled a 'revolution in human thought,' that 'since war between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, it has become illegal throughout the World.' When a conflict occurred, under the former concepts of International Law 'it was usually deemed the concern only of the injured party. The others could only exercise and express a strict neutrality alike towards the injured and the aggressor.....Now under the Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg pact such a conflict became of concern to everybody concerned with the pact. All of the steps taken to enforce the treaty must be judged by the new situation.' Mr. Stimson detailed the action taken by the United States in the Sino-Japanese conflict in maintaining the treaty. Consultation among the nations was implicit. The American policy, he stated, 'combines the readiness to co-operate for peace and justice in the world which Americans have always manifested while at the same time it preserves the independence of judgment and the flexibility of action upon which our people have always insisted.' "The American people," he maintained, "are serious in their support and valuation of the treaty. They will not fail to do their share in this endeavour."

To judge that share by the action taken by America so far, the only act apparent to the world hitherto, and claimed

¹ *The Times*, 9th August, 1932.

by Mr. Stimson in his speech, is the formal launching of the doctrine of non-recognition in the note to Japan and China. China has lost Manchuria; that is an accomplished fact; and the doctrine of non-recognition has neither altered that fact nor restored *status quo*.

Mr. Stimson's thesis that there could be no neutral in war after the Covenant and the Treaty has long been recognised. A war in contravention of the Covenant *ipso facto* becomes a war against all. But whenever any such war has broken out, has any Power assumed automatically a state of belligerency, or treated the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State as the nationals of a belligerent State? In the eye of International Law modified by the Covenant, the third States were belligerents; but in fact, and in their dealings, they remained neutrals.

The American Secretary once again referred to public opinion as the sanction behind the pact: If it is intended as anything more than a rhetorical flourish, it conveys but little. Public opinion is a vague undefinable thing, differing with latitudes and longitudes. Innumerable iniquities are still stalking all quarters of the globe despite public opinion. To found any effective sanctions on bare public opinion is to render security against war futile and infructuous.

The difficulties in the way of world peace are more deep and fundamental than are imagined. The framers of the Covenant knew perfectly well when they provided that war in breach of the Covenant was *ipso facto* war against all, that such a war, 'automatically arising out of a condition subsequent' pursuant to the Covenant, was not a war declared by the Constitutional authorities of each nation. This was the chief objection that kept America out of the League. The declaration of war is the sovereign right of each state. Nevertheless the signatories to the Covenant made a semblance of parting with such rights in favour of the League, but very soon they restored to each other in

substance what Mr. Stimson would call 'independence of judgment and flexibility of action,' by means of interpretative resolutions to Art. 10 and Art. 16. It is obvious, however, that a community of Nations that seeks to enforce rules of International Law by collective action cannot at the same time concede freedom of movement to an individual member. "Independence of judgment and flexibility of action" are incompatible with submission to law by a nation or an individual. A breach of the Covenant or the pact should attract automatic, immediate, collective action by the other Powers to render them effective. To vest a discretionary right to a member State to decide for itself the fact of violation of the Covenant, and take such action as it seems fit is to revert back again to the pre-war state. Mr. Stimson claims freedom of action for his own country; he could therefore hardly fail to concede the same to the other Nations. But that certainly does not advance the cause of International Law or International Peace.

With such reservations, the Hoover doctrine, feeble as it is, loses much of its force. As Chief Justice Taft of the Supreme Court of the United States observed in his award in the dispute between Great Britain and Costa Rica in 1923, "acquiescence by all the nations in the world is a condition precedent to considering non-recognition as a postulate of International Law."¹

The great defect of the Hoover doctrine as a contribution to world peace is that it does not come into operation at the commencement of the outbreak of hostilities and strive to spare the horrors of a war, but is capable of application only at the very end after the war and after conquest. If the world peace has been broken at times, it is not due to lack of doctrines, but the reluctance of the signatories to the Covenant and the Kellogg pact to implement their solemn engagement

¹ American Journal of International Law, Vol. 18, p. 153.

by collective action. Japan or Bolivia may or may not have had grave provocation in resorting to arms. Which State ever had not? It is not the merits of the case, but the indubitable fact of the violation of the Covenant and the pact that is material. There is little difference between those who break the law and those who condone the breach in a network of juridical niceties. If America had stood behind President Wilson, and joined the League of Nations, the machinery for maintenance of peace should have been a real living organism. But so long as nations are not prepared to concede any portion of their sovereignty to the League or forego independence of action in some respects, and implement their covenants and treaties in word and in spirit by action irrespective of interest, the framing of new formulae or projection of new doctrines in International affairs is unlikely to lead to the preservation of world tranquillity.

M. KRISHNAN NAMBYAR

THE RELIGION OF CHRIST AND AFTER

To tell in a few words what was the religion of Christ is to tell that it consisted in the belief in one God and in the love of that God and man. As Christ is believed to be the fullest manifestation of the love of God in humanity, it appears that to him there was one law in the universe, and that law was love, and others were auxiliary to it for implementing its fulfilment. Christ taught that as man could not see God, he by the observance of loving duty to his fellow-men could serve Him and thereby secure "life eternal" or salvation. But let it not be understood that by teaching this he intended, in the least, to belittle or do away with the duty of observing the first commandment of the Judaic Law. He simply desired to impress seriously upon the people around him the propriety of observing its second commandment, which the priests of his time had, in a manner, ignored and trifled with, laying great stress only on the observance of the first commandment by performing the prescribed rites, ceremonials, etc., as man's imperative religious duty. That is, while Christ taught that God could not be served except through the service of man, on the other hand, the priests required that if the believers of Jehova only performed the rituals in the temple and held the customary fasts and gave some alms at times, then they would be able to fulfil their duty before Him. But it appears that in consequence of such a teaching of Christ, so detrimental to the interest of the priests and so contradictory to the established customs of the time, they maliciously set themselves against him and falsely accusing him, before the then Roman governor of the province, as a rebel had him condemned and crucified to death.

Next we find that as in the universe good and evil are concomitant in existence, a generation after the execution of

Christ, one Saul, afterwards called St. Paul, who had persecuted the followers of Christ and put them in prison, suddenly appeared on the scene in a new garb and promulgated a new doctrine, which he termed his "new gospel" by declaring that Christ was a person in the Godhead and that in the belief of this his teaching lay the salvation of man who otherwise would be damned. However, this doctrine of St. Paul was not understood by many at the time as it is not understood now. Thus, we find, that while in the life-time of Christ his teaching was furiously attacked by the priests, after his death his person was elevated to the place of God by St. Paul. Though this doctrine has ever since been disputed by many, yet Christ has been universally loved and adored as the fairest expression of the love of God in his person.

Since St. Paul knew what was the teaching of Christ, his boastful statement that he presented a 'new gospel' for the acceptance of man was a clear declaration that he preached a cardinally different religion from that of Christ. However, we find, as a fact, that if St. Paul's new doctrine had any connection with Christ, it consisted only in raising his person to its imaginary place in the Godhead, while it obliterated the real and more important thing to man, namely, his teaching. While Christ taught that by the observance of the love of God and man, man's salvation would be secured, on the contrary, St. Paul declared that simply by man's belief in the divinity of Christ and as his saviour lay his salvation or everlasting happiness. Thus the outstanding fact remains apparent that St. Paul who, after the death of Christ, at first entered the scene as a staunch ally and champion on behalf of Christ and his followers, later on turned out to be his worst enemy regarding his religion, or in short, while with the one hand he enthroned the person of Christ with God, with the other he deposed him from his legitimate place as a peerless teacher of moral duties to man. But if St. Paul had left Christ alone instead of proceeding to raise him to "The fulness of the

Godhead," he would not have been guilty of lowering the personality of God and also of robbing Christ of the due honour to which he was entitled as the greatest teacher ever sent by God into the world for the moral and spiritual elevation of mankind. So, it appears that the outstanding result of St. Paul's introducing his new theology has not only been a most imprudent challenge to the divinely fragrant religion of Christ, but also by it he has done an immense injury to the world of religion. If it is acknowledged that Christ was a good man, meek, unambitious and purposeful of good to man, and was not swayed by any self-seeking motive like St. Paul, who burnt with the passion of self-love to establish himself as the promulgator of a new theology in the world—an antithesis to that of Christ—let us seriously consider what Christ said about all false teachings, namely, "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." (Mt. 3.10.)

•Howbeit though to some people the Godhead of Christ is at best a theory, yet to many others his place as a supreme teacher of ethics is an actuality in their experience. What we find as a fact is this that the teaching of St. Paul, so glaringly at variance with that of Christ and of all previous teachers of man, but ever since adopted in Christendom, has brought in its wake baneful results which have been manifest in the Christian nations of the world.

•However, we find that during the life-time of Christ though the Jewish priests showed bitter animosity to him because they apprehended that their interest would be jeopardized by the preaching of Christ to the effect that the observance of the old rites, ceremonials, etc., was no essential part of their monotheistic religion refined and reformed as it was since the shedding of the new light of revelation upon it, the people at large were attracted towards Christ for they liked to hear him, declaring as he did, that all men even the utmost

sinner seeking the mercy of God would be saved : such good news they had never heard before from any of their priests and rabbis. Thus it is apparent that only for the priests' inability to apprehend the motive of Christ, which was the purification of their religious worship, owing to the absence of their desire to be guided by the knowledge of truth and the fear of loss in their lucrative profession, they became extremely enraged against him and wanted to be avenged upon him.

But as after the execution of Christ their sense of grievance against him disappeared from their minds, they lent little countenance to the new doctrine of St. Paul who, we find, after jealously carrying on a controversy with the learned rabbis of the time for consecutive fifty-two weeks in their synagogue for converting them to his new theology that Christ was also God, and saviour but at last being totally baffled in his attempt, in disgust left Jerusalem to preach his new doctrine in non-Jewish countries.

It may be noted by the reader that St. Paul's doctrine which consisted in the subversion of the religion of Christ, though intulcating his elevation to divinity, cannot properly be called Christianity, or the religion as preached by Christ though it now associated with his name.

In these pages it will be shown that on the evidence that has beamed out here and there in the Christian scriptures, written after the death of Christ, the unbiased student of religion will be convinced that the religion of St. Paul cannot be a divinely constituted institution, and as a matter of fact it has not been able to morally and spiritually uplift its believers during the last two thousand years.

Since the time of Christ down to the present day, there has been a controversy over the question whether Christ must be believed as God or His son like all men.

Belief, which is an attitude of mind, is derived from two sources : either the examination of things which are seen or the intuition of things which are not seen. Now let us

consider whether either by the examination of things which are seen relating to Christ or by the intuition of the things which are not seen but connected with him, he can be believed as God? If any man believes Christ to be God, who lived as a man amongst men, he will have to prove that his senses have not belied him. But if with a like reason it is contended that the unbelief in Christ as God must also needs be proved:—to such a contention the answer is, that as almost all conclusions of man are arrived at through the testimony of his senses, so why only in the case of Christ will it be rejected? But if it is agreed that as belief also comes through intuition, why should not Christ be believed as God? To this the answer is, that such an argument cannot properly be resorted to here for believing him as God, inasmuch as conclusions on the ground of intuition can only be admissible in the belief about the existence of God, who is invisible to and inconceivable by man. But as Christ was born and he lived, worked and died as a man before men, so the functioning of intuition for believing him as God cannot be properly applied in his case. The best that can be said in respect of Christ is this, that as divinity is in every man, so it was also in him, but developed in a far greater measure than in any other man born in the world, and also that no other man besides him has ever been found to be able to help the moral and spiritual advancement of man to the extent and in the manner he has been able to do by his unique life, teaching and character.

The belief of many in the Godhead of Christ, principally based upon his saying, "I and my Father are one" (Jn. 10.30) will be found to be an incorrect notion on their reading his prayer in Jn. 17. 21, where he desired that his disciples might be "one" with God like him, which if interpreted in the sense that they also might be gods cannot but be an absurdity. As in the universe all existences are relative, so there can be nothing absolute and unrelated in it. Thus the relation between God and man must be considered

as one of degree between great and small, and so the Laws of Causation and of Progress working in the universe can be accounted for. And as also many a devotee of God was convinced, as Christ was, that the parts were the individualisations of the whole and the whole was the combination of its parts, so neither the parts nor the whole could exist independently of one another. Thus Christ, as a devotee, realised his existence in God, and God's in him as mutually complementary to each other. From this we can understand why Christ said to his accusers "Ye are gods" (Jn. 10. 34) and also to his disciples that they could do greater works than what he had done. Thus if the final goal of humanity is divinity attained by perfection, it must be by the expression of the "Hidden God" within it; and so if many a devotee of God feeling that he attained perfection thought that he was God, it was not unnatural. Therefore, many a devotee born in different ages and countries thought that if man fulfilled the conception of God within him he would apprehend his true greatness, as for being to be becoming and the made to be its Maker have been the eternal longing of existence. Thus many a devotee has been found to strive to realize what his self is and what are its possibilities and to think that if he could do away with his sense of self as an entity separate from God, he would be as God. And as also many a devotee felt that man's longing for oneness with God and God's desire for oneness with man would not be in vain, but would result to the glory of God and man, Christ's feeling like him was not strange.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Christ was able to recognize the internal affinity that existed between the individual and the Universal Souls and by that their moral harmony, for which God calls man His son and man calls Him his Father. Thus, Christ, desiring that his disciples' relation with God might be made closer, as it had become his own with Him, knowing out of what "Rock" they had come,

he was found to pray that they might be as good as their original, by their change of heart, subdued flesh, love of all, or in short, by their lives lived in conformity with the nature of God—a potentiality which, he thought, was in every man like him. It is also to be understood from his teaching that man's attaining oneness with God was meant by him to be his re-birth in the kingdom of heaven or the realization of his inheritance in God. Thus as many a devotee in the East living in the conviction, that he lived in God and God in him, was not uncommonly found to think that he and God were one, so we find that Christ thinking likewise declared: "I and my Father are one." In this we recognize that Christ did but voice the universal instinct which the law of progress, ever active in the universe, has been accomplishing. As in the identification of the self of man with that of God lay the teaching of the mystery of life of Christ—as of all prophets and teachers who had preceded him—so by the word "one" in the above two passages it may be correctly assumed that Christ believed himself to be as one in mind and nature with God and he desired that his disciples might be like him. For the corroboration of the correctness of this interpretation we refer the reader to St. Peter who hoped that the disciples of Christ might be partakers of "divine nature." (2 Pt. 1. 4.) . .

Christ's disciples, taking up this his highest teaching and believing that he had become one with God, believed him as God. . . But as a concept cannot be the reality, so Christ did not actually become God ceasing to be Christ. But in vindication of them who thought Christ to be God, it may be said that he in life so greatly expressed himself as God, that they thought him to be so. But though many a devotee of God, specially in the East, was not infrequently found to express such language of mystical experience about himself, which is liable to be interpreted that he really claimed to be God, and though Christ like him, enjoying in the depth of his heart the

closest communion with God, might have spoken of his relation to Him in such language as is found in the fourth Gospel, yet in fairness to him, it must be said that he never permitted men actually to deify him. We find that, on the night just before his arrest by the Roman soldiers, Christ prayed to God that he might be saved from his apprehended death if it was His will, whereby he proved his inferiority to God. For a further corroboration of our statement that Christ never claimed to be equal to God, we refer the reader to the passages in Mt. 19. 17 and Mk. 10. 18 where he will find that he objected to be associated himself with God by men calling him even good, saying that God only was good. Lastly the reader will find that the question was further cleared up by Christ, as when on one occasion, some angry Jews misunderstanding his intention rose to stone him, accusing him saying "Thou being a man makest thyself God," he at once refuted their accusation by saying reprovingly, "Do you mean to tell me, whom the Father consecrated and sent into the world, I am blaspheming, because I said 'I am God's son?' " (Jn. 10. 36. Moffat's and Waymouth's translations). Thus on the testimony of Christ himself the reader will be convinced that in diverse places in the Gospels his inferiority to God is established beyond a doubt. So, St. Paul's doctrine about the Godhead of Christ should be brushed aside as having no foundation anywhere except his own imagination from which emanated his new theology.

But as many might still fail to understand the true meaning of Christ's teaching, we find him taking care to graphically expound it by several exquisite parables, which we think will suffice for our purpose to refer to here. These are recounted in the Gospel of Matthew, Chapter 25, namely, those of "Son of man," "The Bridegroom," "The Man travelling into a far country" and "The Last day of judgment" where the words and phrases, namely, "The Son of man," "The Bridegroom," "The man travelling into a far country," and

"The king," cannot imply Christ but God, which will be perceived by any sensible man who has no preconceived notion about Christ.

But Christian theologians have still been found to contend that if Christ was not God, he would not have spoken, at several places, with authority as of God: in refutation of such a contention we aver that such as we have shown before, in fact, the devotees all over the world, specially in the East, have been found subject to such a God-consciousness within them; and for this they must not be slighted or set at naught. For if any man feels divinity within him, which is in itself hard to do, it is harder still, nay impossible, for him to speak of it before others, as we should understand that when one seeks a thing infinitely higher than himself, it is not an ordinary thing which he seeks, but something else, which he has got a vision of, and that vision is for him only who seeks it. So the devotee of God who was not unoften a mystic has sometimes been found to identify himself with God. His God-consciousness was not unnatural, inasmuch as it also came to him in response to God's desire for oneness with him. Thus it must be considered that his sense of God-consciousness, sprang purely from his sense of self-negation. So, it was neither blasphemy nor self-exaltation, but was owing to his consuming love for his Adored and humbleness which reduced his self to its Source. Thus man's desire to be unified with divinity, the rapturous theme of poets and prophets, from old ever expressed in mystical words, must be assumed as the echo in his heart of God's call for union with Him. Thus we find that Christ in his feeling of God-consciousness not infrequently thought that his words and acts were not his own but those of God, as in the enthronement of divinity within him his humanity was brought to nought. Therefore, if at times Christ was found to speak and do authoritatively as God, it is not at all to be wondered at.

Also it is not correct to deduce the Godhead of Christ

from his acknowledgment of messiahship before Peter (Mt. 16. 17, Mk. 8. 10 and Lk. 9. 21) and his claim to it before the woman at Sycher (Jn. 4. 26) "as a messiah or Christ of God" implied nothing but one who was specially consecrated by God and sent into the world for a special purpose, as was believed by the Jews. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this statement by referring to several other places in Christian Scriptures in which Christ, though a messiah of God, has been found to have asseverated his inferiority to God.

Lastly, let us close the question of Christ's so-called claim to the Godhead, because of his messiahship, by pointing out that as the term messiah meant nothing more than a man who was 'anointed' or appointed by God to declare his will to men at a particular time of their religious history as was believed by the Jews; so nowhere did he object to the ascription of the term messiah relating to him. We find that Christ himself in his first ministry at the synagogue of Nazareth declared that he was consecrated and commissioned by God for the purpose of preaching the good news of the salvation of all men—even the despairing ones. This question has been found to be made more intelligible by prophet Micah who said that messiahs had been coming into the world for the benefit of men from the earliest times (Mc. 5. 2), a belief also met with in other old religious scriptures of the world. Also we think it will not be out of place here to mention that Daniel in a prophecy regarding the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem mystically connected the term messiah with the Persian king who permitted the reconstruction of the edifice. Thus, a messiah of God or Christ should not be believed to be God, but as a "formed" or created thing as we find it indicated in Proverbs, 8. 22. This does away with the theory of the Godship of Christ because of his messiahship at its root.

About the similarity found in the teachings of the messiahs of God in all ages and climes, it is but natural that just

as man is man everywhere, inspite of his colour, whether it be white, yellow or black, so Christ, a messiah of God, like other messiahs who had preceded him, has been found to teach man only one method for the attainment of his salvation or highest happiness, namely, the practice of the love of God and man. Indeed as God is one, His Gospel to be the Gospel for all His children could not have been delivered by Christ in any other terms except as what also other messiahs had taught before him. If he had not done so, then the Gospel of God would have been made a misnomer by him and he would have proved himself to be an unfaithful servant of God. Testifying to his faithfulness in this respect, we find Christ said that he declared to man only what he had heard from God, just as the Buddha said that he had only rediscovered the old way and Confucius said that he only repeated the old truth.

Thus by acknowledging the messiahship of Christ and of others as has been told in diverse scriptures of the world such as the Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, Gita, Dhammapada, Lotus, Koran, etc., the reader will have to acknowledge that messiahs have appeared many times in the world. But if by the messiahship of Christ he be considered as God, he shall be forced to acknowledge that God has multiplied in the world reducing his conclusion into an absurdity.

It is a pleasure to find that many fair-minded Christians, with many-windowed souls capable of looking in all directions far and wide, as they were anxiously expected by Christ to be "The light of the world," have been found to believe that also the non-Christian scriptures reveal the loving purpose of God towards all his children alike. So they believe that if they lived in obedience to His will, they would be able to secure their ultimate happiness. As the world is ready to believe that Christ was not only a faithful deliverer of God's ambrosial message to man, but that he also showed by his cross that he was a faithful doer of the same, so we find his

disciples after his death, in their day, believing him to be God's accredited messiah, and as such their exemplar (1. Pt. 2.21), hoped that by the observance of their love of God and loving service to their fellow-men, as taught by him, they would be able to attain salvation.

But lest the message of Christ, so short and simple, in which there was no creed or dogmatic formulation whatever, but in which only the observance of love of God and man was made indispensable, be subsequently forgotten, misunderstood or adulterated with any spurious teachings invented by others, he has been found to expound it again and again regarding what he exactly wanted to teach by illustrating it by many impressive parables which for their naive beauty and appositeness stand unparalleled in the didactic literature of the world.

As regards the question whether Christ was *the* son of God or a son of His like His other sons, we find that as St. Paul called Timotheus as his beloved son "begotten" of him through the Gospel of Christ, so when he declared Christ to be the son of God he must have meant that he was no more than "begotten" of the spirit of God. In corroboration of the correctness of this conclusion the reader is referred to his another statement in his Epistle to the Romans, namely, that as man has a dual character, carnal and spiritual, first carnal and afterwards spiritual by attainment, so he declared Christ to be the son of God. But this conception of man's special sonship of God was not a new one, as, before St. Paul, John the Baptist had preached that man had to be born again of the spirit to become fit for salvation. Lastly the question is found to be still more cleared up by St. James who wrote in his Epistle that as "God begat us with the word of truth," so every man so "begotten" was a "son of God." Thus as the son of God was not a *rara avis*, so there need not be made any distinction between *the* son of God and a son of God unless arbitrarily, as speaking reasonably, all men are God's equal sons.

We consider it relevant here to acquaint the reader with the fact that in Oriental countries whenever a man was found to be endowed with some extraordinary gifts far above others in his time and did some remarkable things before the people around him, he automatically became *the* son of God and passing into a higher plane of being was ultimately deified among them. Even at the present time it has been found that this kind of metamorphosis is not an uncommon thing in the East and it accounts for the anthropomorphic narratives met with in its scriptures. Thus no wonder that in course of time, we find, Jesus became *the* son of God, messiah or Christ, and at last "The very God of God."

Religion has been and ever shall be a search for a religion helped by the progressive light of man. It cannot be a day's hallucination like St. Paul's which he would have the world believe. (Acts. 9. 3-7) in attempting to establish his new religion by extirpating the eternal entities, he played with fire; in consequence of which, in the tournament of world's religions, Christianity has fared badly. So the first need of the believer in Christianity is the light to know what he believes and what he ought to believe. Even if Christ is believed to be God, in a moral world under a moral Governor, such a belief in him without the perfection of his life expressed in perfected moral deeds cannot save him and procure his highest happiness. Though religion and science disagree upon many things, yet both agree in this that every existence is an aim and no state is final. The knowledge of truth alone can lead to perfection. In consequence of the radical change brought about in significance of the religious life of man by the promulgation of the new theology of St. Paul doctrinated with the belief in the dogma of the Godhead of Christ as necessary for the salvation of man in substitution of the teaching of Christ, a higher value of life has become not worth striving for, and as a matter of fact, saintship has been

found to be gradually waning in Christendom. Though it is true that the Christian nations have grown in material prosperity more vastly than other peoples of the world, but whose goal is spiritual perfection they cannot be seriously congratulated upon it, inasmuch as in consequence of it their conduct and character have practically deviated from the path that was laid down by Christ for the attainment of their true happiness. As it is certain that man's true happiness cannot be secured except by living out the life as approved by God and lived out by Christ, it will be perceived that the Pauline theology which has, in fact, jettisoned the cardinals of the religion of Christ has impeded the moral and spiritual progress of Christians. But to men whose judgment is not clouded by the bias of sectarianism, it is palpable that the belief in an adherence to the Pauline theology during the last nineteen centuries, in an ever progressive world, has not been able to produce any moral, much less spiritual, superiority over the non-Christian peoples. Beneath the glistening veneer of their vaunted high culture and civilization, the old animal nature, in all its horrid forms, still dominates their lives to the anguish of God, observing which Gladstone, who was no misanthrope and had the opportunity of the experience of men and their affairs for a much longer period than many, said, "The cruelty of Christians is more cruel; the lust of Christians is more lustful; the animal greed of Christians is ten-fold more greedy; and the pre-Christian times afford us no panorama of Mammon-worship to compare for a moment with our own. The luxury and worldliness of old was but child's play in relation to those of modern times."

On a careful perusal of the acts and sayings of Christ, in the Gospels, which have passed as his, it will be evident to the unprejudiced reader that many of them could not have been his, as they are quite inconsistent with and incongruous to his nature, as we have come to know him. They are to be treated as unauthentic and spurious having been unwittingly attributed

to him by their writers when they wrote their books deriving their materials from the various and varying documents they then found before them and the traditions that had then sprung up. Thus it will be seen that, in many of the so-called acts and sayings of his, the racial characteristics of the Jews are clearly apparent, as generally all Orientals are prone to believe in the miraculous relating to him whom they would like to recognize as a being raised far higher than ordinary mortals or as God. In proof of our statement we think it will suffice here to cite only a few instances of these, namely, (a) In the Gospel of St. Luke (8. 26-33) Christ's expelling the legion of devils out of the devil-possessed man into a herd of swine which in consequence ran into a lake and were drowned, thereby causing loss perhaps of the whole property of its owner and his livelihood. The mention of the mere exorcism of the devils out of the lunatic would have been a miracle enough for raising Christ above the sphere of ordinary man, but what more we notice here is that the swine which were highly untouchable to the Jews and abhorrent in every respect, being banned in their scriptures as unclean were chosen for destruction by Christ, whereby the racial peculiarity of the Jews was betrayed, otherwise it would not have been thought of as done by him, to whom like God every creature was dear. (b) In the Gospel of St. Matthew (21-19) Christ's cursing the fruitless fig tree, which in consequence withered, was not worthy of him who appeared as the manifestation of the long-suffering God of love. (c) In the Gospel of St. John (2. 15) Christ's making a scourge of ropes and, being overpowered with anger, striking with it the sellers of the oxen, sheep, doves and other intruders into the temple, was not at all befitting him who was the preacher of the Sermon on the Mount and the peerless teacher of the moral duties of man as were not conceived before by any one, and who said he was "meek and lowly" and taught men saying "Love your enemies, Bless them that curse you ; Do

good to them that hate you and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." (d) In the Gospel of Luke (22. 36. 38) it is written "Then said he unto them he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one, and they said Lord, behold here are two swords and he said unto them, it is enough," as if Christ desired the use of the swords against his captors. (e) Lastly let us cite here an incident from St. Mark (16. 16) which he put into the mouth of Christ, namely, "Go ye unto all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved and he that believeth not shall be damned." Let it be seriously considered by the reader whether these acts and sayings attributed to Christ could be genuine, whose teaching was throughout characterized by the absence of creed as its essential feature, and in which not much importance was given to the performance of rites, ceremonies, etc., but the observance of the love of God and of loving service of man? So there is but one conclusion, that either the nature of the men who were responsible for the traditions of that time was culpable or that of the transcribers for interpolating such statements.

In the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke where the incidents of the coming to Christ and enquiring by the young ruler and the two Rabbis about what they should do to obtain eternal life are recorded, we find that in the answers which he gave to each of them, he did not in the least suggest anywhere that belief in him and baptism in his name were to be the conditions of salvation which they sought. If the evangelists believed that the observance of these conditions was absolutely necessary for salvation of man and they wanted to teach and declare it, it is unthinkable that they should cut out or suppress just that portion of the answers of Christ which would best serve their purpose. Also if Christ knew that belief in him and baptism in his name

were necessary for salvation of man, one cannot help impugning his soundness of mind or moral rectitude in his instructing at one place the necessity of belief in him and baptism in his name as the indispensable conditions of salvation and at another uttering not a single word about such a vitally important matter concerning the destiny of man. So, instead of falling into the monstrosity of thinking that Christ could be so, it is proper for us to conclude that the evangelists' statements about his enjoinder regarding the belief in him and baptism in his name for salvation was simply the figment of their imagination and not his authentic statement. Howbeit upon such assertions and like was built up the whole structure of the new theology of St. Paul and promulgated by him which has since been believed in Christendom as its religion. Thus it is apparent that the evangelists have unwittingly combined the real Jesus and the mythical Christ into one man with two characters, so discordant to each other that it has now become most difficult to distinguish between them and arrive at the truth about the original man, whose historic and legendary characters have been made to overlap each other.

But they who would not proceed through the medium of any pre-conceived notions derived from vain traditions and old authority, only are able to arrive at the truth by scrutinizing the authenticity or otherwise of the statements in the Gospels relating to the acts and utterances indiscriminately attributed to Jesus and to Christ. To such men the narratives of the Gospels appear to present a medley of truth and fiction unfit for absolute reliance. The student of Church History knows that in the first century, many years after the death of Christ, when his personality had passed into the domain of legend, and the lustre of his teaching diminished in the apprehension of the generation which had then sprung up, it is in this juncture St. Paul's new theology was preached, and thereafter many accreting inventions began to creep into the religion that was originally preached by Christ and these overran it.

Canon Streeter, in defence of the existence of legends and myths in Christianity, says in his book "Reality," that as art is necessary for enriching and embellishing architecture, painting and poetry for the purpose of effectively working upon the imagination of man, so very properly legends and myths have been resorted to in Christianity for producing a like effect in the minds of its believers. On a psychological ground we are prepared to acknowledge the cogency of Canon Streeter's argument regarding the necessity of legends and myths in Christianity to which we may also add dogmas; but we think it certainly does not become absolutely incumbent upon the believer to take them to be the means to help him in attaining his ultimate objective or salvation. If Canon Streeter, for the purpose of making Christianity acceptable to its entire extent, makes art his refuge and wants men to believe in its myths and legends, etc., or untruths, then one may also urge with equal reason that the idolator can make art his resort for the purpose of facilitating the worship of idols which in his imagination symbolize the object of his worship. However, as knowledge of man is gradually growing *pari passu* with time, it must be acknowledged that his apprehension of truth is becoming more extended and freed from false notions and conceptions about reality. This being so, for one now to say that "as the Fathers have spoken so there is nothing more to know" would but connote that the fountain of truth has become dry, or God has ceased to function. Howbeit the conclusion remains inevitable that he who would not accept truth, as revealed by advanced knowledge and the light of experience, shall suffer.

Truth is a thing which must be sought with an open mind. If the real truth about Christ has been darkened in any mind, there must be some cause for it. He is a good seeker of truth who seeks it with an open mind not knowing what it is and what he will find. But if one seeks with any preconceived ideas about it he will unconsciously be led to something like his previous conception.

* Only by studying the different religious scriptures of the world with an unprejudiced mind and comparing the truths disclosed in them with the aid of the light derived from advanced knowledge, the earnest seeker of salvation is enabled to come to right conclusions about the respective claims of different religious beliefs of men and his duty of life. But as God is one Reality, though truths which compose that Reality are many, and as each individual truth cannot represent the whole Reality but is a complement which goes towards completing the fulness of Reality or God, so no truths revealed in any religion should be lightly brushed aside as useless. Just as the body is one and is composed of many cells and as each individual cell is not the body but is indispensable for the making up of the fulness of the body, so truths found in every religion are the indispensable complements for the making up of Reality or God. Thus it is not fair to accept the truths in the Gospels of Christianity only and reject those which are in other religions, as they also like the Gospels of Christianity reveal the purpose of the common Father for the benefit of all His children. So, the serious seeker of truth and salvation is incapable of accepting the representation of the personality of God in three parts according to Pauline theology, as Christ who was a monotheist—and monotheism was the pride of Judaism—has taught saying, "Hear, Oh Israel, God is one" (Dt. 6. 4. and Mk. 12. 29) and as also God has said that He is the Lord, Saviour and Redeemer of men (Is. 49. 26). But though such seeker cannot agree with St. Paul about the question of the Godhead of Christ at any rate he has the satisfaction in believing that he is in the company of Christ as his follower. So it is to be immensely regretted that they who have derived the name of their religion from Christ and avow themselves to be his followers should have afterwards been found to believe in a doctrine which is quite an anti-thesis of his. Howbeit it is remarkable to notice that barring the dogmatic claim of theologians regarding the Godship of Christ, in all other respects all non-Christian people have

been found to be eager to enjoy the manifold blessings' of the religion as preached by Christ, and to adore his transcendent personality which evokes in their hearts the ardent desire to live like him.

All men will agree that the teaching of Christ to seek and know the truth in order that they may be freed from the influence of old tradition, authority and dogma whereby they may advance towards the attainment of a fuller and higher life is of most supreme importance. But, unfortunately, few Christian divines in their writings or ministers from their pulpits have been found to discourse upon it for the benefit of the believers, perhaps thinking that this command of Christ is not of much spiritual importance to their lives. But such a neglect appears to have done an incalculable harm to Christianity, in consequence of which the majestic religion of Christ has been placed at a great disadvantage, compared with the other religions current in the world, where everything is changing for the better under the law of progress and perfection working in the universe. Indeed if religion is to be deemed a living organism, and as in all living organisms the old and decayed cells are incessantly eliminated for the formation of newer cells and bodies, so it will be proper to infer and expect that the genius of Christianity in its life-history will not cease to avail of newer truth for its further perfection. So, every believer of Christianity, as of all other religions, has for himself an indispensable part to perform in its progress, and for this purpose he has for himself to seek and find the truth and act according to it as enjoined by Christ to help the future evolution of his religion, so that he may be liberated from the degenerate influences working over him, as through seeking comes knowledge which leads nearer to the Fountain-head of truth and the development of divinity within him. But we find that as Christ had apprehended that his followers would be subjected to many harmful ecclesiastical innovations after his death, so he anxiously taught that all believers seeking

salvation should ever ascend on the eternal stairs of truth to reach the goal when their oneness with God would be apprehended and their ultimate happiness attained. It is remarkable to find that understanding the importance of knowing further truth the terms 'truth,' 'knowledge' and 'God' are considered equivalent with one another in all religions. So, until the final truth is apprehended and lived, even the most advanced religion will remain a search for truth and will continue to be such till the world becomes fit for salvation when God's scheme regarding the salvation of man will be accomplished. But if, at any time in the life-history of a religion, the means which is calculated to help its evolution is not used or is hindered in consequence of some false or short-sighted teachings, *e.g.*, that faith has once been fixed for all time and the final truth has been reached, then it, acting like a spoke driven in the wheel of progress of religion, it will lag behind other religions which do not suffer from such a draw-back. So, having regard to the conditions now obtaining in the religion passing under the name of Christ it may be assumed that it is in a crisis. To disbelieve it is to ignore the law of progress working in the universe. So, if the religion of Christ is not to be strangled to death, but to live, some radical modifications have become absolutely necessary in it, in pursuance of the light that has been shed upon man since the death of Christ in regard to its creed or essential ingredients; otherwise it shall cease to be a living entity not in a remote time. After the rectification of the current traditional Christianity it will be placed in the way leading to perfection and thus it will be made adaptable for the acceptance of the world of man ever bound to advance.

It is remarkable that just as Christ taught that the attainment of the knowledge of truth is freedom, so in the Sanskrit scriptures salvation is tersely and intelligibly explained by a single word, namely, *mukti* which means release, it being derived from the verb *mucha* to set free;

and so salvation is there said to be the reinstatement of one in his own antecedent self freed from ignorance of delusion. Thus salvation is the state of the saved or of them who are freed from the baneful results of ignorance or delusion which, causing to live unharmoniously with God, retards man's perfectness which is attainable by the knowledge of truth which is the same as God. So, a saviour is to be understood to be he who helps man to be so saved. But this state can only be attained in a moral universe by man's change of heart and nature, and not by the sacrificial act of another. How man's course of degeneration can change to that of regeneration or salvation, we find, has been graphically illustrated by Christ in his parable of the Prodigal Son. From it the reader learns that a changed life or the acceptance of the real rejecting the counterfeit is man's rebirth in the kingdom of heaven. Christ in the above-named parable taught that salvation was a change of life and thereafter living to "Go, and sin no more" that there may be joy in heaven. So, by Christ's "Go, thou art forgiven, sin no more" to enjoy the grace of God he meant the past is overlooked of him who turns to live a life approved by God. But by this one must not think that Christ either approved or made light of sin, but that taking it in a new light he assured God's grace to all repentant sinners and exhorted them to live a new life better than before. This being so, it is a bugbear of theology which avers that sin is cured by the punishing of an offended God, while on the contrary Christ considered that sin was a disorder of the mind that needed the sympathetic treatment of God as of a doctor. As we are convinced that the essence of the whole teaching of Christ is that not by much practice of devotion nor by much observance of religious rites, but that by one's performance of the duties of life humanity can attain a higher state; or in other words as Christ taught that the perfection of character is the means through which man can near God—

not by decrease of distance between him and God, but by increase of godliness in him, so, it is to be understood that no religious creed, *mantra* or scriptural maxim, nor any rites or ceremonials can nullify the Law of the universe—the Law of Love. No one shall be excused its non-observance who seeks to enjoy the blessing of a perfect life. If it is true that man's spirit internally communicates with God who is Love, the life lived in conformity with His spirit must be the means by which he will be filled with the fulness of God. So, it must be understood that God's plan of the salvation of the world in which every one has a hope, is far higher than the creed of man. Thus, it can be easily understood why Christ prayed that the coming of the Kingdom of God into the world would be by the fulfilment of the will of God among men, but not by that of man. So, it is a pity that instead of treating this beatific character of the teaching of Christ in a spirit of joyful gratitude St. Paul should have unwisely promulgated a doctrine that on a belief in Christ as God rested the salvation of man; or in other words while Christ taught that the salvation or the highest happiness of man would be possible only through his perfection, on the contrary St. Paul declared that it would be attained by him by his assumption of a certain *ipse dixit* of his about the personality of Christ which was yet to be proved. Thus, starting with a wrong premise, he naturally arrived at many wrong conclusions, such as, "There is no condemnation to them in Christ," "In Christ we have redemption through his blood," "Christ died for the ungodly," "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, thou shalt be saved," "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of Law," etc., as if by many wrong conclusions a wrong premise can be made right. But did God really abrogate the old Law by making a new dispensation through Christ, for the salvation of his children as St. Paul would have the world believe? Or is there any enjoinder of God anywhere in the Bible that men must hear and believe St.

. Paul as there is about Christ? (Mt. 17.5.) Yet in spite of the clear instruction of Christ that only through the practice of loving service man can save man, unfortunately in the whole so-called Christendom—where Christ is not the imperator nor his religion is its religion, but St. Paul is its imperator and his new theology is its religion—men are blindly led to believe and live in the hope that God will bless them for their belief, which practically does away with the necessity of striving for the perfection of character. If the basis of religion is truth and love—love is the expression of the truth of God,—and its end the perfection of the nature of man, how can such a belief which cuts it at its root elevate and save? Howbeit from infancy the child in every Christian home is taught to believe in it; and in schools, colleges and seminaries the same is taught lest it might be forgotten afterwards; while all along from the time of St. Paul down to the present day, despite the unceasing attempts to explain it by the delivery of countless eloquent sermons and addresses and the publication of heaps of erudite books and essays, the doctrine of a Triune God has remained as inapprehensible as before. But if the child is simply taught to love all, as love is the foundation of morality, and thus if the spirit of love is helped to be cultivated from infancy in his heart, the seed of a real and living faith in significance of life will be sown there from infancy which will make him good and happy in his after-life. Confucius inculcated the golden rule of loving action about 2500 years ago. The Buddha taught the same extending its practice to all living creatures about 2400 years ago. Also Christ preached it as the imperative duty of man, about 2000 years ago embellishing it with such new light as had never been done by anyone before. Thus as the burthen of the teaching of all these prophets and teachers of God and many others from hoary ages has been love so the little one should be taught that as the essence of existence is love, so its perfection can lead humanity to its goal or God who is Love. If this is

done, God will reign in his heart throughout his life and he will be as in heaven, for heaven is where the God of love is and is not a spatial abode somewhere of the people adhering to a particular sect. So, the child should be simply taught that as love is the best expression of the life of God and that as it was best manifested by Christ in his life, so he should try above all to think and act like Christ. This will be more readily understood by him than the doctrine of Trinity and he will be morally and spiritually benefited in life. Men responsible for his well-being should know that intelligence even in the little heart of a child is necessary to salvation and that wrong or indolent thinking is everywhere sinful. That St. Paul's teaching was wrong and he built his religion upon sand is abundantly manifest, inasmuch as we find that while his religion has been waning in the hearts even of Christians that of Christ has gone on adding strength to strength in those of all men.

As God cannot be claimed as the exclusive possession of any particular section of man, He cannot be interned in a citadel unapproachable by all men alike, and as also any man seeking God cannot be confined anywhere unapproachable to Him, whose *magna charta* declared through Christ "Seek and ye shall find" has not been taken away, so, it will be impious to suppose that any man who is not a believer in Pauline theology but seeks God's mercy will be denied it by the Saviour of the world. Man's knowledge of the true nature of God that He loves all His children alike, as Christ has declared, and which has filled the hearts with hope of salvation even of the hopeless ones, cannot be brushed aside by any *dictum* of any post-Christ theology.

All intelligent and unprejudiced men perceive that below the superficial husk of every religion worthy of the name there is in the depth of its kernel "The Hidden God" of love and unity ever engaged in bringing about the consummation of His plan for the salvation of the world, and so they are

full of hope for a better state to dawn in time when man will not rise against man in the name of religion.

When the religion of Christ will be re-established with fuller knowledge and acceptance of truth, it will lead to *mukti*. Then all religions shall merge in one and all men shall know God and rejoice, knowing Him as the only one God and Saviour, Love, Joy, Truth and Reality, the seed of good and salvation and themselves as the complements of His fulness and Co-sharers of His glory.

We have barely touched above upon the fundamentals of Christianity relating to which two-third of the population of the world is at variance with the men who are associated with the name of Christ. On these points the student of Church history finds that even Christian divines, like laymen, have been divided among themselves since the death of Christ. While religion still continued to be a search for truth, all the time her disputing votaries with the zeal of their respective faiths have immolated others and caused themselves to be immolated by them at her altar to the sorrow of God. Howbeit, all Christians and non-Christians can meet together on the one common ground in the fulfilment of the Law of Christ "Do this and live" (Lk. 10.28) for love, peace and good-will among them and thereby they can fulfil the Law of God and observe the Fatherhood of God by observing the brotherhood of man by which they can hallow their Heavenly Father's name and be saved to salvation or everlasting highest happiness.

If it is admitted that a higher and still higher expression of self is necessary for man's perfectness and thence his highest everlasting happiness, then only through his independent thinking he will be led to it. By addicting to vain tradition and old authority, disregarding the fresh light of revelation that has ever been coming into the world of man, no one will be able to advance towards the goal of humanity. The ideal of Pauline Christianity is a Triune God and belief in Him, but that of

the religion of Christ is the only one God and the love of such a God and man. As no man can rise above his ideal, so if the ideal of man be not the love of such a God and man, it will not be possible for him to attain his goal. Only by man's attainment of the knowledge of one true God resulting in his love of God and man, he will be able to attain eternal life, said Christ.

G. C. GHOSH

TO—

For long my thoughtless days impressionless
With spend thrift years of dreaming youth have fled,
And in my thrifty manhood have I shed
Repentant tears of rash and urg'd distress ;
But when I saw thee in dear thankfulness
My heart to Heaven prayed, and soon declared
A slave of thee, and now my cheafest dread
Is that ill fate may wreck thy happiness.
Sweet blushing Rose, bright as a summer day
I yearn to pluck and with my kisses purse
Thee in my burning bosom ! Ah ! Love, say
Not that no wilder hopes I'll never nurse ;
I would my heart were dead, as once it was
To love, than having loved should suffer loss.

JOHN J. PINTO

Reviews

Story of the Past from Newspapers (In Bengali), Vol. I, 1818-1830. Sj. Brajendranath Banerjee, Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1339 B.S.—There is a dearth of knowledge about our recent past, in comparison with our stock of information even of hoary antiquities. This is extremely surprising when we pause to think of it. On the one hand men's mind turns more to the far distant in time than to the affairs only of yesterday; on the other hand the materials are getting rare day by day, and newspapers, which were eloquent in their testimony regarding all activities of general interest, have grown inaccessible to the majority of our scholars. The *Sulabh Samachar* in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the cheapest and most popular paper in Bengal in its own day, but it has now practically vanished from our eyes. *Brahmo Public Opinion* was an enlightened organ of advanced thought patronised by advocates of reform; that, too, has disappeared.

Sj. Banerjee has been diligent in his search for newspapers in the nineteenth century, and extracts from them published by him from time to time in Bengali monthlies have been always a delightful reading. He has now come forward and presented such records from the *Sumachar Darpan* and the *Vagnadut*, under the auspices of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, with an introduction, an index, and occasional notes which are brief and relevant. The items have been grouped so as to treat of educational, literary, religious, social and other spheres of life and activity. The first volume, just published, covers the years from 1818 to 1830, and contains interesting materials for the study of history of the period.

Such a book as this, lighting up many a dark corner, removes a long-felt need and supplies the student of history of nineteenth century Bengal with authentic facts in a permanent form. In its conception, the work is original and both the editor and the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad are to be congratulated for bringing out the volume; there is a facsimile reproduction of one page from the *Darpan*, and two-coloured reproductions of a Bengali woman and a Bengali overseer (taken from an English book, published in 1850) in their habit as they lived a hundred years ago.

The get-up is sober; the price is comparatively cheap, ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-4 for members of the Parishad and outsiders. We look forward to the next volume with expectations which, we are sure, will be realised.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Annals of the Parish. John Galt, T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 280 pp.

This is a handy reprint of Galt's book, well-known to students of English literature, written more than a hundred years ago, and important both as a *Vicar of Wakefield* transplanted to Scotland and also as a record of social life during the reign of George III. The clear type, the excellent get-up, the cheap price and the attached glossary of difficult Scottish words, are all recommendations in its favour and make its inclusion in the series a matter for general satisfaction.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Behold the man. Prof. Dwijadas Datta, M A., A.R A.C. (Cirences-ter), 289 pp. Re. 1-8.

This is a controversial book, written explicitly for the purpose of placing Keshub Chunder Sen in, what the author would say, the proper perspective, so that we may 'behold the man' and appreciate the significance of his work. The author, who is a scholar and a man of piety, records it as a 'confession,' because he had joined the band of Keshub's detractors, and veered round only after he had seen the error of his ways. Of the six chapters in which the book is divided, the first traces the growth of the Brahmo Samaj under the three leaders, but, great as Keshub undoubtedly is, it is not fair to Rammohan to consider him merely as the 'grand-father' of the Samaj; Prof. Datta himself admits that he had sowed the seed, had laid the foundation of the edifice. After all, what do such terms matter as 'father' or 'grand-father' of a movement? It does not look very well to insist on "the one non-dual Para-Brahma" (p. 9), because the worshippers of this one God presuppose the duality of God and his devotee. Does the term *one* imply *advaita*? It is a matter for regret that the author speaks bitterly of Rammohan and Devendranath in order to eulogise Keshub Chunder, whose great piety, excellent character and inspired moments are facts and do not need any elaborate argument to

stand upon ; but the reader will be compensated for his pains in going through an account of controversy, now laid in dust, in the glimpses into the life and activity of the great man that Keshub undoubtedly was.

The book in its running comments on the great split in the Samaj tries to discuss the limits of democracy; this has its application beyond the immediate range of the constitution of a religious society. The safeguards of democracy in the state are now engaging the attention of thinkers all over the world, and it is reasonable to admit that democracy itself has its superstition. But, then, where do we stand?

The Brahmo Samaj (A short history.) Manilal C. Parekh; B.A., Rajkot, Kathiawad. 287 pp. Board Rs. 3, Cloth Rs. 4. •

This opportune publication appeared on the occasion of the centenary of the Samaj by one who had been a missionary in its ranks, and who, though now belonging to the Orthodox Christian Church, has retained his old love for the organisation to which, he admits, his spiritual advancement had owed so much. The evolution of the Brahmo Samaj is an interesting and instructive study, throwing light as it does on nineteenth century India from so many points of view. The thirteen chapters into which the book is divided trace the rise of the Samaj from the Brahmo Sabha to the Church of the New Dispensation, describe the various contributions made from time to time by the Rajarshi, the Maharshi and the Brahmarshi, and wind up with an account of organisations in the different provinces of India started on the lines of the Samaj, with a forecast about the future. Altogether it is an admirable sketch and what is wrong is the author's interpretation and estimate of the emphasis on Christ in Keshub's scheme of religion.

PRIVARANJAN SEN

Philosophy of Hindu Sādhana.—By Nalinikanta Brahma, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Kegan Paul, Trübner & Co., London.

The book is a valuable contribution to, and a presentation of, the practical side of Hindu Philosophy and will prove of immense value to those who set any importance on spiritual life and ought to be carefully read and re-read by all interested in the Religious Culture of India. The author has a nice, lucid style and has presented the subject in an attractive manner. His apt quotations from various sources, the great enthusiasm and devotion he has introduced into his discussions of various problems

and above all his masterly arrangement are calculated to make the work a creditable production. Various problems are here analysed and interpreted and valuable suggestions are given for their solution. A book of this kind, remarkable as it is for its intrinsic merits as well as for originality of thought, is of utmost value at the present time of degeneration and want of faith. The author has, as he himself tells us, opportunities of moving with men of orthodox type of culture which he has not failed to utilise most profitably in his discussions, and throughout the book we find facts have been gathered with utmost care and presented after a thorough scrutiny. The work is eloquent of the deep erudition of the author and patient labour and it is difficult to select any one chapter as deserving of particular mention. We would here give a few samples of his interpretations.

Ordinary knowledge depends on some condition outside it which constitutes its object. Knowledge implies the acquiring or grasping by the subject of something that is *other* than itself. In sense-impression its outside reference is prominent. An idea seems nearer to us, still here also, it makes its appearance before the subject. Unconditionality of knowledge involves complete annihilation of this 'otherness' of the object, knowledge must depend on nothing else.* The Sruti declares that the self is self-luminosity and it is its own light. The self requires no 'other' for its revelation but is its own light, because, as Citshukhāchāryya remarks, the *ātman* is of the nature of consciousness (Cit), and because it is never the object. If, the author shows, it is seen that the subject depends on the object, that would prove that neither the subject nor the object is the revealer, but both of these depend on something else for their revelation. The Vedantic epistemology establishes the self-revealing character of knowledge and points out that while in other instances of knowledge this character is not evident because of its connection with objects, it becomes clear to us when Brahma which is pure knowledge itself is realised. It is only in the highest state of সমাধি or in অপরোক্ষানুভূতি—direct intuition—that knowledge is revealed in its true character without the medium of any instrument or process. Vedanta does not deny there is a 'givenness' in knowledge which implies an outward reference but only points out that the real knowledge is attained when this 'otherness' is transcended. But how to realise this ideal of knowledge?

The finite human being has an element of divinity inherent in him. The course of সাধনা is a history of the growth of the individual from the condition of little knowledge to omniscience, from a state of little energy to omnipotence, from finiteness to infinitude. In short, the gradual

unfolding of the latent capacities of man in the direction of knowledge, power and holiness is the aim and purpose of সাধনা. Through a progressive process of discipline, *matter* which is an eject or reflex of the spirit and which has entangled the spirit must be conquered and incorporated and absorbed again. Man alone can regard matter and its process as his ideas and thus transcends them. সাধনা, the author says, becomes completed when no matter, no foreign element, no 'other' (অন্যত্ব) remains as an unresolved contradiction or opposition.

The value of having a disciplined mind and body can never be overestimated. As the spirit is embodied in the human form, its growth presupposes a similar development of the body also. The growth of divinity presupposes the elimination of the animal element. The higher self shows its contrast with the lower; it reveals a spiritual nature that is inconsistent with the claims and realisation of the lower animal self and consequently demands a purification of the latter. The wayward lower self, accustomed to submit to the demands of impulses and passions must be gradually controlled through regulated action. When the changing vicissitudes of life do not affect and move the self and are recognised as 'merely passing phases of empirical consciousness, then is established the higher stage in the life of control. It is the lower nature which is responsible for all division and difference. The pure self is all-pervading and free from all changes and therefore the same everywhere. The self feels that lower nature is no part of itself and is different from it, and this isolation of the higher self and corresponding elimination of the lower lead to সমদর্শন. The surface-consciousness is an outward expression, an imperfect image of or superimposition on, the ভূমি-self—the vast region of consciousness lying behind the superficial states of consciousness (which is abundantly proved by phenomena of clairvoyance, thought-transference, hypnosis, etc.). Division, distinction, specialisation characterise surface-consciousness and yield us only partial views of things. সাধনা has for its goal a spiritual experience which is not a partial or one-sided realisation of the intellect, feeling or will, but is the realisation of the entire individual, when the divergent elements of surface-consciousness harmoniously blend into a synthetic whole and re-unite into the original bond out of which they seemed to emanate.

Then after describing the negative and the positive aspects of সাধনা and showing their bearing on each of the 3 forms, viz., জ্ঞান, কর্ম or যোগ and ভক্তি-forms of সাধনা, the author concludes his first part with a brief historical account of the evolution of the different forms which however need not detain us here.

In the second part of the work, the first two chapters are devoted to a discussion of কৰ্ম—one of the three great forms of সাধনা. A man is purified in mind and body, and this purification comes through the performance of Karma alone and exercise of organs and faculties. Karma, Bhakti and Jnāna are not to be regarded as *independent* forms of সাধনা so that only one of them is sufficient for the attainment of the goal. These three are connected with one another and the co-operation of all of them is necessary. A Karma-jogi necessarily becomes a Bhakta and a Jnāni at a certain stage of his development. Similar is the case with the Bhakta and the Jnāni. The natural aptitude determines the particular line of সাধনা for a সাধক, but this particular line is merely an occasion or the support for the development of all the different aspects. Action implies desire as its source and desire involves অবিজ্ঞা or false superimposition on the nature of the self. So long as the real nature of the self is not veiled and there is not the imposition of the attributes of the not-self on the self, no desire can arise and hence there cannot be any action. By Karma, Sankara means actions that proceed from desire and not bodily activities. Sankara has taught the incompatibility of জ্ঞান and কৰ্ম, only when জ্ঞান has been reached and not before that stage. Brahma-Jnāna implies a state where the division into Subject and Object and the relation between the two has disappeared. No action can proceed from a man who has identified his whole 'being' with that self which is certainly not the *agent*. This is described by the word কৈবল্য, i.e., motionless and changeless. This main teaching of Sankara has too often been misunderstood and misinterpreted. He means nothing else than that the notion of the *agency* of the self implied in অবিজ্ঞা and কৰ্ম cannot exist simultaneously with the notion of *non-agency* implied in Jnāna. Hence there cannot be any বিধি or compulsion for a Jnāni and that nothing *binds* him which marks an important characteristic of the liberated soul. The individual consciousness of the Jnāni becomes *identified* with the cosmic consciousness (ব্রহ্মবিদ becomes ব্রহ্ম), and his actions are no longer controlled by the individual centre but are directed by the cosmic consciousness, and hence actions are not now performed with the touch of desire or the working of the individual will. Here the author finds fault with Tialka's interpretation in the Gita where he points out that Karma *must* be done by *all*, at *all* stages. But for this contention we refer the reader to the book itself.

Our author concludes this chapter by pointing out two misinterpretations. The Vedānta, as is well known, distinguishes a sphere of supra-moral, transcendent spiritual experience for a Jnāni when he is absorbed in the Absolute and finds the Absolute in all, from the sphere of moral actions,

actions done from a sense of duty based on a consciousness of 'ought' and 'should' implying an ideal lying at a distance from the progress attained. This is a sphere where *moral distinctions* can have no meaning for a Jnāni. This transcendence of moral distinctions has been misinterpreted by some Western scholars who interpret this to mean that a Jnāni may perform any action he likes—good or bad; that he has not to obey moral laws. The author has done well to call the attention of the readers to this misunderstanding on the part of the Western scholars. But in this connection the author refers to another misinterpretation of many Indian scholars who, the author thinks, hold that "the Vedānta nowhere teaches the transcendence of moral distinctions" and the author, we regret to observe has in this connection referred, in a footnote at page 114, to the "Advaita-vāda"—a book written by the writer of this review. The view ascribed to the writer by the author is evidently wrong. We would refer the author to page 176 of the first edition of *Advaita-vāda* * where the following view occurs:—

"When an aspirant has already attained the self-knowledge, has reached the final goal, no further need arises for him to perform any kind of work lower or higher. For, when the man has attained the transcendental goal (ব্রহ্মত্বাভাবঃ) all his duties have reached their fulfilment, no further work remains to be done, etc."

In the two following chapters where জ্ঞান line of সাধনা finds an elaborate discussion it may be regarded as the most brilliant contribution of the author. The author first shows the distinguishing characteristics of the relational knowledge and the direct non-relational knowledge which is the ideal. Thought (intellect) always proceeds through relations and studies reality from a distance. Knowledge is a relation between the self and an object forming the not-self. Self-consciousness is the realisation of the self as it is related to its own ideas. For thought, the division of reality into a 'that' and a 'what,' an 'existence' and a 'content' is essential and as the intellect can never transcend this dualism, it fails to give us knowledge of reality, and thought is never the thing itself but is of it and about it. Meditation and concentration (ধ্যান and ধারণা) lead to absorption (সমাধি) and in this stage, প্রজ্ঞা (Intuition) results. The subject here rises to the level of the object which becomes completely revealed. This is what পরজ্ঞা describes as তদগ্জনতা. Discursive knowledge yields partial view of things,

* Vide also p. 227 of the Second edition.

† Cf. Sankara in—', তৈত্তিরীয় ভাষ্য,—"কিমম্বদাদিবৎ পধ্যয়েন ? নেত্যাঃ । যুগ্মপদেব এককণ্ঠোপাধিচ্চান্দেব একত্র উপলব্ধা ।"

but intuition gives us knowledge of the whole, and involves a simultaneous and synthetic presentation of the order of things, as distinct from successive and an analytical presentation of the intellect. In intuition, the presentation is not gradual and successive but all at once, an aspect of totality and eternity.† There is a gap between idea and fact, conceptual and real, which the intellect fails to bridge over and therefore can never give us *অপরোক্ষ*, that is immediate, apprehension of reality.

The author here very ingenuously draws a distinction between Bergson's intuition and the Vedantic *অপরোক্ষাভূতি* of the self. In Bergson, a sort of relativity remains—the memories and the living experience forming the *concrete* life of the individual. It is like Royce's 'appreciation' involving a cognition of the object. But the intuition is neither the cognition of the object or of the subject but transcends both. It is not a 'suicidal step' taken by Vedanta in implying *ত্ৰিপুটী* involved in ordinary knowledge. It is a *স্বয়ংপ্রকাশ* জ্ঞান—not residing in the subject nor is conditioned by any object, but resting in its own *মহিমা* (ছান্দোগ্য). Its objectivity is denied, for what is cognised is *জড়* and its subjectivity is emphasised by saying that—“*বিজ্ঞাতায়মরে কেন বিজ্ঞানায়ান্*”

But this even is transcended. When the not-self is merged in the self there is no longer the subject, It reveals as pure *চিৎ*. In knowing the self, the self enters in the knowledge itself—knowledge and self are identical. The question of knowledge of this knowledge does not arise at all, because neither the conception of a self-division into a subject and object nor of another mind of which the mind can form an object is binding on us as from the empirical point of view. To be aware of awareness which is the self is just to live the awareness—to 'enjoy' itself, in its own act, as Alexander holds. But 'contemplation' of not-self and 'enjoyment of self' seem to be distinct entities *with* Alexander. Not-self is an entity distinct from the self and is thus not to be supposed as coming out of the self through self-division. But in Vedanta the slightest trace of the consciousness of not-self is the greatest hindrance to self-realisation and nothing forms the 'other' (*অন্তঃস্ববোধ*) to the self of the Vedanta. The self cannot be conscious of its existence as a distinct entity by the side of the object—the self being indivisible prius of all, subject and object-consciousness, and for which there is no division. In Vedanta, want of self-division proves the falsity of all appearance in the shape of the object and of all objective cognition. Sankara opposes self-division (*স্বগতভেদ*) and maintains that the object is no part of the self and hence it is only a superimposition, (*বিবর্ত*), on the self. 'Appreciation' of Royce is the realisation of a thing exactly as it

is a part of one's own experience unlike 'description.' It is a **অরূপজ্ঞান**—a knowledge of a thing by being it ; by identifying the inner life, of one with the inner life of another. In **অপরোক্ষাভূতি** of Sankara, **অগং**—a source of multiplicity disappears altogether—not-self even in the form of ideas which are regarded as detached existence from the self which seem to come out of the self and therefore are distinct from the self. Here there is no externality, no outwardness, no self-division of the self into itself and its ideas as the not-self—although the not-self is still nothing outside the circle of self. **বিবেকখ্যাতি** is the highest form of knowledge according to the Yoga and Sankhya. The self is here perceived as different from the not self. **নিবিকল্প**-form is at best a withdrawal, a merging into the self. The Universe remains as a real not-self which a self can withdraw from, but cannot resolve into itself. But in Vedanta, the not-self is resolved into the self and nothing but the self is real. This portion of the book containing a comparative study hinted above will repay a careful perusal.

Karma leads to **জ্ঞান** and it is **জ্ঞান** that directly leads to Salvation.

Very valuable reply is suggested by the author towards the close of this chapter to the objections raised by various teachers as to how, when **Brahma-jñāna** arises which removes ignorance, can the body which is the effect of ignorance as its material cause, persist as in the case of a **জীবমুক্ত**. How can the world exist even after the realisation of **Brahma** ? How can the effect in the form of **Samskāra** of **Avidya** remain after the complete destruction of its material cause (ignorance) ? To avoid this difficulty there are certain Vedantic teachers who deny the existence of **জীবমুক্ত** ; they justify only the **বিদেহ-মুক্তি**.

The author attempts here to give his own solution by pointing out that knowledge and ignorance are not incompatibles. Knowledge here is not the **বৃত্তি-জ্ঞান** but transcendental, and therefore is not opposed to ignorance but its substratum. Pure *chit* is the **আশ্রয়** of both empirical states of knowledge and ignorance—"I know" and "I do not know." Transcendental knowledge and ignorance belong to different orders of reality. The world forms no 'other' to **Brahma** and there is no incompatibility in the simultaneous presence of both. **Brahma** transcends the world and hence they are not reals of the same order. The world, after **ব্রহ্মজ্ঞান**, remains as it was, only the previous erroneous conception of it as real is now supplanted by the conception of it as **অনিবাচ্য**—superimposition on **Brahma**. The world is not 'transmuted,' as **Bradley** holds, to form an element in **Brahma**.

The next chapter deals with the various means to attain knowledge.

Chapters XI and XII deal with the Bhakti-form of Sadhan and Chapter XIII describes the Tantric form of Sādhan. In dealing with the value of *বস্তু*, the author very ingeniously explains the four well-known forms of Sabda. *ধ্বনি*, he says, represents the primal vibrations that cause the Universe. The Hindu Rsis, the author remarks, discovered the great energy which is the source of creation and *নাদ*, *প্রাণ*, *শব্দ*—are only synonyms for that cosmic energy. This *নাদ*, as vibration, is the source of the Universe and, as illumination, is also conscious. The Hindus attempted to realise the subtle form of the Nāda through the gross one, and to reach illumination by generating the corresponding vibration. The recitation of *Mantras* aims at awakening illumination through vibration. *Cit* and *Sabda*, illumination and vibration, represent two parallel aspects of the same thing. The external things and their shapes are materialised forms of vibrations and in them the *cit* becomes more latent and hidden. The efficacy of Nāda-shādhana, observes the author, cannot be overestimated and it is the invaluable discovery, he thinks, of the Tantras and their priceless gift to the world.

ভক্তিমার্গ and *জ্ঞানমার্গ* are thus broadly distinguished. In the realisation of God, *ভক্তিমার্গ* emphasises the object-factor in consciousness and *জ্ঞানমার্গ* the subject-factor. In a *ভক্ত*, the object occupies his whole mental horizon and the subject has no consciousness as distinct from the object-consciousness. The object—the infinite *কৃষ্ণ*—devours the finite subject. Psychologically, if the object is interesting beyond measure, the subject forgets himself altogether and loses himself in the object. In the *জ্ঞানমার্গ*, or *যোগমার্গ*, we are to intensify 'the powers of the subject to realise it. Rise up gradually beyond object, beyond *চিন্তা*, *অহঙ্কার*; try to realise fully developed self—the subject or *পরমাত্মা*—where no object, not even *সাক্ষি-বৃত্তি* should come. The infinite is expressed in and through the subject and the object. *যোগ* intensifies the subject and all duality disappears.

জ্ঞানমার্গ is rather not entirely subjective, but as both subjective and objective. It is the *synthesis* of opposed, partial theories. Absolute is the reality where the subject and the object merge themselves in the Absolute. Transcendence implies both the withdrawal from the object *নেতি*, *নেতি* and expansion—for the self is not opposed to and does not exclude any thing. The self alone is real because everything is the self (*সর্বং বসিদ্ধং ব্রহ্ম*). The self pervades and under-lies all appearances of the objects—(the self—the locus and the object—the products of the kinetic avidya). *Brahma transcends*, at the same time reconciles and

includes within itself all subject and object—does not exclude anything ; it is everything but nothing in particular—subject and object.*

The last chapter of the book closes with a brilliant exposition of the synthesis worked out by গীতা But we must stop here, referring the reader to the book itself.

We regret that want of space prevents us from doing full justice to the topics described and explained in this valuable work. The author in his work has traversed through an extensive field and has put forth his best critical and constructive effort and has earned the gratitude of all lovers of philosophy by bringing out a comprehensive work on a subject very little known even among scholars, for which the author is so eminently qualified. We heartily congratulate Dr. Brahma for the very valuable contribution he has made to the Indian Philosophical literature in its practical aspect which is generally most neglected.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Neo-Hinduism.—By D. V. Athalye. Published by Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

The book is meant to give in a single handy volume an exposition of the teachings of Swamy Vivekananda which can be gathered from all his public speeches and writings. The author has earned the gratitude of the learned world in giving them an opportunity to read a concise account of Vivekananda's interpretation of Vedantism and Joga Philosophy. The work reflects great credit on the patient labour and enthusiasm of the author which he has thrown into his production in faithfully representing all which is valuable and worth knowing, within a compass of 220 pages under ten convenient chapters, four of which contains accounts of Bhakti, Jnāna, Karma, and Raja-Jogas. We quote here a few lines from the chapter on Raja-Joga:—

“The field of reason or of the conscious working of the mind is narrow and limited. There is a little circle within which human reason must move. It cannot go beyond. Yet it is beyond this circle of reason that there lies all that humanity holds most dear. All those questions, whether there is an immortal soul, whether there is a God, whether there is a supreme intelligence guiding the universe, are beyond the field of reason. All that is good or great in human nature have been moulded upon answers that have come from beyond the circle. It is really beyond the intellect

* “ কার্যন্ত পরিচ্ছিন্নস্ত, কার্যাস্তুরেষপি বর্তমানেন কারণ-ধর্মেণ সম্বন্ধাভাবঃ ”—সংক্ষেপ-শারীরক।

that the first state of religious life is to be found. When you step beyond thought and intellect and all reasoning, then you have made the first step towards God and that is the beginning of life. It is experience of the superconscious."

We heartily recommend this work to all lovers of religion.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Vedic Studies.—By A. Venkatasubbiah.—Printed at Mysore ; Vol. I, only.

This is a neatly printed work containing 14 Rig-Vedic words, such as Nitya, Svasara, Arati and others. The book bears evident marks of patient industry and extensive study of the Vedas by the author. These are some of the most obscure and difficult words doubtful in their sense. The author has sought to arrive at the correct meaning of these words by a careful comparison of other Vedic passages where the words occur. Extensive quotations of hymns and passages from the Rig-Veda have been made with a view to show by a study of the contexts if the sense of the words suggested by the author agrees with that of the words employed in those other contexts. It need hardly be pointed out that this method of working on a particular word would necessarily produce the desired end and the chances of mistake would be minimised. The author is an intelligent and laborious student of the Vedas and he has brought enthusiasm and industry and single-minded devotion to bear upon his study. Such deep and patient scholarly acumen is very rare now-a-days and we hope that his labour will throw much light upon many an obscure passage and word of the Rig-Veda which will smooth down the thorny path of Vedic study. We admire the learning of the author whose rich wealth adorns almost every page of his work.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Ourselfes

It is with deep grief that we record our sense of the country's real loss due to the sudden death at Ranchi on the 30th of October last of Sir Ali Imam, the well-known representative of a noble Moslem family of Patna who for many years creditably upheld the high tradition of culture and service to the cause of the country of that renowned Syed family by his noble ideals, high attainments, spotless character, advanced liberal views and a glorious record of service in various spheres. The late Sir Ali Imam rose to high eminence in his profession as a leading counsel of the Patna Bar and held responsible positions as Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Judge of the High Court of Patna, first President of the Executive Council of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the representative of India at the first meeting of the League of Nations. He rendered signal service to the cause of education, specially as a champion of Moslem education and in recognition of his abilities was nominated in 1909 a Fellow of the University of Calcutta. He was also elected as a trustee of the Aligarh College in 1903 to the funds of which institution his contributions were generous. He was honoured by nomination in 1910 to the Presidentship of the Amritsar session of the all-Indian Moslem League which decidedly proves that he fully enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his coreligionists yet he had the courage of his convictions to utter sentiments which every true patriot and sober nationalist should cherish dearly in his heart to-day. "English education has given," he wisely observed, "Indians a common language, common aspiration and common patriotism and it was possible for the Mahomedans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India united among themselves and united to Britain." He foresaw,

the great danger to India as a whole from rampant sectarian aggressiveness and laid down the sound principle that "Mahomedans should be Indian first and Mahomedans afterwards" exactly as "the Hindus should be Indians first and Hindus afterwards." His liberal and progressive political outlook and his broad-mindedness easily won for him the love and respect of all sections of the people of India who will, we are sure, strongly feel his loss at a time when sober and sound statesmanship combined with independence of mind, fearless courage and frankness of utterance is our most urgent need.

We offer our cordial sympathy to the members of his family in their great bereavement.

ADHAR CHANDRA MUKHERJEE LECTURER

Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri has been appointed Adharchandra Mukherjee Lecturer for 1932 on the usual terms and conditions.

GIRISCHANDRA GHOSH LECTURER

Srijut Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1931 on the usual condition, the subject of his lectures being "Place of Girischandra Ghosh in Modern Bengali Stage and Drama."

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Mr. Satkari Mukhopadhyay, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis submitted by him on, "The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux" consisting of two parts, viz., (1) Metaphysics and (2) Logic and Epistemology.

Mr. Surendrakisor Chakrabarti, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis submitted by him on "A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics."

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP

Mr. Gopinath Bhattacharyya, M.A., has been awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Arts for the year 1931.

*
*

We are glad to publish the following communications, which will surely be of great interest to our readers, received from the Honorary Secretary of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie of Munich, Dr. Franz Thierfelder.

Die Deutsche Akademie Honors Drs. Tagore and Raman.

Under the presidency of Geheimer Rat Prof. Dr. Friedrich von Müller of the University of Munich, one of the foremost medical men of the world, the Deutsche Akademie held its annual sessions in Munich during October 13-15. Cultural leaders from Germany and Austria and many public men of great importance—His Highness the Crown Prince of Bavaria, a special representative of the Central Government of Germany, the Bavarian Minister of Education, the Mayor of the City of Munich and others—attended the sessions.

It may be of interest to the Indian public and cultural leaders that the report of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, read by its Honorary Secretary, Dr. Franz Thierfelder, received unanimous support from the Senators of the Deutsche Akademie, representing various German Universities and leaders of various walks of life. Prof. Dr. A. O. Meyer, the Chairman of the "Wissenschaftliche Abteilung," called upon Dr. Taraknath Das, one of the Honorary Members of the Deutsche Akademie to speak

on the significance of Indo-German Cultural Co-operation. Dr. Das very briefly expressed his views and thanked the Deutsche Akademie, the authorities of the German Universities and the German public for the practical aid extended to the Indian people in building up their national efficiency. He begged that the work of the Deutsche Akademie in aiding worthy Indian scholars should receive continued support.

The Senate of the Deutsche Akademie unanimously elected Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Founder-President of Viswa Bhārati and Prof. of Bengalee of Calcutta University, and Sir Prof. Dr. C. V. Raman of Calcutta University as Honorary Corresponding Members. Year before last, the same honor was bestowed upon Sir Prof. Dr. Jagadis Chandra Bose of Calcutta. We may say that the signal honor extended to these great men of India by the Deutsche Akademie is not only a genuine expression of recognition accorded to them, but living symbol of cultural amity between the peoples of India and Germany.

The India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie has arranged a course of lectures on Indian Culture to be held during the coming semester. Among others will speak: Professor Dr. Geiger, Univ. of Munich, Prof. Dr. Oertel, Univ. of Munich, Prof. Dr. Haushofer, Univ. of Munich, Dr. Taraknath Das, Prof. Dr. Wüst, Univ. of Munich, Prof. Dr. Hauer, Univ. of Tübingen, Prof. Dr. Scherman, Univ. of Munich.

Through the kindness and co-operation of the Indian Press and Indian educators, activities of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, which are absolutely non-political are fairly known to the Indian public. However it has been decided that a concise as well as comprehensive report of the work done by this cultural organization, during the last few years, will be printed in English for circulation among the cultural leaders of India who may be interested in co-operating with us, to make our work more effective. Those who wish to receive the forthcoming report should write to us in advance. We welcome active support and co-operation of Indian cultural leaders in furthering our work.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie Announces the Award of New Scholarships to Indian Graduate Students in German Universities for the Academic Year 1932-1933.

With great pleasure, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie wishes to announce the award of Four new scholarships for the academic year 1932-1933 to the following Indian graduates who are to carry on higher studies in various German Universities :

Breslau University

1. Mr. S. K. Saksena, M.A. (Philosophy), Allahabad University, at present teaching in Hindu College, Delhi.

Dresden Engineering University.

2. Mr. A. K. Ghose, M.Sc. (Chemistry), Lucknow University; at present carrying on research work in connection with Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.

Hohenheim Agricultural University.

3. Mr. Hira Singh, B.Sc. (Agriculture). M.Sc.. Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.

Nürnberg, Commercial University.

4. Mr. Balmukund Piplani, B.Sc (Commerce), Hailey College of Commerce, M.A. (Economics), Punjab University.

II

We are pleased to announce that the following three former scholars of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie have been awarded special scholarships of "Humboldt-Stiftung" for the academic year 1932-1933 :

Cologne University.

1. Mr. N. K. Gharpure, M.A., LL.B., formerly Lecturer in German Language in the Fergusson College and New English School, Poona.

Stuttgart Engineering University.

2. Mr. Jitendra Nath Mukherjee, Chemical Engineer, (College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal), Jadavpur.

Jena University.

3. Mr. D. G. Londhe, M.A., formerly Lecturer in Philosophy Raja Ram College, Kolapur ; and Research Fellow, Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner.

III

We have further pleasure to announce that among the scholars of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie who are now enjoying scholarships for the academic year 1931-1932, to afford further facilities and to enable them to finish their studies for Doctorate, the following will continue to receive their scholarships in a modified form for the Winter Semester for 1932 (i.e., till January 1933) :

Cologne University.

1. Dr. J. C. Gupta, M.B. (Calcutta), formerly House Surgeon, Carmaichael Medical College Hospital, Calcutta.

Hannover Engineering University.

2. Dr. B. S. Srikantam, D.Sc. (Dacca University).

3. Mr. R. K. N. Iyengar, B.E. (Mysore University).

4. Mr. R. K. Dutta Roy, M.Sc., formerly Research Chemist, Fuel Economy Department, Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., Jamshedpur.

Karlsruhe Engineering University.

5. Mr. Karmadiswar Dutt, B.Sc. (Calcutta), and B.Sc. Engineering (Rangoon University).

Munich University.

6. Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M.B. (Calcutta), House-Surgeon, Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan Women's Hospital, Calcutta.

7. Dr. B. B. Mundhe, Veterinary Surgeon and Sanitary Inspector, Bombay.

Munich Engineering University.

8. Mr. H. K. Ogale, L.M.E., formerly Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay.

9. Mr. Chitta Ranjan Barat, M.Sc. (Calcutta), formerly Research Scholar, Department of Applied Chemistry, College of Science and Technology, Calcutta University.

Stuttgart Engineering University.

10. Mr. Narayan Ch. Chatterjee, M.Sc., formerly Demonstrator in Physics, Benares Hindu University.

Tübingen University.

11. Mr. A. K. Bhatta, Professor of Sanskrit, Vidyalankar College, Ceylon.

IV

While welcoming Indian scholars to German institutions of higher learning, we wish to emphasise the fact that it is very desirable that they finish their education in their respective fields, before leaving India and come to Germany for higher studies only. This will be economical and advantageous for them.

Indian students desirous of carrying on higher studies in Germany, before leaving India, should acquire *sufficient knowledge of German* so that they will be able to follow the lectures of Professors in German language. We have noticed that in many cases Indian students, owing to lack of German language, lose a semester. It is desirable that Indian students should come to Germany, at least two or three months before the beginning of a semester (which begins in October and May), so that they will be able to make an intensive study of German language and adjust themselves to their new environments. Climate of Germany is much colder than that of India and we think that it would be wise for Indian students to come for Germany in August or September, so that they will not find the climate very trying and gradually accustom themselves to the rigors of winter weather.

Owing to ignorance about German educational institutions and educational systems, Indian students often insist on staying in big German cities such as Berlin, Munich, etc. We strongly advise Indian students to go to universities and technical institutions located in small towns in Germany, where they will find life more congenial and living less expensive. There are world-renowned universities—Heidelberg, Jena, Goettingen, Freiburg, Tübingen, Marburg, Bonn and others which are located in beautiful small towns. Some of these universities have the most renowned German scholars as professors.

Those who wish to carry on higher studies and special research, should in advance make arrangements for it. They must not expect that they will at once get an opportunity to work under the most famous German professors who are extremely busy and who have a very large waiting list of exceptionally able young scholars from many countries. These renowned professors cannot afford to take an ordinary graduate student who does not understand German in his laboratory as a research worker. India should send her very best scholars to Germany who will be able to make the best use of the facilities in Universities and

1932]

OURSELVES

institutions of higher learning in Germany and thus become credit to Germany and India.

We receive many applications from Indian students for free tuition, scholarships, loan and paying work, etc. We wish to make it clear, that India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie does not extend any financial help except our announced scholarships. In Germany there is no possibility of part-time work for foreign students who may receive opportunities for practical experience in factories, provided they know German language and definite arrangements are made in advance.

Those who wish to secure Doctorate from a German University, must realise that there is no short cut for receiving such recognition. It will require knowledge of German language and one must finish required studies and pass necessary examinations and produce a thesis on certain subject to be approved by his professors. It may be safe to suggest, that *Indian graduates of exceptional ability may finish their work after four semesters or two years and others will require four years or longer according to their ability.* We wish to emphasise again that it will be less expensive for Indian students if they finish their studies in India, before leaving for Germany for higher studies.

We shall be pleased to supply information to serious Indian scholars who may communicate with us.

July 6th, 1932.

